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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

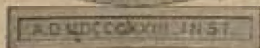
OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Cinder-Mounds of Bellary.* By R. SEWELL.

SOUTHERN INDIA abounds in prehistoric remains, mostly of the neolithic, but some few undoubtedly of the palaeolithic age; and of all the districts of the Madras Presidency none is more remarkable in this respect than the country about Bellary. The present area of this division comprises the old capital of the Vijayanagar kingdom, now usually called Hampe, from the name of a little village¹ on the Tungabhadra River, which in the old palmy days constituted a small fraction of the great city. On the south of the district the territories of Maisūr form the boundary. The fine old rock-fortress of Adoni lies near its eastern frontier, and on the north the Tungabhadra River divides it from the country belonging to the Nizām of Haidarābād. Within these boundaries are seen in every direction rocky hills with a very sparse covering of vegetation, standing boldly out of the level plain, some singly, some in ridges, and in a few tracts massed together into confused heaps extending in all directions for many miles. Vijayanagar, at the west of the district, was built on and about just a mass as the last described, through the middle of which

¹ It takes its name from a great temple dedicated to Śrī Pampāpati, "Pampa" becoming in Canarese "Hampa." "Pampa" was the old name of the river.

flows the deep and rapid current of the Tungabhadra. A writer, who had been deeply impressed by his first view of the site of the city, thus describes the scene:—"Far as the eye can reach for ten square miles there is nothing between heaven and earth but boulders; the earth is paved with them, the sky is pierced with them, and their granite particles glitter and scintillate in the morning sun literally in thousands of all sizes, heaps upon heaps, in one instance 250 feet in height."

My personal belief is that in former years this whole tract was covered with forest, though now in most places so barren, and that the ancient tribes who dwelt therein had the cool and comfortable shade of trees over their heads, as well as ready-made dwellings to live in amongst the crags and huge broken masses of gneiss and granite. Everywhere are found neolithic celts and implements—polished axe-heads, hammers, mealing-stones, bone-crushers, with some few flint or agate flakes and cores; and on the rocks of the Peacock Hills, a range about four miles east of Bellary, there are in the sides of several boulders many hollows scooped, in which the old workers had polished their weapons. The gneiss is here crossed by an enormous dyke of trap rock, and the armourers of those days had selected the spot for one of their principal workshops.

In the plains close to the foot of the hills are two very curious and large cinder-mounds; and it is to these cinder-mounds, and to others similar to them found in other places in the neighbourhood, that I am anxious to call attention in the present paper.

I have purposely prefaced my observations with a slight description, which connects the dwelling-places of neolithic man with the principal city of the great Vijayanagar kingdom, for the reason that, while general opinion hitherto has held all the cinder-mounds to be the work of the prehistoric races of Southern India, I hold myself that there is fair ground for supposing that some may be, after all, of no very great antiquity, and that their origin can be plausibly explained otherwise.

Two of these remarkable mounds are, as stated, under the hills four miles east of Bellary. There are two others described to me (I have not seen them) as lying in the plain on the eastern side of the Copper Mountain, a range about five miles south-west of Bellary. There is one, eleven miles west of Bellary, in the centre of a pass between some low hills, at a place called Būdigunta. This I know well. But the most important of all is an enormous mass at Nimbāpuram, amongst the rocky hills north-east of Vijayanagar, a mile or two outside the limits of the old city, and close to the river. It occupies the centre of a small valley, surrounding which on all sides are rocky heights of considerable elevation. In this natural amphitheatre is a mass of cinder and scorise, about fifty yards long by twenty broad, and from ten to fifteen feet in height. That it is a deposit of some antiquity is shown by the fact of its being overgrown with old palmyra palm trees, whose roots are deeply sunk into the mass itself.

Now the question is—and it constitutes one of our South Indian antiquarian problems—how did this mass originate? What was it caused by? It is a huge conglomerate of cinder and ash and slag. Was it a furnace? If so, for what purpose? It is absolutely unlike any of the prehistoric cinder-mounds found in other parts of the world. It has no resemblance whatever to a “kitchen-midden.” Those who have examined portions of it say that it is not the refuse of any such factory as is worked nowadays, since the two can be compared, and it has been found that no factory refuse results in mounds like this. Then, what was it?

I will first recapitulate the remarks made by Lieut. Newbold, a very competent and very earnest geologist of the last generation, and then turn to the results of the latest examination, made this year at the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street.

An article by Lieut. Newbold appeared, with an illustration, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1843 (vol. vii, p. 129), in which the remains are entitled “ancient mounds of scorious ashes.” Dr. Benza declared

the specimens submitted to him to be "nodular and tufaceous carbonate of lime, more or less calcined and semi-vitrified, which, probably from having been long exposed to the atmosphere, have imbibed again some carbonic acid."

The Būdigunta mound is described by Mr. Newbold as dome-shaped, 46 feet in height and 420 feet in circumference, entirely formed of scorious ashes.

"Towards the summit they are whitish and friable, and appear to have been crushed, but nearer the base are seen larger masses . . . shining, semi-vitrified. The internal structure of the more calcined portions is highly vesicular, not homogeneous, but imbedding in its cavities whitish friable ashes and hard dark-green or black cellular cinders." Mr. Newbold found in the Būdigunta mound a piece of hornblende rock which appeared to him to have been fashioned by human agency—"probably a portion of some ancient vessel."

One of the Peacock Hill mounds, that nearest to the rocks, is described very accurately by Newbold. It is about 15 feet in height, having a tabular but somewhat concave summit, which is "girt in by a low rugged wall, composed of semi-vitrified blocks of scorious ashes loosely piled together. Its longest diameter is 93 feet. Fragments of rude pottery were found on the surface." The explorer made excavations in the mound. He found that the upper portion, to the depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, consisted of ashy-grey earth and ashes, with horizontal bands of a darker colour and of a soft chalky texture, "portions of which were slightly unctuous to the touch." Below this lay a bed of scorious ashes, partly vitrified and about 5 feet thick. Then a foot of ashes similar to the former mixed with fragments which resembled charcoal. Underneath was a bed $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet thick of a dark earth, and below this a bed 3 feet thick of gravel, the detritus of the main rock on which it rested. This last affords positive proof that the remains are not of volcanic origin.

"All the ashy earths," says Lieut. Newbold, "and most of the less vitrified fragments of the scorious ashes, effervesce

slightly with dilute sulphuric acid No such ashes result from the native limekilns of the present day"; and, moreover, for what purpose could such quantities of lime be required? There is no city hard by, and even if there were the most ancient Hindu forts were constructed of cyclopean masonry executed without mortar, while the houses of the poorer classes were made of hardened mud. Mr. Newbold, bent on the solution of the problem, examined various Hindu brick-kilns, pottery-furnace remains, the débris of iron-smelting factories, and of glass-workers' refuse, and found no similarity between them and the contents of the huge mounds. The refuse of the glass-workers was the nearest, but in it was no trace of the soft chalky ashes.

Baffled here he turned to the Hindus for their explanation, and learned that everywhere in the neighbourhood of the mounds the tradition existed that they were the remains of great funeral pyres, where the bodies of giants or demons or demigods had been burned in ages far back; or of enormous human or animal sacrifices performed by holy Rishis in their hermitages. Following this clue, Mr. Newbold sought for recent funeral pyres, and found that the ashes left here strongly resembled those found at the ancient mounds. Of the remains of modern cremation he writes as follows:—

"The harder and semi-vitrified portions were formed from the calcination of the bones; while the ashes resulting from that of the muscular and fatty matter, mingling with those of the charcoal and fuel, formed a soft whitish-grey earth In both the ancient and recent scorise small fragments of quartz may be seen imbedded, derived probably from the granitic soil on which the fires were kindled, and which, with the alkali of the wood ashes, have probably assisted the process of vitrification Like the recent human ashes, they fuse before the blow-pipe into a greenish-grey enamel, some of the less calcined portions giving out a distinct animal odour, though not equally strong in the ancient ashes On the

whole, however, the human ashes are of a lighter and less vitreous character, arising evidently from the less degree and continuance of heat to which they were exposed, and from the circumstance of the bodies at the present day being generally burnt singly on separate pyres The greater weight, density, and higher state of vitrification of the scorious ashes of the mounds may be accounted for by the greater intensity of heat under pressure to which they were subject. For if we are disposed to admit that there are gleanings of truth in the tradition of the Hindus, that these ashes are really animal remains, or if, after a more minute analysis than I have the means of rendering, they prove to be what they certainly most resemble, it is apparent from the density exhibited in the section of the mound opened, the large size of the masses of the scoriae, and their state of vitrification, that they must have been the result of one, or perhaps two, enormous and long-continued fires. It is quite certain that they cannot be the ashes of individual funeral pyres collected into heaps and it may be added that the mounds are almost always found in sequestered spots at a distance from any town."

The writer then points out that though in the case of both calcined human remains and of burnt limestone there exists free lime which, having attracted carbonic acid from atmospheric exposure, would effervesce slightly when treated with acids, a state of things observed during the examination of the contents of these ancient mounds, a careful analysis of the scoriae by a gentleman in Manchester resulted in the discovery of phosphoric acid with lime in them—"a fact which leaves but little doubt of their animal origin."

Such was Lieut. Newbold's decided opinion in the year 1843. Fifty-five years later, viz. in the current year, I handed over some specimens obtained from these same mounds, and brought by myself to England, to Mr. W. W. Watts, of the Geological Society, at the Museum in Jernyn Street, London, asking him whether modern examination

would confirm or disprove the notion that the mounds were the remains of enormous pyres, on which in fierce heat were consumed the bodies of either human beings or animals.¹ Mr. Watts has kindly given me the following written opinion:—

“These specimens are certainly not volcanic slags, nor are they derived from any process of ore-smelting. They do not appear, either, to be such slags as result from lime-burning, glass- or brick-making.

“The large specimen from Nimbāpuram consists of a glassy slag, which has caught up while melted numerous bits of grit of various sorts, chiefly felspar and quartz. As Lieut. Newbold points out, this is the surface dust resulting from decomposition of the rocks on which the mounds are situated. Fragments of bone are to be seen in this slag.

“The smaller specimen from Būdigunta consists of a mixture of slag with ashy matter which is probably the result of burning fuel. The light-coloured slag is deeply coloured at contact with the dark ash. The microscopic aspect of the slag is similar to that of the larger specimen, but the cavities contain, in greater abundance, numerous minute bundles of crystals, almost certainly carbonate of lime, which have been deposited in them since the slag cooled down. These account for the effervescence of the slag with acid, and have been produced by the action of carbonic acid on the lime salts in the slag.

“The specimens from the Peacock Hills near Bellary seem to be practically the same as in the Būdigunta specimen. The dark colour of the ash disappears in heating, and is evidently the relic of the carbonaceous matter of the fuel still left in the ash.

“Mr. E. T. Newton has examined the bones in this box, and finds that while one specimen is undoubtedly human, two are certainly not human, and the rest are indeterminable.”

¹ One of my specimens was from Būdigunta, the larger from Nimbāpuram.

We may then assume with a fair amount of certainty that these great mounds are the remains of enormous pyres on which were burnt the bodies of animals or human beings, or both.

But why? And when? Let us consider the latter first. I do not think it necessary to assume that the remains must belong to the prehistoric races. They seem to indicate the destruction by burning of animal substances, possibly bodies of human beings, alive or dead. Mr. Newbold pointed out two ways in which the ancient races may have caused these mounds. First, there is mention in a Hindu work, the *Parasu Rāma Vijaya*, of women consuming themselves *en masse* on the same pyre with the bodies of their husbands slain in battle; and in an old Tamil record the women of a whole aboriginal tribe are represented as causing a great pile of fire to be kindled, into which they leaped, and died execrating their enemies, the Hindus, who, by treachery, had succeeded in slaughtering every male of their clan. Secondly, what more probable, he says, than that the mounds are made of the ashes of the slain, burnt collectively after some battle—monuments perhaps of the bloody struggles that took place between the early Brahmanical settlers and the savage aborigines?

Or they might, he thinks, even be, as held by the Hindus themselves, the remains of great sacrificial holocausts performed by the Rishis of old, since the annals of the country abound in allusions to both bestial and human sacrifices on a fearful scale of magnitude, made for the attainment of supernatural power, for the discovery of hidden treasure, in propitiation of malign spirits, or to deities presiding over agriculture and commerce.

But must we go so far back in history? Surely the fact that they are found in a country where most undoubtedly the races that used neolithic weapons resided, need not be accepted as conclusively establishing that the neolithic races were the creators of these mounds. For neolithic remains are found all over the district, and the discovery of a celt here and there amongst the débris would not

sufficiently support such a theory. I think it suffices to come down to much more modern times, and though the notion of vast human and animal sacrifices carried out by the ancient races may possess a charm to the antiquarian mind we must be careful to guard against a too hasty acceptance of it.

I ask, then, is it or is it not possible that these mounds may be only from three to five hundred years old? If so, they may have been caused in one or other of the following ways:—

For the first. This country was the scene of fearful carnage and wholesale massacres during the wars between the Muhammadan kings of the Dakhan and the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar. There were bloody battles in the plains and vengeful slaughters of citizens after the capture of fortresses. At Adoni, forty miles north-north-east of the Peacock Hills, Muhammad Shah Bahmanī, at the sack of that town, slew 70,000 Hindus. Outside Vijayanagar the Muhammadan confederation massacred all the inhabitants in the suburbs, and after the fall of the great city their excesses knew no bounds. Is it not possible that on the sites where so many thousands of dead lay in the burning sun the Muhammadan commanders may have collected the remains and consumed them in vast pyres to prevent pestilence amongst their troops? The situations of the mounds certainly do not militate against this theory—rather the reverse. Witness the mound at Būdigunta, on the ridge of the pass described above, the very place where terrific hand-to-hand fighting may be conceived to have taken place in the attack and defence of one of the principal approaches to the Hindu capital.

Or if this is too commonplace an explanation, I will offer one more romantic, which might at least account for the enormous mound amongst the rocky hills at Nimbāpur on the river outside Vijayanagar. The Hindu dynasty that ruled, at that place, over all Southern India for two centuries was founded about the year 1336 A.D. In 1442 the capital was visited by 'Abdur Razzāk, ambassador from

Persia, and we have in his *Matla'us-Sa'dain*¹ a glowing description of the magnificence of the sovereign, amongst whose cherished possessions was a seraglio of 700 ladies—princesses and others.

About the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, went to Vijayanagar, and from his rather short account of the place I extract the following passage²:—"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them."

In A.D. 1514 Duarte Barbosa visited Vijayanagar,³ and he notes this custom of *sati*, stating that the women of the city were burnt with their deceased husbands "in an open space outside the city, where there is a great fire." This description entirely coincides with the situation of the Nimbāpur mound. He goes on to say:—"When the king dies four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in the same manner, and they throw themselves suddenly into the pit and fire where they burn the body of the king; for the pit and fire are very large, and a great quantity can be burned in it . . . and many men, confidants of the king, burn themselves with him."

The next authority is the traveller Caesar Frederic,⁴ who, relating his adventures at Vijayanagar in 1567 A.D., describes the ceremonies attendant on a widow becoming

¹ *Matla'us-Sa'dain* (Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, vol. iv, pp. 95-125).

² Hakluyt edition, vol. xxii.

³ Hakluyt edition, vol. xxxv, p. 93.

⁴ *Id.*, vol. ii, p. 347.

satī on her husband's death, and the processions about the streets, and then writes (I discard the old form of spelling):—"Then they go out of the city, and going along the river's side called Nigondin, which runneth under the walls of the city, until they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of women . . . and when there dieth any great man his wife with all his [female] slaves . . . burn themselves together with him."

Here, again, the description aptly coincides with the situation of the Nimbāpur cinder-mound. So that it may, after all, be merely the funeral pyre where for two centuries successive holocausts of large numbers of living women took place, hundreds being burnt at one time at the death of every sovereign, while large numbers were similarly destroyed day by day—the wives of citizens, chiefs, and princes, residents in this very extensive and populous city.

I offer this suggestion as a not unreasonable explanation of what must otherwise seemingly remain inexplicable.

In opposition to this theory must be specially noted the annular shape of one of the Peacock Hill mounds. In this one case it is certainly difficult to conceive that it could have been caused in the manner suggested; and the problem as to its origin must be considered as yet unsolved. Mr. Hubert Knox, of the Civil Service, who made a very careful examination of it, has kindly favoured me with his original notes, as well as with a letter written to him on the subject by Mr. R. Bruce Foote, of the Geological Survey of India. Mr. Foote knew the place well, and his opinion is therefore of much value. Both these gentlemen believe the mound to be prehistoric, and to have been made by the tribes to whom must be credited the stores of neolithic axe-heads, crushers, and other implements found in abundance amongst the boulders on the hill above. Parallel with the axis of the hill runs a large trap dyke, and it is of this hard and durable material that the weapons were made. This dyke, indeed, is almost certainly the cause of there having been a settlement here of the tribes

that lived in neolithic days, a settlement of the existence of which there is abundant evidence. Commanding an extensive view over the surrounding country, raised above the main forest below, and therefore exposed to pleasant breezes, this range of hills, with its ample store of material for the manufacture of weapons and implements of all sorts, its broken masses of cliffs and boulders, amongst which the inhabitants could always find shade when the day was hot, and protection when the weather was inclement, would form an ideal habitation for the tribes of those days. And that it did so is plain. For not only are there found amongst the crevices remains of neolithic stone implements in abundance, but on the rock faces themselves are the hollows made by the manufacturers in the act of polishing, while on the boulders above are a number of *graffiti*, many of which are beyond doubt of great antiquity.¹

I shall not attempt to discuss the latter in the present paper, but merely note in passing that the presence, amongst the representations here given, of animals most commonly found amongst forests has tended to strengthen my belief that in former days the jungle covered this country to a far greater extent than is now the case. The animals to which I allude are elephants, bears, monkeys, deer or elk with branching horns, and peafowl.

In the plain close under this hill to the east are two large cinder-mounds. One is solid and lofty, and may have been formed in the manner I have ventured to suggest. The other, however, is different. It consists of a circular ring formed by a mound about five feet high, with the centre of the ring scarcely raised above the level of the plain surrounding it. The ring measures about thirty yards across its diameter. Mr. Knox notes that he and Mr. Fawcett cut a trench across the enclosed space. "We found that the whole of the inside consists of ashes which

¹ Mr. F. Fawcett read a paper about these before the Ninth Congress of Orientalists in London.

lay on the earth about the level of the field outside. Our trench was carried up to the hard bank which encloses the mound. This bank had a nearly perpendicular section inside, and a sloping section outside . . . specimens of the cinders were submitted to Mr. R. B. Foote . . . we found bones and pottery among the ashes, but not a single worked stone. Mr. Fawcett took the bones which seem determinable to England. They have been identified as chiefly those of rodents."

This last statement must certainly be traversed by an inspection of some of the bones now shown, which are too large to have belonged to any known rodent; while I am fortified by the opinion of experts in the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street. Mr. E. T. Newton, as already stated, declared one of the bones to be certainly human. Possibly for "rodent" we should read "ruminant."

Mr. Bruce Foote's opinion on the specimens is important. He writes, under date August 1, 1891—"I have examined the contents of the box carefully. The specimens without exception are slag or ash—not a trace of tufa. The ash shows in many cases traces of vegetable matter in a rather comminuted state, such as you see it in buffalo's dung. Some of the ash is still full of carbonaceous matter, evidently from imperfect combustion. I am more than ever inclined to think the wider heaps due to the combustion of great heaps of cattle manure and straw." He then refers to a custom he had heard of as existing in South Africa, where some tribes pile up their cattle manure in banks inside their thorn *zaribas*. "Such accumulations of manure when dry would have been very liable to take fire, and would have smouldered away slowly if very tightly pressed down, or burned fast where loosely packed. When clayey sand or felspathic sand was mixed with the dung, and the heat fierce enough, it would inevitably form a slaggy ciuder, but where pure the soft ash would be produced . . . One bone must have been scraped with a moderately sharp implement, and looks as if it were to have been carved into some definite object . . . The total absence of stone

implements in the excavated part is a puzzling fact, for I certainly found celts, mealing-stones, and corn-crushers, in some quantity, in the Sanavasapur camp, together with pottery in considerable variety." One piece of pottery was found in this Kappal (Peacock Hill) circle, and is now exhibited.

Mr. Foote sums up his views on the several mounds in the Bellary district thus:—"The zariba cattle-manure theory will only hold good for such cinder-mounds as are really camps. Some of the others, such as Budikanama, Nimbāpur, and Sugur, appear to have been really funeral pyres. Gadiganūr, Kanchagar-Bellagūl, and the Kappal mounds I am doubtful about; but Sanavasapur, Lingadihalli, and Halakandi I incline to regard as genuine zariba camps. The smaller cinder-mounds at Sangankal, Kuriguppa, and Kākaballa I regard as great feasting-places; the number of mealing-stones, corn-crushers, and pounders they shewed, together with the lot of bones chiefly of oxen, makes this idea quite probable."

According to this authority, therefore, the Bellary cinder-mounds would be divided into three classes, excluding three of them which are doubtful.

1. Large feasting-places, three.
2. Gigantic funeral pyres, three.
3. Zariba camps, three.

With regard to No. 2, Mr. Foote's opinion is in accord with mine.

As to No. 3, I regret that I do not know their size. The Kappal mound is classed by Mr. Foote as "doubtful," and it certainly seems to me impossible for a zariba camp to be so extremely small in area—only thirty yards, ninety feet, across. In a true zariba the defenders must have room to wield their weapons—to hurl their spears, to whirl their slings—and if we allow a space of only ten feet all round the inner circumference for this purpose, we are reduced to a circle of seventy feet diameter for all the cattle, women

and children, old men, and non-combatants: this would seem to be far too small for the purpose.

In conclusion, then, and to sum up, the situation, so far as I am personally concerned, is as follows. We have a large number of cinder-mounds in the Bellary district. Some of them are probably of the neolithic age. Are they all so?

A. Three appear to have been enormous funeral pyres.

I suggest that these may possibly owe their origin to incineration of living human beings, dead soldiers, and animals slaughtered in battle, possibly of so recent a date as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

B. The rest may be of neolithic age, but some may perhaps be more "modern." Of these we have Mr. Bruce Foote's classification.

(a) Large feasting-places (three). I confess to a doubt as to whether they may not be smaller examples of Class A. One of the Kapgal mounds, viz. that which is solid and lofty, I have seen, and think its shape and size incompatible with the idea of its being the remains of anything connected with mere feasting.

(b) Zariba camps (three). I have not seen any of those mentioned and can form no opinion. But unless they are much larger than the annular Kapgal mound I cannot subscribe to the theory.

(c) Doubtful (three). Amongst these Mr. Foote places the annular Kapgal mound.

The origin of this last remains at present, to my mind, an unsolved problem.

Additional Notes.

(p. 9) That the dead were sometimes collected and burned after battles, can be proved by contemporary Portuguese chronicles.

(pp. 10, 11) Purchas, about 1616, confirms these accounts of wholesale burning of numbers of women, and, like Caesar Frederic, describes them as "passing by the river's side to the burning-place," a description which tallies with the situation of the Nimbāpur mound.

(p. 11) Mr. Knox has written to say that he now accepts the author's views.

To account for the present small size of some of the pyres, in face of the suggestion that they may have originated in the burning of thousands of dead bodies after a battle, I offer the following explanation:—The agriculturists of the neighbourhood would use the remains for manuring their fields. Year by year the heaps would grow less and less, the ryots digging into them from the outside, while the wind blew the ashes and lighter materials from the surface. But year by year also the untouched centre would become more and more indurated. The nett result would be the perpetual exposure of a hardened core, left in position because it was valueless, and growing harder by exposure and pressure. The greater size of the mass at Nimbāpuram may be explained by the fact that it lies in a narrow valley between rocky hills, with a very limited amount of cultivation surrounding it.

Lastly, I would mention that the topographical position of the known cinder-mounds lends colour to the theory that they may be the remains of extensive incinerations of bodies of men slain in battle; since, while neolithic remains of the ancient races are met with all over the district, these mounds are only met with on the direct approaches to the great Hindu capital at Vijayanagar—the main lines of attack.

ART. II.—*A Persian Manuscript attributed to Fakhrū' ddīn Rāzī.* By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

THIS manuscript, which is now in my possession, has unfortunately lost a number of pages at the beginning. Neither title nor author's name occurs in the text, but inside the cover an old Oriental penman has left the following inscription: حفظ الصحة مولفها امام فخر رازی نور, "The Preservation of Health, composed by Imām Fakhrū' ddīn Rāzī—may God make bright his tomb!" The colophon is: تمت تسوية هذه الكتاب بعون ملك الوهاب على يد العبد الضعيف المشتهر بغيث العجدة الاسفهانى فى شهر سنة ثلث وثمانين وثمانمائه فى قسطنطينية. Hājī Khalīfa (under حفظ الصحة) ascribes to Hippocrates a work with this title, addressed to King Antiochus, but does not mention the translator nor the language into which it was rendered. Wenrich refers to three copies of a Latin version at Paris.¹ There is nothing to show that this MS. is a translation from the Greek. On the contrary, it has every appearance of being an original work. While positive evidence as to its authorship is wanting, the ascription to Fakhrū' ddīn Rāzī is at least probable. The style is archaic, and quite in harmony with other works of the period. Some Arabic constructions occur, e.g., مالد مالىدن نرم. The orthography is fluctuating: we find سفيد, سفيد, and اسپيد in the course of a few pages. The authorities mentioned are Hippocrates, Galen,

¹ Wenrich, "De auctorum Graecorum versionibus et commentariis," p. 108.

Dioscorides, Khwāja Abū 'Alī (Avicenna)—whose قانون is quoted, Ibn Mandavaih of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad Zakariyyā, and a certain Seyyid or Imām Ismā'il. Ibn Mandavaih is placed by Wüstenfeld in the middle of the fifth century of the Hijra.¹ Muḥammad Zakariyyā seems to be the famous Rhazes (Abū Bekr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī), who died in 311 A.H. or 320 A.H. I cannot identify Seyyid Ismā'il; he may perhaps be Al-sharīf Sharafu' dīn Ismā'il (Wüstenfeld, No. 23, p. 138). If we leave him out of account, Ibn Mandavaih, who flourished more than a hundred years before Fakhru' dīn Rūzī, is the latest authority mentioned.

This MS. contains a number of words which I have not found in the dictionaries :—

آمیختگی (9. 3). The author is partial to this form, e.g. :
کوفتگی, کشادگی, سوختگی, دمیدگی.

پرورده (143. 7), used as a noun = conserve :
پرورده او با انگبین حفظرا زیادت کند
and honey strengthens the memory."

تابگی (106. 2). نان تابگی is bread baked in a تابه. For
the form, cf. مرغ خانگی.

دهان را بدماند : دمیدن (151. 14). Causal of
'makes the mouth swell.'

راستاراست (185. 6, 9). The meaning appears to be 'in equal
proportions,' e.g. :
خمر کوک و خمر خرفه راستاراست
شربتی یکدم یا آب عدس بخته.

زردا (147. 10) = زردالو, but زردا گویند may be an error of the
scribe for زردالو گویند.

¹ "Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher," No. 133, p. 79.

¹ معجون زرعونی, (95. 6) زرعونی.

زهومت ناک (118. 1).

سردسیر = (86. 12) سردسیل.

سردی دار (95. 12), a man of cold temperament.

کردم = (139. 8) کژدم. Perhaps an error of the scribe, as کژدم is used just before.

و کتان و کرپاس نرم گازرشست (1. 10), 'bleached,' گازرشست
که بتن باز نگیرد در باید پوشیدن. Cf. Dozy,
"Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes," under مقصور.

گرمسیر = (86. 11) گرمسیل.

گرمی دار (95. 9), a man of hot temperament.

مطاجنه (124. 9), a sort of fried food.²

زبيب الجبل = (212. 14) مویزج. Cf. Vullers, under مویزج.

نصج (93. 3), digestion.

نیمانیم (101. 11), half and half, applied to a mixture of wine and water.

Contents :

P. 1. The manuscript begins abruptly : علاج غذا کمتر باید
خورد و ریاضت کمتر باید کرد الخ
(the régime to be adopted in summer).

¹ The ingredients of this confection are enumerated in the "Bahru 'l-jawābir" by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, the physician of Herāt, p. 146 of the edition published at Calcutta in 1830.

² In the "Bahru 'l-jawābir," p. 272, we find مطاجنه = مطاجنه, but the form is marked as doubtful.

- P. 2. اُمّا فصل خزان خشکی بر طبع او غالب است الخ
(three causes why autumn is intemperate).

Here one or more pages are missing.

- P. 3. عود گرم و خشکست بدرجۀ سیوم در وی قبضی است
واسهالی که از سردی بود باز دارد و همه احشارا قوت دهد الخ
(the properties of aloes-wood, ambergris, sandal-wood,
and ladanum).

- P. 4. فصل ششم در اسپرغمیا (Section 6, on flowers). The
following are mentioned and their properties described:
سوسن سپید، نعام، نسرين، ترگس، نیلوفر، بنفشه، گل
سرو، مورد، یاسمین، (ایریا) سوسن آسمان گون.

- P. 7. مقاله چهارم در مشروبات (Fourth Discourse, on
potables). These are of three kinds: water, in-
toxicating drink, other beverages; accordingly, this
مقاله falls into three parts.

- P. 8. بخش اول در شرح صفات آبها (Part I, in explanation
of the properties of waters). This Part is divided
into nine sections.

فصل اول در منفعهای آب خوردن (Section 1, on the
advantages of drinking water). The author
enumerates five advantages.

- P. 10. فصل دوم در اقسام آبها (Section 2, on the different
kinds of waters). There are two kinds: (a) water
containing no foreign substances, (b) water containing
such. Eight signs of pure and sweet water.

P. 13. فصل چهارم در اقسام آبی¹ (Section 4, on the different sorts of water). There are two sorts: (a) water which falls from the air, (b) water which proceeds from the earth. (a) is superior to (b), (1) because it is free from contamination, (2) because the falling raindrops move rapidly, and motion is a cause of heat, and heat is a cause of purity.

P. 14. مسئله: why rain in winter is better and purer than rain in summer. Four reasons.

P. 16. مسئله: why rain accompanied with thunder and lightning is purer.

مسئله: why rain-water, though it is purer than any other, quickly becomes putrid.

(b) Water which proceeds from the earth: (1) running water, (2) standing water. Running water proceeds (a) from fountains, (b) from melted snow or ice. Six reasons why (a) is superior to (b). There are three kinds of standing water: (a) well-water, (b) water bubbling up from the ground (ز آّب), (c) water in woods or reedy places.

P. 24. فصل پنجم در بسیاری آب خوردن (Section 5, on drinking water in large quantities). Three great evils arise from water-drinking.

P. 27. فصل ششم در مضرت آب سرد (Section 6, on the evil effects of cold water). It is not allowed in six cases: (a) when fasting, (b) immediately after eating, for four reasons, (c) after sexual intercourse or violent exercise, (d) when one is thirsty at night, unless the thirst is caused by drinking wine to excess or eating bitter and peppery food, (e) after hot food, (f) when one is wet or hot.

¹ Section 3 is omitted in the MS.

P. 33. فصلِ هفتم در آبهای سرد کرده به یخ و برف (Section 7, on waters cooled by ice and snow).

فصلِ هشتم در آبهای متغیر (Section 8, on waters which have suffered change). These are three kinds: (a) water heated by fire. (b) water heated by the sun in pools. It is extremely deleterious, for three reasons. (c) mineral waters. The author enumerates various maladies which these produce, along with remedies for them.

P. 39. فصلِ نهم اندر طعامهای آب شور (Section 9, on food made with brackish water).

P. 40. بخشِ دوام در شراب (Part II, on wine).

فصلِ اول در منافع شراب (Section 1, on the advantages of wine). Though wine is forbidden by law, the physician must be acquainted with its good and bad properties. Two benefits are derived from drinking it, (a) it purifies the spirit, (b) it strengthens the body.

P. 47. فصلِ دوام در بیان آنکه چرا شراب انگوری از همه شرابها بهترست (Section 2, explaining why the wine of the grape is superior to all other beverages). Four reasons are given.

P. 49. فصلِ سوم در بیان مضرت شراب (Section 3, explaining the evil effects of wine).

P. 54. فصلِ چهارم در بیان آنکه شراب موافق طبع کیست (Section 4, explaining what persons have constitutions suited to wine).

P. 55. فصل پنجم در بیان آنکه شراب در کدام فصل موافق تر باشد (Section 5, explaining in what season wine is most suitable).

P. 56. فصل ششم در شرح حال آنکس که شراب خوردن عادت نکرده بود (Section 6, concerning those who have not been accustomed to drink wine).

P. 58. فصل هفتم در شرح حالی که مردم مست را بدید آید (Section 7, on the symptoms which show themselves in a drunken man). The author propounds twenty questions (مسائل), to which he gives answers:—

- (1) Why drinking wine produces drunkenness.
- (2) Why, when a man is engaged in drinking, his high spirits increase, whereas he ends by making a row (عریده کند).
- (3) Why a drunken man imagines that everything is turning round.
- (4) Why a man squints in the last stage of drunkenness.
- (5) Why, although the nature of wine is hot, drunken men are more sensitive to cold.
- (6) Why habitual wine-drinkers have fewer children.
- (7) Why those who drink their wine neat suffer less from dimness of sight and vertigo, while those who mix it with water are liable to these maladies.
- (8) Why, seeing that cold is the cause of tremors, and wine is hot and moist, those who drink much wine suffer from tremors.
- (9) Why, since the nature both of children and of young men is hot and corresponding to the nature of wine, children should not drink it, while young men should.

- (10) Why some men cannot have sexual intercourse when they are drunk.
- (11) Why some men, if they drink with small cups, get drunk quickly, whereas if they drink with large cups, they do not get drunk at all, while others again experience the contrary.
- (12) Why negroes (زنگیان) desire more than other men to drink wine.
- (13) Why persons accustomed to sour wine, if they happen to drink sweet-flavoured wine at a party (در میانه دور), are slow in getting drunk.
- (14) Why those who live on oily food are slow in getting drunk.
- (15) Why those who take little exercise are slow in getting drunk, while those who take much exercise get drunk quickly.
- (16) Why some men, when they drink wine, are more than usually grave and dignified, while others are more than usually light-headed and ill-mannered.
- (17) Why crapula (خمار) is worse than drunkenness.
- (18) Why sometimes when men drink wine it produces nausea, while at other times men suffering from nausea are cured by drinking wine.
- (19) Why, when a man drinks much wine, it produces constipation (امساك), but if he drinks moderately, it has a laxative effect.
- (20) Why some drunken men sleep a great deal, while others sleep little, and, if they once wake, keep awake all night.

- P. 74. فصلِ هشتم در طبیعتِ شراب (Section 8, on the nature of wine).
- P. 76. فصلِ نهم در مراتبِ مستی (Section 9, on the stages of drunkenness): (1) It relieves a man from care, and makes him bolder, and brings a fresh colour to his face. All the benefits of wine, which have been enumerated, belong to this stage. (2) It disorders the bodily and mental faculties, so that a man begins to dance and sing, and to sport with his inferiors, and to annoy those present. (3) It deprives a man of reason, and reduces him to the lowest degradation. The consequences are epilepsy, apoplexy, hemiplegia, facial paralysis, and sudden death. Hippocrates allows this kind of drunkenness once a month.
- P. 77. فصلِ دهم در اسبابِ زودِ مست شدن (Section 10, on the causes of getting drunk quickly). Four causes are mentioned.
- P. 79. فصلِ یازدهم در بیانِ آنکه شراب کی شاید خوردن (Section 11, explaining when wine should be drunk). It should not be drunk on an empty stomach, but is beneficial to those who have a 'cold' stomach. Five signs of a 'cold' stomach.
- فصلِ دوازدهم در بیانِ آنکه چباید خوردن تا شراب
 (Section 12, explaining what a man should eat that he may drink heartily and be slow in getting drunk).
- P. 82. فصلِ سیزدهم در بعضی احوال که شراب خواردها بکار آید (Section 13, on some results of drinking wine). When a man becomes a slave to the pleasures of wine, he neglects all worldly and religious affairs. The author

gives three prescriptions calculated to render wine distasteful. Several things which take the smell of wine out of the mouth are mentioned.

- P. 83. فصل چهاردهم در اقسام شرابها (Section 14, on the different kinds of wine). Wine has seven distinguishing characteristics: (1) colour, (2) taste, (3) smell, (4) consistency, (5) place where it was grown, (6) rawness or ripeness, (7) newness or oldness. Further subdivisions are enumerated under each of these heads. Finally, the author mentions (8) raisin-wine (شراب مویزی), and wines made from rice and millet.
- P. 91. بخش سیوم در انواع اشربه که در حالت صحت و حالت مرض آنها بکار برند (Part III, on the various sorts of beverages employed in health and disease). Sweet sherbet (جلاّب شکر), oxymel (سکنجبین), and fuqqā' are mentioned, and the merits of each discussed.
- P. 95. فصل پانزدهم در علاج احوالی که در شراب خوردن بدید آید (Section 15, on remedies for symptoms which show themselves in the drinking of wine).
- P. 99. فصل شانزدهم در علاج خمار (Section 16, on the cure of crapula).
- P. 103. مقاله پنجم در تدبیر ماکولات (Fifth Discourse, on the regulation of victuals).
- بخش اول در طبایع مفردات (Part I, on the natures of simples). Of all grain, wheat is the most suitable for man. There are two kinds of bread, (a) bread made from fine flour (نان میدد), (b) bread made from dry

flour (نان خشک‌آرد). Bread may be divided into four classes according to the way in which it is compounded: (a) unleavened bread (نان فطیر), (b) bread baked in earth, (c) bread baked in an iron pan (نان تابگی), (d) bread baked in ashes (نان کماج). Finally, the author adds (e) barley bread (نان جو). The following simples are also mentioned: beans (باقلی), pulse (نخود), millet (کابوس), kidney-beans (لوبیا), French beans (ماش), sesame (کنجد), rice (برنج).

P. 108. فصل دوم در گوشتها (Section 2, on flesh-meats).

The following are mentioned: mutton, goat's flesh, beef, veal, camel's flesh, horse-flesh, venison (گوشت آهو), kid's flesh, fish, hare's flesh, flesh of the wild ass (گورخر), flesh of the mountain-ox (گاوکوهی), flesh of the mountain-goat and mountain-sheep, flesh of the domestic fowl (گوشت مرغ خانگی), flesh of the duck and goose (رحمة الله عليه), flesh of the crane (کلنگ),¹ flesh of the young pigeon, flesh of the pigeon, dove, and wild pigeon, flesh of the sparrow (بجشک دشتی), flesh of the quail (تیمپو), snipe (و کوهی و خانگی), partridge (کبک), and pheasant (تذرو), flesh of the kaṭā, salt meat (گوشت نمک سود).

P. 116. فصل سوم در شرح اعضای حیوانات (Section 3, on the parts of different animals). The following are

¹ بخروس بزرگ may also mean کلنگ.

mentioned : سر بره , سر بزغاله , سر آهو , سر بریان گوشتند : دل , گرده , سرز , جگر , روده , اشکنیه , پاچه , چشم , مغز , خایه مرغ سیاه خانه و خایه تذرو , پیسه و مغز , شش و دزاج .

P. 120. فصل چهارم در طبیعت آبها (Section 4, on the nature of spoon-meats). This includes : سكباج , and تربا , جغرات ابا and دوغ ابا , شوربا or اسپیدباج , زرشک ابا and سماق ابا and نار ابا , غوربا , زیره ابا ¹ , تربیزه ابا , قلیه خشک , قلیه سرکه and قلیه آبگامه , آلوبا and تلک ابا , گزر , لنتی , قلیه کونب , کشمش and زبیبی , مطاچنه and کباب , بریان , هریسه , عدس .

P. 127. فصل پنجم در شرح ابزارها که بسرکه و جزآن سازند (Section 5, treating of the condiments made with vinegar, etc.). The following are enumerated : شلغم بسرکه , خیار بسرکه , سیر بسرکه , پیاز بسرکه , کبر بسرکه , نواله , آبگامه , بادمجان بسرکه .

P. 129. فصل ششم در شیر و آنچه ازو سازند (Section 6, on milk, and things made from it). This section treats of روغن گاو , فله , پنیر , ترف , جغرات , دوغ , شیر گوشتند و مسکه .

P. 134. فصل هفتم در ترها (Section 7, on moist substances). The author mentions کوک , کشنیز , گندنا , کرفس , کاسنی , بادروج , شیت , خرفه , سداب , کیکیز , طرخون , نعنع .

¹ Perhaps we should read تربیزه ابا .

- P. 138. فصل هشتم در بقول (Section 8, on herbs). ترب, ریحان, and سیر, پیاز, کرنب, شلغم are mentioned.
- P. 141. فصل نهم در افزارهای دیشک (Section 9, on pot-herbs). This includes قرفل, پلپل, دارچینی, صعتر, کرویاء, زیره, نمک, تخم سپندان, سرکه, زعفران, زنجبیل, شونیز, نانخواه.
- P. 145. فصل دهم در میوهایی تر (Section 10, on moist fruits). The following are mentioned : زردآلو, انجیر, غوره, انگور, سیب,¹ آلو (pine-apple), شفترب, شفترب, شفترب, خربزه, توت شیرین, نار, ترش, انار, شیرین, آبی, انبرود, سماق, ترنج, عناب, تر, بادامجان, کدو, خربزه هندی, خربزه.
- P. 154. فصل یازدهم در میوهایی خشک (Section 11, on dry fruits). The following are mentioned : کشمش, خرما, فندق, پسته, بادام تلخ, بادام شیرین, جوز, انجیر, عناب خشک.
- P. 157. فصل دوازدهم در شیرینها (Section 12, on sweet things). This deals with لوزینه, حلوا, پالوده, پانید, عسل, شکر, قشایف.
- P. 158. فصل سیزدهم در روغنها (Section 13, on oils). Those mentioned are روغن بادام, روغن زیت, روغن جوز, روغن کاجد, روغن فستق. The Section concludes with a recipe for cleansing oil (تدبیر شستن روغن).

¹ The text has *سیب*.

P. 160. بخش دوم در چگونگی غذا خوردن (Part II, on the manner of eating food).

فصل اول در حقیقت غذا (Section I, on the true nature of food). Four kinds; (a) Things which act upon the body but are not acted upon by it. These are deadly poison. (b) Things which act upon the body but are themselves gradually acted upon by it and decomposed. (c) A repetition of (b). This sort of food is called by physicians غذای دوائی. (d) Things which produce no peculiar effect on the body, but are decomposed by it. These are called غذای مطلق.

P. 162. فصل دوم در بیان آنکه غذا چگونه باید خوردن (Section 2, explaining how food should be eaten). Food should be taken thrice in two days: at morning and evening on the first day, and on the second day at the time of noonday prayers (نماز پیشین). Finally the author describes the effects of dry food, oily food, bitter food, and flesh.

P. 169. مقاله ششم (Sixth Discourse).

بخش اول در استفرغ مباشرت کردن (Part I, on sexual intercourse). This part falls into twenty sections, which need not be given in detail.

P. 221. بخش دوم در استفرغها و در گرمایه کردن (Part II, on going to the bath).

P. 226. مقاله هفتم در حرکت و سکون (Seventh Discourse, on motion and rest).

فصل اول در حاجتمندی تن درستان بحرکت و ریاضت (Section 1, on the need of motion and exercise for healthy persons). Two kinds of exercise: (a) of the whole body, e.g. walking, (b) of a single limb.

P. 227. فصلِ دوام در وقتِ ریاضت (Section 2, on the time for exercise).

P. 229. فصلِ سیوم دو اندازهٔ ریاضت معتدل (Section 3, on the limits of moderate exercise).

P. 233. فصلِ چهارم در ریاضت جزوی (Section 4, on partial exercise). Various exercises suitable to the foot, the hand, the tongue and throat, the chest, and the eye are specified.

P. 235. مقالهٔ هشتم در تدبیر خواب و بیداری (Eighth Discourse, on the regulation of sleep and waking). After discussing the nature of sleep the author enumerates—(1) the benefits of sleep: (*a*) it gives rest to the faculties, (*b*) it aids digestion, (*c*) the vital warmth is collected and strengthens the body, (*d*) the body is supplied with moisture. The injurious effects of sleep in certain cases are next described, and the author goes on to explain (2) the proper way to sleep. The sleeper should lie for an hour on his right side and then turn to his left side. Sleeping face downwards is an aid to digestion, while sleeping on the back rests the body better than any other posture.

In conclusion, I transcribe two passages which will afford a fair specimen of the author's style:—

P. 92. فَنَقَّاعِ بَیْشَتَرِی از اَحْطَا در نَکُوهِش فَنَقَّاعِ مَبَالِغَتِهَا کَرْدَنَد
مَکْرَ اِیْن مَندوِیةٔ اَصْفَهانی کِه او چَندان مَبالِغَت نَکُودِه اِست فِی
الْجَمْلَه بِسَبَبِ مَاهِیَّتِ وَی بَیْگانه اِست و¹ نَضِجِی مَحْکَم نِیافتِه

¹ See Dozy, "Supplément," sub voc.

است که مولود خلطهایی خام بلغمی باشد سید اسماعیل رحمة الله علیه میگوید که اگر کسی از فقاع نشکیمد سه من مویز در آب کنند و یک من شکر بگدازند و بجوشند پس بپایند و آب ناردانک یا آب سیب ترش یا آب آبی ترش با وی بپامیزند بدان اندازه که آرزو باشد اگر خواهند که میل بشیرینی دارد ترشی کمتر کنند و اگر خواهند که میل بترشی دارد کمتر کنند شیرینی را و آنچه میل بترشی دارد سداب و بونه و طرخون و اندکی سنبل و اندکی نمک خوش کند و آنچه میل بشیرینی دارد بدارچینی و عود و قرنفل و زنجبیل و اندکی شکر خوش کنند از هر یکی چندانکه بر فقاع غلبه نکند و بوی و مزه دهد که خوش آید و از جهت مرطوب شیرین صواب تر و بجای شکر انگبین بهتر و خداوند معده ضعیف را متبل و خیر بوا زیادت کند و اگر مردی مسرور خواهد که بدین فقاع طبع نرم کند بجای شکر ترنجبین کند و بجای ناردانک آب زردالو علاج خواجه ابو علی میگوید که پرهیز باید کردن از آنکه فقاع بعد از شراب خورند یا شراب بعد از فقاع زیرا که چون شراب با فقاع آمیخته شود فقاع باندرون اعضا برساند و سخت و ضررتها حاصل شود و چون فقاع خورده شود و اثر ضرر او ظاهر شود بر سر آن جز مغز جوز و مغز بادام نباید خوردن تا چربی این مغزها با فقاع آمیخته شود و غلیظ گردد و در رگها راه گذر نیابد و انگشتی چند انگبین بلیسد و روغن گاو و معجون زرغونی تریانی فقاع است

TRANSLATION.

Fuqqā': Most physicians have spoken of *fuqqā'* in terms of strong depreciation, except Ibn Mandavaih of Iṣṣabān, who uses milder language. In fact, being what it is, it is impure and does not admit of safe digestion, as it produces raw phlegmatic humours. Seyyid Ismā'īl (God have mercy on him!) says that if a person cannot abstain from *fuqqā'*, three *mans* of raisins should be put in water along with a *man* of sugar. When the sugar melts, the mixture should be boiled and strained, and pomegranate juice, or sour apple juice, or sour quince juice added in the desired quantity. If a mixture inclining to sweetness is preferred, the sour ingredients must be diminished, and *vice versa*. In the latter case rue, mint, tarragon, a little spikenard, and a little salt are excellent; in the former, cinnamon, aloes, cloves, ginger, and a little sugar, as much of each as, without drowning the *fuqqā'*, will give it fragrance and flavour and make it palatable. The sweet mixture is more proper for those who have a moist constitution, but honey, instead of sugar, is better. A person whose stomach is weak must add a larger quantity of spikenard and cardamom. If his constitution is hot and he wishes to relax it by means of this *fuqqā'*, he must put in hydromel instead of sugar, and apricot juice instead of pomegranate. *Remedy*: Khwāja Abū 'Alī says that care must be taken not to drink *fuqqā'* after wine or wine after *fuqqā'*, because, when wine is mixed with *fuqqā'*, it conveys the *fuqqā'* to the interior of the system, and grave mischiefs ensue. If *fuqqā'* is drunk and injurious effects show themselves, nothing should be taken on the top of it except peeled walnuts and bleached almonds, that the oil of these, mingling with the *fuqqā'*, may thicken it and hinder it from penetrating the veins. The patient should dip his fingers in honey and lick them several times. Ghee and an electuary of *zar'ūnī* are antidotes to *fuqqā'*.

P. 229. فصل سوم در اندازه ریاضت معتدل هرگاه که رنگ روی سر می فروزد و نشاط حرکت می باشد و رنگها سر می شود و دم زدن بر حال خوابش باشد هنوز وقت ریاضت است و اصل بزرگ در ریاضت آنست که هنوز مزاج ریاضت می نگیرد اگر مزاج گرم و خشک بود از حد ریاضت باز ایستد و اگر مرطوبست و سردی غلبه دارد بدین حد باید رسانیدن و نیز افزون تر و حرکت ریاضت اول آهسته باید کرد آنگاه بتدریج حرکت سخت تر می کند تا بغایتی رسد که قوت ریاضت کننده بیش از آن نتواند کشید بآسانی پس همچنان بتدریج نرم می کند تا بتدریج از ریاضت باز ایستد و پیش از ریاضت نخست دست و پایی و پشت ریاضت کننده باید مالیدن مالیدن معتدل بدستهای مختلف یا بمخروطه درشت پس بروغنی عذب چون روغن بادام یا روغن کنجد تازه و عضلهای او را جرب کنند و باهستگی می مالند پس بحرکت ریاضت مشغول شود و این مالیدن^۱ حرارت عزیز را لمحتی بجنباند و مسام کشاده کند و فضلهای را بیرون کند تا بر ریاضت تحلیل پذیرد و این تنی را باید که عضلهای او سخت باشد و مسام او بسته و غذاهای غلیظ خورده باشد اما تنی که عضلهای او نرم باشد و غذاهای غلیظ خورده باشد او را بچندین مالیدن و بروغن جرب کردن حاجت نیست و چون از ریاضت باز ایستد در گرمابه شود و در خانه میانه بنشیند و یا آب نیم گرم چنانکه

^۱ The text has حرکت.

پوست را خوش آید برخود می ریزد و لختی دیگر بمالد مالیدن
نرم و در میانه مالیدن دست و پای و عضلهها نیک بگشود تا باقی
فضول را که بحرکت گذاخته باشد تا بمسام بیرون آید و تحلیل
خرج شود و اگر این مالیدن هم برون باشد صواب باشد و مالیدن
دوام هم تنی را باید که عضلهای او سخت باشد و غذاهای قوی
بخورده باشد و تنی که عضله او نرم باشد و غذاهای قوی نخورده
بود او را بدین مالیدن حاجت نباشد و نه بدین ریاضت و اگر
باشد چندین استقضائی حاجت نمود

TRANSLATION.

Section 3, on the range of moderate exercise.—The time for exercise is not yet over as long as the complexion is bright and motion agreeable, the veins full, and the breathing regular. Until the constitution becomes habituated to exercise, it is a principle of great importance that, if the temperament be hot and dry, the exercise should not be too severe; if it be moist, and cold predominate, exercise may be carried to this point and even further. At first the motions should be gentle, and should gradually increase in violence till they attain a maximum which the person taking exercise cannot easily endure to pass. Similarly he should by slow degrees relax his efforts until he leaves off. Before taking exercise the arms and legs and back of the athlete should be rubbed in moderation by different hands or with a rough towel, and then with sweet oil, e.g. almond oil or fresh oil of sesame, and when his muscles are suppled and he has been gently rubbed, he should indulge in exercise. This rubbing, which helps to stir up the vital heat and

opens the pores and brings superfluities to the surface so that they admit of being expelled by exercise, is proper for a person whose muscles are hard, whose pores are close, and who has lived on coarse diet. A person whose muscles are soft and whose diet has not been coarse need not be rubbed and supplied with oil to the same extent, but when he has finished his exercise he should go to the bath, or sit in the court of the house and pour tepid water over his body to give ease to the skin. He should also be rubbed gently a second time, and while this is proceeding he should stretch his arms and legs and muscles, in order that the remaining superfluities, which the motion has dissolved, may escape at the pores and be completely expelled. It is proper to use oil in this rubbing. For one whose muscles are hard and whose diet consists of solid food a second rubbing is necessary, but a person with soft muscles who does not live on solid food, as he should not take the same exercise, may dispense with the rubbing also, and if he does require it, may be less exigent.

ART. III.—*The Sources of Dawlatshāh ; with some Remarks on the Materials available for a Literary History of Persia, and an Excursus on Bārbad and Rūdagi.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

AT the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in September, 1897, I had the honour of submitting to my fellow-students there assembled a scheme for the publication of a series of Persian historical and biographical texts, to be inaugurated by a critical edition of Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā*, or "Lives of the Persian Poets." The carrying out of this scheme was made conditional on the promise of so much support as should ensure the sale (at a price less by one-third than that at which the volume would subsequently be sold to non-subscribers) of at least 200 copies. It is a matter of some disappointment to me that during the year which has elapsed since this announcement was made the number of subscribers has hardly reached the quarter of this modest minimum; in spite of which discouraging fact I have resolved to proceed with an undertaking of the necessity of which I am more than ever convinced. The arrangements for publication are completed: the texts will be printed by Messrs. Brill at Leyden with the Beyrout types (adapted to the Persian usage by the addition of the four supplementary letters required by that language); and Messrs. Brill and Luzac will act as joint publishers. It is hoped that the first volume of the series may be ready in time to be laid before the Congress of Orientalists which will meet at Rome next October.

§ I. THE SOURCES OF DAWLATSHĀH.

Dawlatshāh has not thought fit to save his readers the trouble of finding out for themselves from what sources he drew his information by including in his preface, as does the excellent author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, a list of the books which he used in compiling his work. Such a list, however, I have constructed for my own use. In all he makes mention of 140 books (apart from *dirāns*, *kulliyāt*, and the like), but many of these are, of course, poetical works composed by the subjects of his memoirs, and not more than forty can be regarded as 'sources.' Of these, again, many are only referred to incidentally, while in some cases it is doubtful whether Dawlatshāh had any direct knowledge of their contents. In the following list, an asterisk is prefixed to those books of which I shall have something more to say.

- (1) The *Āthār-u'l-bāqīya* of *al-Birūnī* († A.D. 1048), which Sachau has edited (Leipzig, 1878) and translated into German (Leipzig, 1878) and English (London, 1879). Once cited.
- (2) The *Ihyā' u'l-'ulūm* of *al-Ghazzālī* († A.D. 1111), printed at Cairo (A.H. 1278, 1282, 1306), Lucknow (A.H. 1281), etc. Once cited.
- (3) The *Akhbār-u'l-Tūcal* of *Dīnawarī* († *circa* A.D. 895), edited by Guirgass (Leyden, 1888). Once cited.
- (4) The Geography of *al-Istakhri* († *circa* A.D. 940), edited by De Goeje. Once cited.
- (5) The *Tājū'sh-Shuyūkh*, a Persian work of which Hājī Khalfa knows nothing but the title. Once cited.
- (6) The *Tārīkh-i-Istidhkhārī*, by which Dawlatshāh apparently means the *Istidhkhār-u'l-akhbār* of *Qāḍī Ahmad Dāmghānī* (one of the sources of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*), another of the books mentioned by Hājī Khalfa of which he seems not to have had personal knowledge. Twice cited.

- (7) A history of the Saljūqs variously cited by Dawlatshāh as *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Saljūq*, *Tārīkh-i-Saljūq*, and *Tārīkh-i-Salājiqa*, with a vagueness which renders identification impossible.
- (8) The *Tārīkh-i-Bandakī* (composed A.D. 1317), an abridgement of Rashīd-u'd-Dīn's great history, common enough in manuscript, but never published in its entirety. Cited five times.
- (9) The *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī* (composed circ. A.D. 1060), edited by Morley and Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1862) and utilized by Kazimirski in the introduction to his edition of Minūchihrī's *Dīvān* (Paris, 1886). Once cited.
- (10) The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, more correctly entitled the *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārīkh*, completed by the talented and unfortunate minister *Rashīd-u'd-Dīn Faḡlu'llāh* (the patron and master of Ḥamdu'llāh Qazvinī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida*) in A.D. 1310, eight years before his execution. An edition of this most important work is, I believe, being prepared by M. Zotenberg. Twice cited.
- (11) The *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī*. The author of the Arabic original (at length rendered accessible to Orientalists in the Leyden edition by the heroic labours of De Goeje and his collaborators) died A.D. 923; and the Persian translation, which was probably used by Dawlatshāh, was made forty years later by Bal'ami. Once cited.
- (12) The *Tārīkh-i-'Abdu'r-Razzāq*, properly entitled *Maṭla'-i-sa'dāya wa Majma'i-bahrayn* of *Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq* († A.D. 1482). Once cited.
- *(13) The *Tārīkh-i-Guzida*, or "Select History," of the worthy *Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfi* of Qazwin, to whom we are also indebted for the geographical work entitled *Nuzhatu'l-Qalūb* (of which a portion has been published by the lamented M. Schefer in the supplement to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141-233), and the very rare metrical chronicle entitled

Dhahar-nāma (Rieu's *Suppl. to Pers. Cat.*, pp. 172-174). The *Guzida* was composed in A.D. 1330; and a perusal of it, which I have just completed, has convinced me that it is one of the best manuals of history in Persian, and has decided me to make it the second or third volume of my series of texts. It is cited by Dawlatshāh five times.

- (14) The *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā of Faridu'd-Din 'Attār* (killed A.D. 1230). Several particularly good and ancient MSS. of this important *Biography of Saints* exist in London, Berlin, etc., but, so far as I know, no edition. Twice cited.
- *(15) The *Tarjūmānu'l-Balāghat* by the poet *Farrukhī* († A.D. 1077-8), mentioned by *Hājī Khalfā* (No. 2,894), but of which, to the best of my knowledge, no copy is known to exist. Twice cited.
- (16) A work once cited as *Tawārikh-i-Malikshāhī* with a vagueness which precludes identification.
- (17) The *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār* of *Sheykh Ādhari*, composed in A.D. 1436-7, described at p. 43 of Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*. Cited eight times.
- (18) The *Jahān-Kushāy* of *Juvaynī*, completed in A.D. 1260. Cited five times.
- *(19) The *Chahār Maqāla* ("Four Discourses") of the poet *Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī* of Samarkand, completed about A.D. 1160. Two MSS. of this valuable work (of which the portion referring to Firdawsī, whose tomb the author visited in A.D. 1116-7, has been published and translated by *Éthé* in vol. xlviii of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 89-94) are in the British Museum, and it is from them, not from the lithographed edition published at *Tihrān* in A.H. 1305 (see Rieu's *Pers. Suppl.*, pp. 244-5), that I have drawn the facts to which I shall presently refer. Cited thrice.
- (20) The *Ḥaddā'iqu's-sihr* ("Gardens of Magic"), a well-known work on Rhetoric and the Poetic Art by the poet *Rushidu'd-Dīn Waḥḥāt* († A.D. 1182-3) lithographed in *Tihrān*, A.H. 1302. It was written

(Rieu, *Pers. Suppl.*, p. 122) in order to supersede the *Tarjūmānu'l-Balūghat* mentioned above. Cited six times.

- (21) The well-known history of *Hamza of Isfahān* (circ. A.D. 960) partly edited by Gottwaldt (1836, 1844) and Rasmussen (1817). Once cited.
- (22) The *Dhakhira-i-Khudarazmshāhī*, a medical Encyclopaedia compiled in A.D. 1136-7 by *Zaynu'd-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Isma'īl al-Jurjānī*.
- (23) The well-known *Rauqatu's-Safā* of *Mirkhānd* († A.D. 1497), a contemporary of our author. Once cited, but only in the lithographed Bombay edition.
- (24) The *Siyāsat-nāma* (also called by Dawlatshāh, as well as by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzāda*, *Sigaru'l-Mulūk*) of that great statesman the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk* (assassinated in A.D. 1092); edited (Paris, 1891) and translated (1893) by the lamented M. Schefer. Another MS., of which the existence was apparently unknown to the learned editor, but which has in many obscure passages supplied me with valuable corrections and emendations, exists in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, No. 219 of the Pote collection. Once cited.
- (25) A history of the Prophet, of the identity of which I am uncertain, once referred to by Dawlatshāh as *Sharafu'n-Nabī*.
- (26) The *Suwaru'l-Aqālīm*. Several geographical works so entitled are known, but none, I think, by *Abū Sulaymān Zakariyyā* of Kūfa, to whom Dawlatshāh ascribes its authorship. Cited five times.
- (27) The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of *Jurjānī*, completed in A.D. 1260, published in part in the *Bibl. Ind.* series (Calcutta, 1864). Twice cited. Dawlatshāh also alludes twice to a *Maqāmāt-i-Nāṣirī*, by which title he probably intends the same work.
- (28) The *Dhafar-nāma* of *Sharafu'd-Dīn Yazdī*, composed in A.D. 1425, published in the *Bibl. Ind.* series (1887-8). Thrice cited.

- (29) The *Qābūs-nāma* of Kay-Kā'ūs b. Sikandar b. Qābūs b. Washingir, composed in A.D. 1082-3. See *Leyden Cat.*, vol. iv, p. 207, and Pertsch's *Berlin Cat.*, pp. 302-3. The Persian text (of which I possess a MS. lacking obs. xlii-xliv and part of xli) is much rarer than the Turkish version. Once cited.
- (30) The *Kitābu 'ādābī'l-'Arab wa'l-Furs* of Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. *Miskawayh* († A.D. 1030). See *Leyden Cat.*, vol. iv, pp. 191-2. Once cited.
- (31) The *Kitābu'l-Mamālik wa'l-Masālik*. It is not certain whether the work of *Ibn Khurdādhbih* (edited, with French translation, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1865 by Barbier de Meynard, and again in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* by De Goeje), composed about A.D. 870, or one of the other similar works bearing the same title is intended. See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, vol. i, p. 423, from which it appears to me very probable that under this title Dawlatshāh really refers to Ḥāfidh Abū's geography, compiled for Shāh-rukh about A.D. 1417.
- *(32) The *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī. This work, which appears to be lost, is mentioned by Hāji Khalfa (No. 13,026), who states that it was written in Persian. The author is mentioned in 'Imādu'd-Dīn's recension of al-Bandārī's *History of the Saljuqs* in several places (ed. Houtsma, Leyden, 1889, pp. 89, 107-8, 110, and 113), and Arabic renderings of some of his Persian verses are given. One of his Persian verses is also cited in Asudī's *Lughat-i-Furs* (ed. Horn, Berlin, 1897, p. 11, s.v. سحر, and p. 23), where his *nisba* is given as al-*Hānūtī* instead of al-*Khātūnī*. He flourished, apparently, about the end of the eleventh century. His *Biographies of the Poets*, therefore, is at least half a century older than the *Chahār Maqāla* (No. 19 supra), and a century older than al-'Awfī's *Lubābu'l-Albab*, the oldest extant Persian work of this character, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently. Its recovery, therefore, would be of the greatest

possible importance for the early history of Persian literature. Twice cited.

- (33) The *Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb* of *Hamdu'llāh Mustawfi* of Qazvin. See No. 13 supra. Once cited.
- (34) The *Naṣṣhat-nāma* of the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk* († A.D. 1092). It is evident from the single citation that the spurious work, variously known as the *Waṣāyā* and the *Naṣṣat-iḥ*, purporting to have been written by the great minister for his son Fakhru'l-Mulk, but in reality composed (see Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, vol. ii, p. 446) in the fifteenth century of our era, is meant. It is responsible for the now famous legend about 'Umar-i-Khayyām, *Hasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ*, and the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk*.
- (35) The *Nidhāmu'l-Tawārīkh* of *al-Baydā'ī* (better known as the author of the celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān) who died about A.D. 1310. MSS. of this meagre and jejune record exist in the British Museum and elsewhere. Thrice cited.
- (36) The *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (Lives of Sūfī saints) of *Jāmi* († A.D. 1492), who was contemporary with our author, edited by Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1859).
- (37) The *Nigāristān* of *Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Juraynī*, a work modelled on the *Gulistān* of *Sa'dī*, and composed in A.D. 1334-5.

The above list contains, I think, the titles of all the historical, geographical, and biographical works explicitly mentioned by Dawlatshāh. Of the oldest extant Biography of Persian Poets, the *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of *al-'Aufī* (composed about A.D. 1220) he seems to have had no knowledge, or at least he makes no mention of it; but, having regard to his references to Abū Ṭāhīr al-Khātūnī's *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* (which, as we learn from Hājī Khalfā, was written in Persian), we cannot acquit him of insincerity in the claim to have opened out a new field of literary activity which he puts forward in his preface in the following words:—

"Finally I retired, in grief, regret, sorrow, and distraction, into the cell of failure, and took up my abode in the corner

of seclusion; but weariness at the futility of my life overcame my spirit, when [verse] '*The unseen voice of Reason thus did cry*'—

[Couplet] '*Sit not idle; o'er the paper urge the pen :
If thou can'st not, trim the reed for better men !*'

"When the treasury of ideals was thus disclosed, I perceived that the Pen was the Dragon which guarded that Treasure; and, conspiring with the double-tongued Reed, I cried, 'O Key to the Coffers of Knowledge, I take counsel with thee as to what writing shall result from the labour of my fingers and thy teeth!' The Pen, in its rasping accents, answered as follows—

[Couplet] '*What was worthy of the saying, said and said
again hath been ;
On the fields and plains of knowledge naught
remains for you to glean.*'

'Devout and dispassionate divines have compiled exhaustive biographies and manuals, and have opened the doors of hagiology to all mankind. His Holiness Shaykh 'Attār (may his resting-place be rendered fragrant by the brightest of sweet flowers!) has produced his masterly *Memoirs of the Saints*. Learned historians have written volumes on the history and deeds of mighty monarchs. So likewise in the sciences of topography and the principles of political economy accomplished scholars have strenuously exerted themselves to do what was needful, and have left of themselves worthy memorials.

[Couplet] '*All that now remains untreated, all that's still
to do on earth,
Is to write the poets' lives and strive to fix the
poets' worth.*'

'For men of learning, notwithstanding their skill and attainments, have not condescended to take this trouble; while other persons have not been favoured by opportunity, or, perhaps, have lacked the necessary attainments. In

short, not a creature amongst the men of letters has recorded the history, biography, and circumstances of this class. If, therefore, you can produce a worthy volume on this subject, it will assuredly be a work of utility.'

"So when I, the broken in spirit, heard from the custodian of the treasure-house of ideas these suggestions, I perceived that this quarry had indeed hitherto escaped the nets of the huntsmen of this craft, and that this door had remained shut in the faces of all seekers. Therefore I made a compilation of the notes which I had taken at odd times during my life, and of the sheaves which I had gleaned from the harvests of men of honourable repute, from accredited histories, the *dirās* of past masters, the poems of the ancients and moderns, miscellanies, books of anecdotes, and the like, of whatever bore reference to the history, gests, and circumstances of the great poets, who are well known by their works or their reputation and remembered throughout the climes of the world; introducing also into this my Memoir, as occasion offered, somewhat of the histories of the great kings, from the beginning of the Muḥammadan era until our own time, in whose reigns illustrious poets have flourished; and further incorporating in my book so much as I was able, according to the measure of my power and capacity, of the compositions of the most eminent writers, and of entertaining anecdotes concerning the great poets, besides sundry data for a critical knowledge of topography."

§ II. THE MATERIALS FOR A LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA.

This monstrous pretension on the part of Dawlatshāh (who avowedly made use of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khāṭūnī's lost *Biography of Poets*, as well as of the immensely interesting second section of Nidhāmī al-'Arūdī as-Samarqandī's *Four Discourses*, entitled "On the nature of Verse and the Poetic Art," and the generally brief, but original and suggestive, notices of Persian poets—about ninety in number—contained

in ch. v, § 6, of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*) naturally caused me to consider what really were the most ancient and trustworthy sources whence a fuller knowledge of the early literary history of Persia might be derived, and whether the valuable researches of Dr. Ethé and the brilliant generalizations of the late Professor Darmesteter really represented the final limits attainable in this direction. Now Dr. Ethé's results were largely drawn from the Berlin Codex of al-'Awfī's *Lubāb-u'l-Albāb* (described at pp. 596-7 of Pertsch's *Berlin Cat. of Pers. MSS.*), which for a long time I believed to be unique, at any rate in Europe. This year, however, the *Hand-list of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts* in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* was privately printed; and to the extraordinary generosity of Lord Crawford of Balcarres and the courtesy of his Librarian, Mr. Edmond, I am indebted not only for a copy of this work, but for the loan of the priceless manuscript of al-'Awfī's *Lubāb*, described at p. 226 of the same and numbered 308. This proves to be the identical manuscript (formerly belonging to John Bardoe Elliot, Esq., of the Sudder Court of Calcutta) described by Bland in that classical account of "the earliest Persian Biography of Poets," which was read before our Society on February 17, 1846, and is printed in Vol. IX of our Journal, pp. 111-126. The author, Nūru'd-Dīn or Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī (see, besides Bland, Sprenger and Pertsch, Rien's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 749-751, s.v. *Jāmi'u'l-Hikāyat*) lived at Dihlī in the reign of Īltutmish (A.D. 1210-1235), but had travelled in Persia, especially Khurāsān, and was very well informed. His *Lubāb* may fairly be regarded as the *Kitābu'l-Aghānī* of Persia, and, as it unquestionably ought to be printed, I am now engaged in transcribing it, so that it may form the second or third volume of the Persian Text Series. It contains notices of 122 royal and noble personages who occasionally condescended to write verse, and of about 163 poets by profession, of whom thirty belong to the Ṭāhirī, Ṣaffūrī, and Sūmānī periods; twenty-nine to the Ghaznavī period; and fifty to the Saljūq period; while

some fifty-four are, roughly speaking, the author's contemporaries. As to its character, Bland well observes (*loc. cit.*, p. 114), "the biographical notices are of comparatively little value, but the merit of the work consists in its having preserved some hundreds of beautiful *Qasīdahs*, *Ghazals*, and other poetry nowhere else to be met with in an entire state, and without curtailment."

Now at the beginning of the section, immediately following the Table of Contents, al-'Awfī makes (though with better reason) the same claim that Dawlatshāh advanced 275 years later to have produced the first Biography of Persian poets. He says:—"Although this boldness and impertinence was beyond the scope of this humble personage [the author], that he should be able to render service to the Royal Library by strewing comfits [culled] from the sweetmeat-scatterers of genius, or to sprinkle the rose-water of poesy from the tavern of meditation on the sleeve-cuffs of the servants of this Dynasty, yet hath he applied himself to this task, relying on the generosity of his master. For although several works and sundry treatises on this subject have undoubtedly been written on the Classes [*Ṭabaqāt*] of Arabic poets (such as the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Salām, and of Ibn Qutayba, and of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr* composed by Abū Mansūr ath-Tha'ālibī, and the *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr* written by the Ṭāju'r-Ru'asā al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Bākhazī, and the *Zaynatu'z-Zamān* compiled by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Andakhūd), yet no work has been seen and no manual has come under observation which treats of the Classes of Persian Poets."

From this we may infer that the *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* of Abū Ṭāhīr al-Khātūnī was unknown to al-'Awfī; neither does he make any mention of the *Chahār Maqāla* (which, moreover, valuable as it is for the early history of the Persian poets, would hardly come under the title *Ṭabaqāt*) in the short notice (Bland MS., pp. 436-7) which he consecrates to *Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī* of Samarqand. The Arabic works which he mentions do, however, suggest a new and, as I am convinced, a very fruitful line of

enquiry to him who makes the earliest period of the post-Sāsānian literary history of Persia the object of his study.

Of the six Arabic works enumerated by al-ʿAwfī, the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* of Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Thaʿālibī of Nishāpūr (d. A.D. 1038, but was engaged on the *Yatīma* as early as A.D. 994) is the best known, and to it only have I at present had access, in the printed Damascus edition of A.H. 1302. Of the others, the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Qutayba of Dīnāvar (d. A.D. 883-4) exists in the Vienna Library (Flügel's *Cat.*, vol. ii, pp. 325-6); the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz (killed A.D. 908) and of Muḥammad Ibn Salām al-Jumhūrī (d. A.D. 845-6)¹ are mentioned by Hājī Khalfā (vol. iv, pp. 144-5), but I know of no existing copies; the *Dumyātū'l-Qaṣr* of al-Bākharzī (d. A.D. 1075), a supplement to the *Yatīma*, exists in numerous MSS. (see Wüstenfeld's *Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, No. 211, pp. 70-71); while of the *Zaynātu'z-Zamān* and its author al-Andakhūdī I can find no notice whatever.

Now if we understand the term 'Literary History' not in that narrow sense which takes cognizance only of what is written in a particular language, but in the wider and truer sense which Jusserand gives to it in his *Literary History of the English People* (London, 1895), namely, the manifestation in literature of the mind of a nation, or in other words its subjective history, then we shall readily see that, contrary to what is often expressed or implied, there is in fact no break in the Literary History of Persia since Sāsānian times, but at most a change in the vehicle or medium of expression. Thus understood, a complete Literary History of the Persians would have to consider documents in not less than five different languages, ranging over a period of at least 2550 years, to wit:—

(1) *The Avesta*, to the earliest portions of which we may for the present (following the very clearly expressed

¹ See, however, Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.* (Weimar, 1897), p. 105, n. 3. The writer in question is here called Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muḥammad b. Salām al-Jumhūrī, and it is stated that his *Ṭabaqātu'ṣṣu'arā* was largely used by the author of the *Kitābu'l-Aghāni*.

reasonings of Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson in his article in vol. xvii of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* "on the date of Zoroaster") assign a date not anterior to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

(2) *The Old Persian inscriptions* of the Achaemenians, which lie between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the fourth centuries B.C.

(3) *The Pahlavi literature*, belonging mainly to the Sāsānian period (A.D. 226-640), of which the earliest important monument is probably the inscription of Shāpūr I (A.D. 241-272) at Hājī-ābād near Ištakhr, while amongst the latest are the curious *Gujastak Abālīsh* (ou *Abālāg*), *relation d'une conférence théologique présidée par le Calife Mānoun* (ed. Barthelemy, Paris, 1887), which obviously cannot have been written earlier than A.D. 813, the date of al-Ma'mūn's accession to the Caliphate; the *Epistle of Manushchihar* dated A.D. 881; the *Bundahishn* "finally edited in the latter part of the ninth century" (West); the *Dīnkard* "first compiled early in the ninth century," etc. West, indeed, in his admirable article on "the extent, language, and age of Pahlavi literature" (*Sitzungsbericht. d. philos.-philol. Classe d. Königl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, May 5, 1888), says (p. 438) "that nearly half the Pahlavi literature extant must have been compiled during the ninth century; much of it, no doubt, from older materials." It thus appears that, even when we leave out of consideration the Arabic literature of Persian authorship, modern (i.e. post-Muhammadan) Persian literature had begun before Pahlavi literature had ceased.

(4) *The Arabic literature* (both prose and verse) composed by Persians. It has long been recognized, even by the Arabs themselves, how important was the contribution made to what I may call "the Culture of the Caliphate" in almost every branch of science and art by Persians like Sibawayhi and Kisā'i (in grammar), Zamakhsharī and Baydāwī (in exegesis), Ṭabarī, Ibn Qutayba, Dinawarī, Hamza, Balādhurī, and Bīrūnī (in history), Rāzī, Avicenna, and Ghazzālī (in philosophy and medicine), 'Umar al-Khayyām

and Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī (in astronomy and mathematics), and, most noteworthy, perhaps, of all, Ibnū'l-Muqaffa', the converted Magian and erudite Pahlavī scholar, whose Arabic style was nevertheless so good that his verses are cited with approval by competent judges, his *Kaṭīla and Dimna* is still read and admired wherever Arabic is understood, and he himself is even mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena* (ed. Beyrout, 1879, p. 527) as one of ten Arabic writers who are to be taken as models of eloquence. But I am thinking at present more particularly of the court-chroniclers and court-poets, mostly of purely Persian extraction, who were attached to the Persian dynasties of the Houses of Layth, Sāmān, Ziyār, Būya, etc., but who nevertheless made Arabic (which, almost till the Monghol invasion and final extinction of the Caliphate in the thirteenth century, remained the language of science, diplomacy, and polite conversation throughout the Muhammadan world) the vehicle of their records and their eulogies, or, when occasion arose, of their satires. It is on these men and the circumstances of their life that works like the *Yafimatu'd-Dahr* throw so abundant a light.

(5) Lastly comes *Persian literature* as commonly understood, a literature covering a period of a thousand years, during which the language has changed so little that a Persian of to-day experiences less difficulty in understanding the poems of Rūdagī or Firdawsī than does an Englishman in understanding Shakespeare.

Having said so much as to the general lines on which, as it appears to me, Persian Literary History should be studied, I will conclude this section by recapitulating the chief sources to which I shall hereafter have occasion to refer, and the abbreviations by which I shall designate them.

I. *Arabic Sources.*

- (1) The *Yafimatu'd-Dahr* (referred to as *Yafima*) of Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī († A.D. 1038), Damascus edition of A.H. 1302. The *first* volume deals mainly with

the poets of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, including Sayfu'd-Dawla, Abū Firās, the Hamdānids of Mosul and Aleppo, Mutanabbī, Nāmī, Nāshī, Zāhī, Babaghā, Šābī, Sirrī, etc. The *second* volume deals with the poets patronized by the Būyid dynasty (in Baṣra, Baghdad, and the rest of 'Irāq). The *third* volume includes the poets patronized by the Šāhib Abū'l-Qāsim Isma'il ibn 'Abbād, and those of Isfahān, al-Jabal, Fārs, Ahwūz, and Gurgān, and ends with an account of the Ziyārid Prince Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Washmgīr, who has been already mentioned (p. 42 *supra*) in connection with the Persian *Qābūs-nāma*. The *fourth* volume contains the Sāmānid poets, and those of Khwārazm, Khurāsān, and Nishāpūr.

- (2) The *Āthārū'l-Bilād* of al-Qazwīnī († A.D. 1283-4), Wüstenfeld's ed. (Göttingen, 1848), referred to as *Qazatni*. This discursive work contains notices of a considerable number of Persian poets, and cites a good many Persian verses. Unfortunately it has no index; a defect which it has cost me a good deal of time to supply in my own copy. The Persian poets mentioned in it are as follows: *Anvarī* (p. 242), *'Aḡadī* (p. 278), *Aḥḡadu'd-Dīn Kirmānī* (p. 164), *Balahbad* (= Bārbad), the minstrel of Khusraw Parvīz, of whom I shall have something to say presently (pp. 156, 295), *Fakhri-i-Gurgānī* (p. 351), *Farrukhī* (p. 278), *Firdawsi* (pp. 135, 278), *Jalāl-i-Khwarī* (p. 243), *Khāqānī* (pp. 272, 404), *al-Khatānī* [Abū Tāhīr] (p. 259), *Mujir-i-Baylaqānī* (p. 345, cf. p. 338), *Nidhāmī of Ganja* (pp. 351-2), *Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr* (pp. 241-2), *Sand'ī* (p. 287), *Shams-i-Tabasī* (p. 272), *'Umar-i-Khayyām* (p. 318), *'Unsuri* (p. 278), and *Wafiqat* (pp. 223-4).
- (3) The *Nihāyatū'l-Irāb fī akhbārī 'l-Farā wa'l-'Arab* (Burekhardt MS. in Cambridge University Library marked Qq. 225), referred to as *Nihāyat*. A perusal of this rare and interesting work disposes me to

think that it is dismissed with too little respect by Professor Noeldeke (*Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, pp. 475-6). That the alleged circumstances of its composition are false can hardly be doubted; but it does not necessarily follow that the very ample narrative of Sāsānian history, which purports to be drawn from Ibnu'l-Muqaffa's lost *Siyarū'l-Mulūk* (the Arabic translation of the famous *Khudhā'i-nāma* or "Book of Kings"), is unworthy of attention. At some future period I hope to devote a separate article to this very curious work, but in the meantime I will only say that it is clear to me that the author, whoever he was, had a knowledge of Persian, and was singularly well-informed as to the legends of Ancient Persia, and that one passage, if I correctly understand it, would seem to imply that the Ziyārid dynasty (A.D. 928-1042) had not ceased to exist when he wrote. As regards his knowledge of Persian, I may instance an alleged superscription from a coin of Khumānī (daughter and wife of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār), which he gives as follows (f. 48b):—

بخر [= بخور] بانو [یانو . MS.] جهان هزار سال نوروز و مهرجان

and translates—

گلی ایها المملکة الدنيا الف عام یعضی من نیروز و مهرجان

i.e.: "Eat [or enjoy], O Queen, the world for a thousand years which pass from Nawrūz [the great spring festival of the New Year] and Mihrjān [the great autumn festival]." Also the following detail (omitted by Ṭabarī and Dīnavarī) of the shooting of Masrūq, the son of Abrahā, by Wahriz the Persian (*Dīn.*, p. 65; Noeldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233):—"Now the Persians were wont to inscribe on their arrows [one of] three names, the name of 'the King,' and the name of 'the Man,' and the name of 'the Woman.' And Wahriz [MS. وهرزن,

Wahzan] drew forth an arrow and glanced at it, and behold, thereon was 'Zandān,' the name of women. So, auguring ill from it, he replaced it and drew forth another, and behold, it was like the first, on it was the name of the woman. And he drew forth a third, and it happened so again. Then he thought within himself and said, 'Zandān—the interpretation thereof can only be *zan ān*' (which, being interpreted, means—*اخر ب ذاك*, 'shoot this!'); and he augured well from it in this sense."

II. Persian Sources.

- (1) The *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of al-'Awfī, Elliot MS. (see pp. 46–7 *supra*), referred to as '*Awfī*'. This very rare and important work dates, as already remarked, from the beginning of the thirteenth century.
- (2) The *Chahār Maqāla* (composed about A.D. 1160) of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūdi of Samarqand, cited from the notes (partly transcript, partly abstract) which I made in December, 1897, from the British Museum MSS. Or. 3507 and Or. 2955 (chiefly the former). It is referred to by its full title. It has been hitherto known chiefly by the notices of Firdawsī (published by Ethé, see p. 40 *supra*, and utilized by Noeldeke in his *Iranische Nationaltopos*, Strassburg, 1896) and of 'Umar-i-Khayyām (with whom the author was personally acquainted) which it contains; but the whole of this second section, dealing with "the Nature of Verse and the Poetic Art," is remarkable alike for the interest of its matter and the excellence of its style, and ought to be published, or at least translated, without delay.
- (3) The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* of Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn, composed in A.D. 1329–30, and in particular the sixth and last section of Ch. v, which treats of the poets of the Arabs and the Persians. The MS.

which I have chiefly used is one belonging to my friend Mr. Guy le Strange. It is itself modern, but offers on the whole a very correct text, and has been collated throughout with an ancient MS. at Shirāz, which has supplied many important additions and corrections.

- (4) The *Lughat-i-Fars* of Asadī (circ. A.D. 1066), edited from the unique Vatican MS. (dated A.H. 733 = A.D. 1332) by Dr. Horn (Berlin, 1897), and reviewed by me at pp. 153-5 of the J.R.A.S. for January, 1898. The importance of this book, not only as a lexicon, but as an anthology, is in no wise exaggerated by the learned editor. Indeed, it is little short of a revelation to find the nephew of the great Firdawsī, so long regarded as almost the father of Persian poetry, quoting the verses of so great a number (78) of poets whose very names had, in many cases, been previously unknown to us.

§ III. BĀRBAD AND RŪDAGĪ, THE MINSTRELS OF THE HOUSES OF SĀSĀN AND SĀMĀN.

The statements contained in the Persian *tadhkiras* as to "the first person who composed Persian verse" are, as has been generally recognized, unworthy of much attention. Most of them are mentioned by Kazimirski (*Menoutchehri*, pp. 6-9) and Blochmann (*Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 2-3). Two only, so far as I know, refer the origin of Persian poetry to Sāsānian times. One of these (given on the authority of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī by Dawlatshāh, but not by 'Awfī) cites a verse which purports to have been deciphered from the Qaṣr-i-Shirīn (Kazimirski, loc. cit., p. 7), and which is presumably supposed to date from the time of Khusraw Parvīz (A.D. 590-627); the other (given both by 'Awfī and Dawlatshāh) cites the well-known couplet ascribed to Bahrām Gūr (A.D. 420-438) and his mistress Dīlānām. 'Awfī further assures us that the King in

question had composed a quantity of very fine Arabic poetry, which had been collected and arranged in *diwān* form; and that he himself had seen and read a copy of this *diwān*, which belonged to the "Bridge-end Library of the Little Market of Bukhārā," and from which he quotes some verses.

There is, however, another older tradition which tells of a poet or minstrel at the court of Khusrāw Parviz named *Bārbad* (باربد) or (by Qazwīnī) *Balahbad* (بلهبد).¹ The question has arisen in my mind whether the difference between these two forms of the name may not be more easily explained by a misreading of the *Pahlavī* rather than the *Arabic* script, since in *Pahlavī* *κ* and *λ* on the one hand, and *ā* and *h* on the other, are represented by the same character, and we have merely to assume a transposition of the two letters.² This personage is referred to in the *Chahār Maqāla*, 'Awfī, Qazwīnī, and the *Guzida*.

(1) 'Awfī, after speaking of Bahrām Gūr's alleged poetical activity, says (p. 23):—

و در عهد پردیز نوا خسروانی که آنرا باربد در صورت آورده است
 بسیارست فامّا از وزن شعر و قافیت و مراعات نظایر آن دورست
 بدان سبب تعرض بیان آن کرده نیامد

¹ Since this was written, my attention has been called by Professor Boyan to older accounts of this personage, and other forms of his name. The account given by Qazwīnī occurs in a fuller and more correct form in Yāqūt († A.D. 1229), ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iii, pp. 250 et seqq. (where the minstrel is called بیلبد, *Balahbadh*, var. بیلبد, *Balahband*), and vol. iv, pp. 112 et seqq. (also بیلبد); and, while following Qazwīnī, I have corrected his defective text by Yāqūt. See also the compendium of al-Hamadhānī's *Kitābu'l-Buldān* (composed A.D. 903), ed. De Goeje (vol. v of *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*), and Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 237, s.v. *Pahlapet*, and the passages in the *Aghāni* of Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī († A.D. 957) there cited.

² Even the assumption of transposition is not necessary in the form *Balahbadh* given by Yāqūt. This form in the *Pahlavī* character would be identical with *Bārbad*.

"And in the reign of Parvīz the royal melodies composed by Bārbad were many, but they are remote from verse-metre, rhyme, and the observance of poetical congruities, for which reason we have not concerned ourselves to discuss them."

(2) The *Chahār Maqāla*, after describing the effect which two couplets by Hanṭala of Bādghīs,¹ the panegyrist of Ya'qūb b. Layth (d. A.D. 878), produced on Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'llāh of Khujistān (killed A.D. 882),² so that, being then but an ass-herd (خریده), he rose to be Amīr of Khurāsān, continues as follows (f. 12b):—

و در عرب و عجم امثال این بسیارست اما ترین یکی اختصار
کردیم ' پس پادشاهرا از شاعر نیک جاود نیست که بقا اسم او را
ترتیب کند و ذکر او [در] دواوین و دفاتر مثبت گرداند زیرا که
چون پادشاه بامری که ناگزیرست مأمور شود از لشکر و گنج و خزینه
او آثار نماند و نام او بسبب شعر شاعر جاودانه بماند ' شریف
مجلدی گرگانی گوید —

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی ' که ماند از آل سامان و آل سامان
نمای رودکی ماندست و مدحش ' نوا' بارید ماندست و دستان '

"Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. A king, therefore, cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall conduce to the immortality of his name, and shall record his renown in *dīwāna* and books. For when the King receives that command which none can escape, no trace will remain of his army, his treasure, and

¹ See Ethé's *Rūdagi's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der ältesten Denkmäler Neupersischer Poesie*, p. 40, where the two couplets in question are cited at the end of the notice consecrated to Hanṭala.

² See Barthier de Meynard's *Diet. Géogr. Hist. et Lit. de la Perse*, p. 197, s.v. خجستان and ad eale.

his store; but by means of the poet's verse shall his name endure for ever. Sharīf-i-Mujallidī of Gurgān says:—

*'Of all that worldly wealth which was left by the House of Sāsān and the House of Sāmān
There remains only the praise and eulogy of Rūdagī and the
song and legend of Bārbad.'*"

(3) The *Guzīda*, after describing (p. 61) the splendour and luxury of Khusraw Parvīz, continues thus:—

و باربد مطرب که تا غایت مثل او در آن علم [در عالم]
 نبوده اورا جهت بزم پروریز سید و شصت نواست هر روزی یکی
 میگفت و استادان موسیقی را قول او حجت باشد و همه خوشه
 چین خرمن اویند

"And as for Bārbad the minstrel, the like of whom in that science hath not till now appeared, he had for the banquets of Parvīz three hundred and sixty melodies, one of which he used to sing each day; and his words are a final appeal with the masters of music, all of whom are but gleaners from his harvest-field."

(4) *Qazvīnī* is more detailed, and in three different passages speaks of Balahbad [= Bārbad] the minstrel. First, under the article *Fārs* (pp. 154-6), he says:—

"The Persians imagine that amongst them [i.e., as it would appear, the old Kings of Persia, of whose greatness he has just been speaking] there existed ten persons, each unrivalled in his own order, even in Persia." These ten are Farīdūn, Alexander, Nūshīrvān, Bahrām Gūr, Rustam, Jāmāsp, Buzurjmīhr, Balahbad, the sculptor whose art immortalized on the rocks of Bī-sutūn the form of Shabdīz, the favourite horse of Khusraw Parvīz, and, lastly, Shīrīn's unfortunate lover Farhād. Of Balahbad he says:—

"And the eighth of them was Balahbad the minstrel, who excelled all mankind in minstrelsy, and he was minstrel to Kisrā Abarwīz; and when anyone desired to lay any

matter before Kistrā, yet feared his anger, he communicated it to Balahbad, and gave him gifts to compose a poem on the matter and thereto an air, and to sing it before Kistrā, who thereby was informed of the matter."

Again, in describing the sculptures and bas-reliefs of Bī-sutūn, he says (p. 230):—

"Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī says:¹ 'On the face of the Mountain of Bī-sutūn is a portico cut out from the rock, in the midst of which is the figure of Kistrā's horse Shabdīz, with [Kistrā] Abarwīz mounted upon it. And on the wall of the portico is the portrait of Shīrīn and her attendants, said to have been executed by Fuṭrus,² the son of Sinimmār,³ and Sinimmār was he who built Khawarnaq outside Hīra. Now the cause of this [i.e. the sculpturing of these portraits] was that Shabdīz was the most intelligent of quadrupeds, the greatest in bodily strength, the most remarkable in disposition, and the most enduring in a long gallop. So long as his saddle was on him, he would neither make water nor void excrement; and so long as his bridle was on him, he would neither snort nor foam [with his mouth]. He had been presented to Abarwīz by the King of India. Now it happened that he [Shabdīz] sickened, and his sickness waxed sore; and Kistrā said, "Whoever brings me tidings of his death, him will I slay." So when [Shabdīz] died, the Master of the Horse feared lest he should be questioned about him, and be compelled to give tidings of his death. So he came to Balahbad, Kistrā's minstrel, and asked him to make it known to Kistrā in a song. Now Balahbad was the most skillful of men in minstrelsy, and he did this. And when Kistrā hearkened to it, he divined its purport, and said, "Woe unto thee! Shabdīz is dead!" And [Balahbad] said, "It is the King that sayeth it." And Kistrā said, "Well done! How

¹ See *Yāqūt*, vol. iii, pp. 250 et seqq.

² Other forms are *Faṭṭās* (Hamadhānī and *Yāqūt*), *Qaffās*, and even *Qantās*.

³ See Noeldke's *Gesch. d. Arab. u. Pers. zur Zeit d. Sassanid.*, pp. 80 et seqq.; and Tabarī, i. 2, p. 802. The form *Sinimmār* (not *Sianimār*) is proved correct by verses there cited.

cleverly hast thou saved thyself and saved another!" And he [i.e. the King] grieved bitterly for him. Then he ordered Fuṭras the son of Sinimmār to make a portrait of him, which he executed in the finest manner, in such wise that it was scarcely possible to distinguish between the two [i.e. the portrait and the original], save by the [presence or absence of the] movements of life in their forms."¹

On the next page (231) Qazwīnī quotes some Arabic verses by Khālīd al-Fayyād (d. circ. A.D. 718)² which give substantially the same legend:—

*"And King Kisrā, the Shāhanshāh, him also an arrow,
feathered from the wing of Death, overtook,
What time his pleasure was Shabdīz, whom he used to ride, and
the coy embraces of Shīrīn, and brocades and perfumes.
He swore an oath by the Fire (most binding was it in its
strength) that whosoever first should bring him tidings
of the death of Shabdīz should be crucified.
Until, when one morning Shabdīz lay low in death (and never
was a steed like him amongst men),
Four strings wailed over him with a lament in the Persian
tongue wherein was an incitement to emotion.
And the Herbed³ set the chords vibrating, and bursts of passion
were kindled by reason of the witchery of his left hand,
And he cried, ' [Shabdīz] is dead !' They said, ' Thou hast
declared it !' So perjury was committed by him while
he was beside himself.
Had it not been for Balahbad,⁴ while the strings sang his
[Shabdīz's] threnody, the Marzubāns⁵ would have been
unable to announce the death of Shabdīz.*

¹ This sentence is rendered unintelligible in Qazwīnī by the omission of several words which I have supplied from Yāqūt (vol. iii, p. 251), who is confirmed by Hamadhānī.

² See Rieu's *Arabic Cat.*, p. 260; *Arabic Suppl.*, p. 630.

³ Yāqūt (iii, 252) has the variant **التهليل**, which, however, is incompatible with the metre.

⁴ Yāqūt has **بَهْلَنَد** Bahalbadh.

⁵ Read for **المزاريب** (in Qazwīnī), **المزاريب** (Yāqūt).

Fate was cruel and pitiless to them, and nothing more could be seen of them but the trifles [wherewith they diverted themselves]."

Balahbad is again mentioned by Qazwīnī under the article *Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn* (pp. 295-7), where he says:—"Kisrā Abarwīz had three things which no king before or after him hath had, his wife Shīrīn, his minstrel Balahbad, and his horse Shabdīz." A little further on, after describing the magnificent park which Khusraw Parvīz caused to be laid out for his delectation near Qinnasrīn, he continues:—

"And when it was finished, the King [Parvīz] inspected it, and it pleased him well, and he ordered the architects to be rewarded with wealth. And one day he said to Shīrīn, 'Ask me a favour.' She said, 'I desire that thou should'st build for me a castle in this garden, the like of which none within thy realm hath possessed; and that thou should'st place therein a channel lined with stone wherein wine shall flow.' To this he consented; but he forgot [his promise], and Shīrīn dared not remind him of it. So she said to Balahbad, 'Remind him of my request in a song, and thou shalt have my farm which is at Iṣfahān.' To this he agreed; and he composed a poem on this subject and set it to music. And when Kisrā heard it, he said to him, 'Thou hast reminded me of Shīrīn's wish,' and he ordered the castle to be built and the watercourse to be made. So it was built in the handsomest and most solid style. And Shīrīn was faithful in her promise to Balahbad in respect to the farm, and thither he removed his family; and he has descendants at Iṣfahān who trace their pedigree to him."¹

Bārbad is also mentioned in several passages in Nīdhūmī of Ganja's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, together with the harper Nakīsā (نکيسا). The vocalization of the second syllable is proved by the line (Tīhrān lith. ed. of A.H. 1301, p. 104)—

طلب فرمود کردن باریدرا، وزودرمان طلب شد کار خودرا²

¹ Cf. Yāqūt, iv, pp. 112 et seqq.

"He bade them summon Bārbad, and from him sought a remedy for his affair."

Hence it is clear that the *Barhān-i-Jāmī*¹ is in error in pointing the second syllable with the vowel *u*. Both vocalizations are given by the *Barhān-i-Qāṭi*. The *Anjuman-ārā-yi-Nāṣirī* of that accomplished scholar Riḍā-qulī Khān "Lālā-bāshī," poetically surnamed Hidāyat, has the following notice:—

"*Bārbad* was the name of a man, a native of the town of Jahrum in Fārs, who held the office of chamberlain under Khusraw Parvīz. It was for this reason that he was called *Bār-bad*, that is, 'Chief of the Audience-hall' (برزگت بار), for by his means men obtained access to the presence of Parvīz. He had the greatest skill in the modes of music, and at Khusraw's banquets he and Nakīsā [the harper] conduced to the enjoyment [of the guests]."

So much for the legendary Bārbad. It will be seen that he is represented as a minstrel rather than a poet; he is not a mere musician like his comrade Nakīsā, but essentially a singer, an improvisatore, who, in the form of ballads, brings to the King's notice what it is desired that he should know. 'Awfī, as we have seen, refuses to regard his ballads as poetry, alleging that they lacked "metre, rhyme, and the observance of poetical congruities," but Qazwīnī, on the other hand, describes his improvisations as "verse" (شعر). Perhaps they most closely resembled the *taṣnīfs* of modern Persia—ballads, generally with a refrain, referring to current events, passing from mouth to mouth, but seldom or never committed to writing, having both rhyme and metre, but of a very simple kind.¹

Now it seems to me that there exists a very striking analogy between Bārbad the Sāsānian minstrel and Rūdagī the Sāmānian poet, to illustrate which I shall quote the version given in the *Chahār Maqāla* of the well-known tale which tells how the latter, by the charm of his verse, succeeded in prevailing upon Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid

¹ See my *Year among the Persians*, p. 283.

Prince (A.D. 913-942) to tear himself from the charms of Herāt and return to Bukhārā. Before doing so, however, I wish to direct attention to a notice of the poet which I have met with in an Arabic MS. in the Cambridge University Library bearing the class-mark Qq. 33, and entitled *Ghadyat'l-wasā'il ila ma'rifat'l-acā'il* ("The supreme means for a knowledge of beginnings"). The notice in question occurs on f. 178b, and runs as follows:—

أول من قال الشعر الجيد بالفارسية أبو عبد الله جعفر بن محمد
بن حكيم بن عبد الرحمن بن آدم الرودكى الشاعر المليح السقول
السائر الشعر المشهور ديوانه في النجم وكان مقدما في الشعر في زمانه
بالفارسية على أقرانه، وكان أبو الفضل البلعمي الوزير يقول ليس
للرودكى في العرب والنجم نظير

"The first to compose good poetry in Persian was Abū 'Abdu'llah Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Ādam ar-Rawdhakī, a poet eloquent of utterance, whose verse is widely current and whose *diwān* is well known in Persia. In his day he excelled all his compeers in composing verse in Persian. Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī the Vazīr used to say, 'Rawdhakī has no equal amongst the Arabs or the Persians.'"

This notice is rather important on account of the vocalization of the poet's name which it indicates; and it merits some attention, since the work (hitherto, I believe, unknown) in which it occurs is of considerable antiquity, being dedicated to the Atābek Shihābu'd-Dīn Tughril Beg, who fell from power in A.H. 629 (A.D. 1231-2) and died in A.H. 631 (A.D. 1233).¹ Its author is Ima'il Hibatu'llāh b. Abi'r-Ridā al-Mawṣilī. The MS. itself is dated A.H. 1074, but professes to have been transcribed from an ancient original dated A.H. 306 (*sic*), probably a mistake for 806.

To return to the *Chahār Maqāla*, the author, Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand, when in his native town in A.H. 504

¹ See De Siane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. iv, pp. 424, 432, and 433.

(A.D. 1110-1111), not more than 170 years after Rūdagī's death, met the Dihqān Abū Rijā Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Samad al-'Ābidī, and learned from him some particulars concerning Rūdagī which are incorporated in the following narrative (f. 14a):—

"Now in the service of Kings naught is better than improvisation, for by improvisation the King's temper is cheered, assemblies are rendered brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rūdagī obtained from the House of Sāmān by his improvisations and by virtue of his verse none hath experienced.

Anecdote.—They relate thus, that Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was the central point of the Sāmānid group, whose fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasures, an efficient army, and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at the capital, Bukhārā, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand, or some other of the cities of Khurāsān. Now one year it was the turn of Herāt. He spent the spring at Bādghis, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, for there are nearly a thousand water-courses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

"When the beasts had well eaten, and had recovered their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr b. Aḥmad turned his face towards Herāt, but halted outside the city of Margbazar-i-Sapīd and there pitched his camp. Cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Mālin and Karūkh¹—fruit such as can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, bread plentiful, fruit abundant, and fragrant scents filled the air, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former is distant from Herāt two parasangs, the latter ten.

"When Mihrjān [the autumnal equinox] arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the eglantine, basil and yellow rocket were in bloom, they did full justice to the charms of autumn, and took their fill of the pleasures of that season. Mihrjān was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes proved to be of exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herāt one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, one called *Parnigān* and the other *Gulchidi*, tight-skinned, slender-stalked,¹ and luscious. . . . A cluster of Gulchidi grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds; they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, nor can one eat many for the sweetness that is in them. [And besides these there were] all sorts of other delicious fruits.

"So Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad saw Mihrjān and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and picked in Mālin, and hung up on lines, and packed in chests; and the Amīr with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghūra and Darwāz. There he saw mansions each one of which was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure-ground with a northern aspect. There they passed the winter, while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sīstān and the sweet oranges from

¹ *Tung-takus*. Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, the father of Ma'izzī the Saljūq poet-laureate, says, describing the black grape of this or a similar kind (*Anjuman-āra*, *gi-Nāpīrī*, s.v. *takus*):—

آن خوشه بین چنانکه یکی خبیگ بر نبید
 سرسته و نبوده بر او دست هیچ کس
 برگزیده سیاهی چشم است غریب او
 هم بر مثال مردمک چشم ازو تکس

Takus really appears to mean the core which forms the continuation of the stalk, or the point marking the end of the same externally after the grape is plucked. In the latter sense its smallness is a criterion of the slenderness of the stalk, and therefore I have translated it as above.

Māzandarān; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

"When [the second] spring came, [the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad] sent the horses to Bādghīs, and moved his camp to Mālin [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came, the fruits again ripened; and when Mihrjān came he said, 'Let us enjoy Mihrjān at Herāt'; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sāmānian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal [the Amīr's attendants] grew weary, and desire for home arose [within their hearts], while they saw the King stationary, the air of Herāt in his head and the love of Herāt in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would express his preference of Herāt to the Garden of Eden, and would place it above the spring-tide of Beauty.

"So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and courtiers of the King went to Abū 'Abdu'llāh Rūdagi, than whom there was none more honoured of the King's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him, 'We will offer thee five thousand dinārs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the King may be induced to depart hence, for our hearts are dying for desire of our wives and children, and our souls are like to leave us for longing after Bukhārā.' Rūdagi agreed; and, since he had felt the Amīr's pulse and understood his temper, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so applied himself to verse. He therefore composed a *qaṣida*; and, when the Amīr had taken his morning cup, came in, and did obeisance, and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the 'Lovers' air,' began this *qaṣida*:—¹

¹ These verses, which vary slightly in different traditions, are very well known. They are included in the extracts in Dr. Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, and are cited at p. 3 of Blochmann's *Poetry of the Persians*.

‘بوی جوی مولیان آید همی’ ‘بوی یار مهربان آید همی’

*‘The Jū-yi-Māliyān we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind.’*

“Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

‘ریگت آمو و درشتی راه او’ ‘زیر پانیم پرنیان آید همی’
‘آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست’ ‘خنک مارا تا میان آید همی’
‘ای بخسارا شاد باش و دیر زی’ ‘میر زی تو شادمان آید همی’
‘میر ماهست و بخسارا آسمان’ ‘ماه سوی آسمان آید همی’
‘میر سروست و بخسارا بوستان’ ‘سرو سوی بوستان آید همی’

*‘The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friends’ return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Long live Bukhārā! Be thou of good cheer!
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amir!
The Moon’s the Prince, Bukhārā is the Sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and bye!
Bukhārā is the Mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!’*

“When Rūdagi reached this verse, the Amīr was so much affected that he descended from his throne, bestrode the horse of the sentinel on duty, and set off for Bukhārā [in such haste that] they carried his riding-boots after him for two parasangs as far as Burūna, where he put them on; neither did he draw rein anywhere till [he reached] Bukhārā, and Rūdagi received the double of that five thousand dinārs from the army.

“[When I was] at Samarqand in the year A.H. 504 [A.D. 1110–1111], I heard from the Dihqān Abū Rijā Aḥmad b. ‘Abdu’s-Ṣamad al-‘Ābidī as follows: ‘My grandfather, the Dihqān Abū Rijā, related that on this occasion when Rūdagi reached Samarqand, he had four hundred

camels laden with his wealth.' And indeed that great man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that *qaṣida*, nor found means of surmounting the difficulties [which the subject of it presents] with triumph. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzī was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, and his poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu'l-Mulk Abū Sa'd [b.] Hindū b. Muḥammad b. Hindū [?] of Iṣfahān¹ requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣida*, and Mu'izzī, unable to plead his inability so to do, wrote:—

رستم از مازندران آید همی، زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی،

'Rustam is coming from Māzandarān; Zayn-i-Mulk is coming from Iṣfahān.'

"All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rūdagi when he says:—

آفرین و مدح سود آید همی، گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی،

'Eulogy and praise are an advantage, even though the treasury sustain loss.'

"For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art, *first*, [the verse is] appropriate (مطابق); *secondly*, it is marked by antithesis (متضاد); *thirdly*, it has a refrain (مردف); *fourthly*, it contains an enunciation of equivalence (بیان مساوات); *fifthly*, it has sweetness (تذوین); *sixthly*, style (نصاحت); *seventhly*, energy (جزالت). Every master of the craft, who has deeply considered the poetic art, will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right."

I have given this rather lengthy citation from the *Chahār Maqāla* partly to make known one of the most ancient notices of him who is generally regarded as practically the father of

¹ See Houtmann's *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoukides*, vol. li, pp. 93, 101, 105.

Persian poetry, and thus to supplement the notices contained in 'Awfi's and other *tadhkiras* made known by Dr. Ethé; partly to give some idea of the excellent, concise, telling style of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand—a style which, unfortunately, is but too rare in Persian prose, especially in later days; partly to contrast this appreciation of Rūdagī's genius with the opinion of Dawlatshāh, who flourished at a time and place where literary taste was profoundly vitiated (as witness the senseless rhodomontade of such books as the *Anvār-i-Suhayhī*); but chiefly to emphasize the remarkable parallelism which exists between the perfectly historical Rūdagī and the half-legendary Bārbad. Both, it will be observed, have the same special virtue in the eyes of their contemporaries; through the medium of their skilful verse, accompanied, as it would appear, in both cases by music, they are able to bring to the notice of their wilful and dangerous masters matters to which others dare not direct their attention. Is it not possible that an older tradition thus survived from Sāsānian times to the period of what may be called the Persian Renaissance, and that the gradual loss of this tradition accounts for the inability of later critics to comprehend the beauty in Rūdagī's verse, which their predecessors had recognized? For here is Dawlatshāh's judgment of the same verses:—

“This poem [of Rūdagī's] is too long to be cited in its entirety in this place. It is said that it so delighted the King's heart that he mounted his horse and set out for Bukhārā without even stopping to put on his boots. To men of sense this appears astonishing, for the verses are extremely simple, entirely devoid of rhetorical artifices and embellishments, and lacking in strength; and if in these days anyone were to produce such a poem in the presence of kings or nobles, it would meet with the reprobation of all. It is, however, probable that as Master Rūdagī possessed the completest knowledge of harmony and music [attainable] in that country, he may have composed some tune or air, and produced this poem of his in the form of a song with

musical accompaniment, and that it was in this way that it obtained so favourable a reception. In short, we must not lightly esteem Master Rūdagi merely on account of this poem, for assuredly he was expert in all manner of arts and accomplishments, and has produced good poetry of several kinds, both *mathnavis* and *qaṣidas*, for he was a man of great distinction, and admired by high and low."

In future articles I hope to deal more fully with some of the sources enumerated in this paper, especially the *Chahār Maqāla*, the section of the *Guzida* treating of Persian poets, the Arabic compositions of Persian poets so abundantly illustrated in the *Yatima*, and, last but not least, the curious and problematical *Nihāyatul-ʿIrāq*. But for the present I must refrain, seeing that my article has already exceeded the limits assigned to it. In conclusion I desire to express my gratitude to my friend and colleague Professor Bevan for his kindness in revising the proofs of this article, and for calling my attention to the notices of Bārbad, Bahlabadh, or Balahbadh, given by Yūqūt and al-Hamadhānī.

ART. IV.—*The Theory of 'Soul' in the Upanishads.* By
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

THERE is no work to which a student who wished to study the doctrine of Soul as set forth in the Upanishads could be referred. There are excellent popular accounts of later Indian beliefs. Professor Deussen has written a very complete and scholarly exposition of the views of the great Vedantist Śaṅkar Ācārya.¹ And Professor Garbe has now given us an equally valuable presentation of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.² But Śaṅkara is of the eighth century of our era (about 760–820 A.D.); and the earliest corresponding commentary on Sāṅkhya—that of Gandapāda—is approximately dated by Garbe between 700 and 750 A.D. The very curt texts which these old commentators expound, though of quite unknown date, are probably at least three centuries earlier. What the student would want would be the views on the subject current in the Valley of the Ganges 1,200 years earlier, before the time when Buddhism arose.

These views are nearly all contained in the Upanishads. This word means literally *aditness*, 'sittings down near another,' but had very early acquired the connotation of the secret imparting of a deep mystery, more especially to a pupil seated in awe-struck attention by his teacher. The books so called are esoteric teachings of the higher mysteries of religion appended to the ritualistic or liturgical manuals of the Brahmins. And they contain (*inter alia*) the doctrine of the relation of God, or the gods, to the human soul.

Neither the date nor the author of any one of these Upanishads is matter of certainty. But by the consensus of the scholars who have most thoroughly considered the

¹ *Das Vedānta-system* (Leipzig, 1863).

² *Die Sāṅkhya philosophie* (Leipzig, 1894).

question (especially of Weber,¹ of Regnaud,² and of Deussen,³ who have discussed the question of date at some length), there are about a dozen of these treatises that may, with certainty, be considered as older than the rest, and as dating from before the rise of Buddhism down to a period not much later than that event (say from 800 or 700 B.C. down to 300 or 200 B.C.).

As to the exact order, in time, in which these older Upanishads should be arranged there are slight differences of opinion. The evidence is only of three kinds—such as can be found in differences of style or language; in the relation of, or signs of progress in, the speculative opinions expressed; and in the comparison of the same or similar verses or episodes found in two or more of these ancient documents. Such evidence, in this as in other literatures, appeals with different force to different minds. But we shall not be far wrong if we take as a working hypothesis sufficient for our present purpose the conclusions reached by M. Regnaud,⁴ who gives the following chronological table:—

	Pages of this size.
1. Brhadāranyaka Upanishad	150
2. Chāndogya Upanishad	150
3. Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa Upanishad	30
4. Aitareya Upanishad	10
5. Taittirīya Upanishad	20
6. Īsā Upanishad	3
7. Kena Upanishad	4
8. Kaṭha Upanishad	20
9. Praśna Upanishad	15
10. Muṇḍaka Upanishad	10
11. Māṇḍūkya Upanishad	2
12. Śvetāśvatara Upanishad	17
13. Maitrī Upanishad	43
	<hr/> 474 <hr/>

¹ *Indische Studien*, vols. i, ii, and ix (Berlin, 1849-1866).

² *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Philosophie de l'Inde* (Paris, 1876-78).

³ "Sechzig Upanishad," 1898.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

Of these the two oldest are also the most considerable in extent. The *Īsā*, *Kena*, and *Māṇḍūkya* are really short edifying tracts, and the rest of Nos. 4 to 11 are very little more. It is moreover, to say the least, doubtful whether the last five are pre-Buddhistic. Our inquiry, therefore, will be chiefly confined to the earlier works in this list, and to such fragments of philosophical speculation as are to be found scattered in works still older than they are; that is to say, in the Vedas themselves and in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

Just as these sacrificial hymns and liturgical treatises have preserved for us the evidence only of a late and much developed stage of religious belief, so also the Upanishads imply a long period of previous thought on ultimate philosophic questions. However vaguely expressed and incompletely reasoned out, these earlier attempts to reach the causes of things are of the greatest historical importance, inasmuch as certain hypotheses they take for granted have continued, through the centuries, as the basis of nearly all Indian thought; and even when finally discarded have still influenced the tone, and the actual expressions, of the philosophy that discarded them.

The most far-reaching of these hypotheses was that of soul. As is well known, this hypothesis has been adopted, and no doubt quite independently, among so many different peoples in all parts of the world, that it may fairly be described as almost universal. It is even by no means certain that it is not quite universal; in which case its adoption is probably a necessary result of the methods of thought possible to men. But it is easily possible for us now, who no longer use the word 'soul' exclusively in its original sense, to misunderstand the ancient view, and to import into it modern conceptions. The oldest, and simplest, form of the hypothesis was frankly materialistic. The notion was that of a double—shadowy, no doubt, and impalpable—but still a physical double of the physical body.

We must try to put ourselves in the place of these early thinkers (if thinkers they can be called whose thought was only spontaneous and intuitive). The word 'hypothesis' was

unknown to them. To the processes of consecutive reasoning they were entirely unaccustomed. Sensations experienced in dreams were as real to them as sensations experienced in the waking state; and in some respects they were nearer, in this matter, to the truth than we are. When a man after a hard-fought victory and a rude feast, perchance on the body of his foe, fought the battle over again, in his dreams, in the familiar glades, and awoke in terror at an impending blow to realize that all was over, and he was safe at home, the conclusion was inevitable that his foe had been alive again, that there was a something—he knew not what—which existed within the body, and was like the body, and which left it when the breath or life departed, to carry on elsewhere an existence of its own. He did not reason much about it, or stay to consider whether its existence was to be eternal or not. But he was too much frightened at it to forget it. And the dread reality afforded him a perfectly simple and a perfectly clear explanation of many otherwise mysterious things. When he awoke in the morning after hunting all night in his dreams, and learnt from his companions that his body had been there all the time, it was of course his 'soul' that had been away. And this 'soul' was in all respects a mysterious, misty, shadowy double of his waking body.

When the 'soul' was away the body lay still, without moving, without life. When the 'soul' came back motion began again, and life. 'Soul' was the basis, the explanation, then, of motion as well as of life and breath; and where these were, there also must be 'soul.' Here again there was no argument admissible. The thing was perfectly clear and simple, which only the perverse or wicked would doubt. There must be a 'soul' in the sun, in the boisterous, quick-flowing, treacherous stream, in the forest tree that moved its great arms so weirdly in the twilight, in the animals with their quaint half-human ways. Endless were the ramifications of a theory which, however devoid of the essential marks of a sound scientific hypothesis, underlies every variety of the speculations of the Upanishads. But

long before it had reached the stage in which we find it in the Upanishads, the theory had gone through a course of development shown, in its later results, in the Vedas themselves, more especially in the Rig and the Atharva Vedas. The souls supposed to preside over the powers of nature had become gods. And as the feelings of awe or terror, produced by those powers in men's minds, were wont to differ, so the degree of worship paid to the various beings supposed to animate them differed too. Certain of these gods at different times—first the Mother Earth, then the Moon, then the Sun, for instance—were regarded as in some sense superior to the rest. And the latest speculation before the time of the Upanishads, preserved in the Brāhmanas and also in the last and latest book of the Rig Veda, arrived at the conception of a First Cause (though that expression is not used) out of whom all the gods, and all the human souls, were supposed to have proceeded.

These speculations (in which it should never be forgotten that 'God' is a corollary of 'soul') bear in many respects a very striking resemblance to early speculations in the West. And the reason of this is sufficiently obvious. The speculations in both cases were the result of the primitive reasoning of early thinkers in a similar stage of intellectual development; and were based in both cases on still older fallacies similar again, in their turn, since they arose from similar causes. It is for this reason that the forms in which such early thinking clothes itself follow in all cases (whether in Greece or India, in Egypt or China) an analogous order. The results reached are always, and inevitably, unreliable. For the methods followed were wholly inadequate. But they were the necessary preliminaries to any further steps in intellectual effort. And each of the different phases of this ancient speculation—for in method and in similarity of result it is, after all, but one—has an interest of its own, besides its especial interest from the comparative point of view; while the Indian phase of it is not only peculiarly rich in religious feeling and in poetic expression, but is also distinguished by its logical completeness.

But this logical completeness in the evolution of thought in India does not, unfortunately, involve completeness of exposition in detail. Just as in the West we find, for instance, the existence of a 'soul' inside the body taken for granted, and yet no clear statement as to how or when it came there, or whereabouts in the body it dwells, or how and when it escapes, so in the Upanishads the hypothesis is never set out with clearness or fulness of detail, nor are the isolated statements or paragraphs worked out into any system. And the reason is simply that the hypothesis having been handed down from immemorial time, and being taken for granted as accepted by all, it was considered amply sufficient to refer to it in vague and indirect phraseology. As this hypothesis is the basis of the whole of the teaching of the Upanishads, it will be necessary, as a first step, to piece together these vague references in order to see what they do, and what they do not, presuppose.

In the living body, in its ordinary state, the soul dwells in the cavity of the heart.¹ By this no special vacant space appears to be meant, but simply the interior of the heart. In the oldest texts² the soul is described as being in size like a grain of barley or of rice, and in later texts³ as of the size of a thumb; and it is therefore called 'the dwarf.'⁴ It is in shape like a man,⁵ in appearance like a yellow robe, like smoke-coloured wool, like cochineal, like flame, like a white lotus, like a flash of lightning,⁶ or like a light without smoke.⁷ And it consists of consciousness, mind, the Vital Airs or Spirits (explained below), eye and ear, earth, water, air and ether, heat and no heat, desire and no desire, anger and no anger, law and no law; in a word, of all things.⁸

¹ Bṛhad., iv, 3. 7; v, 6: compare ii, 4. 11. Ch., viii, 3. 3. Tait., i, 6. 1. Katha, 2. 20; 3. 1; 4. 6; 6. 17. S'vet., 3. 11, 20.

² Bṛhad., v, 6; Ch., iii, 14. 3.

³ Katha, iv, 12, 13; vi, 17; S'vet., iii, 13; v, 8.

⁴ Katha, v, 3.

⁵ Tait., ii, 2, 3, 4, 5: compare Bṛhad., i, 4. 1 = S'at. Br., xiv, 4. 2. 1.

⁶ Bṛhad., ii, 3. 6.

⁷ Katha, iv, 13.

⁸ Bṛhad., iv, 4. 5: compare iii, 7. 14-22.

In other passages the soul is said to be made of mind only,¹ or of consciousness only,² but even then it is said to rise out of the elements. And in one obscure and curious old text³ we have four souls made respectively of Vital Spirit, mind, consciousness, and joy, each of them the same as, and yet different from, the former, and each of them of the shape of a man. This theory, which is already adumbrated in one or two passages in the older books,⁴ has become an integral part of the later Vedānta speculations under the name of the theory of the Koshas or 'sheaths.' But that word is not found, in this sense, in the old texts.

In dream sleep, however, the soul is away from the body.

"Therefore they say: 'Let no one wake a man brusquely; for that is a matter difficult to be cured for him if the soul find not its way back to him.'"⁵

It was no doubt also supposed to be away from the body during trance (as it is in certain diseases, Ait. Ār., iii, 2. 4. 7), but there is no mention of trance in the pre-Buddhist Upanishads.⁶

During the dream the soul, leaving the body in charge of the Vital Spirits, wanders at its will, builds up a world according to its fancy, creates for itself chariots and horses, lakes and rivers, manifold shapes, a gorgeous playground, wherein it acts and enjoys and suffers, "either rejoicing with women, or laughing with his friends, or beholding horrible sights."⁷ Till at last, tired out—just as a falcon after roaming hither and thither in the sky, tired, flaps his wings, and is wafted to his nest—the soul returns from that playground of his to the state where in deep fast sleep he wants no more, and dreams no more.⁸

The dreams are unreal, built up of the memories of the

¹ (Māṇḍa) Brhad., i, 4. 17; v, 6.

² (Vijñāna) Brhad., ii, 1. 17; iii, 7. 22; iv, 3. 7; iv, 5. 13.

³ Tait., ii, 2-5.

⁴ Brhad., i, 3. 3; ii, 1. 17; iv, 3. 7; iv, 4. 5; Ch., 3. 15. 1, 3.

⁵ Brhad., iv, 3. 14.

⁶ Dhyāna at Ch., vii, 6. 1 is perhaps ecstasy of meditation on one object only, but not trance, which is first mentioned in the Maitri Up., vi, 18-25.

⁷ Brhad., iv, 3. 9-13; Ch., viii, 12. 3.

⁸ Brhad., iv, 3. 19.

things the soul has experienced in the body,¹ and independent of time and space and causality. But they are true so far as they are premonitory of good luck, or the reverse. So in an old verse preserved in the Chāndogya (v, 2. 9) the sight of a woman betokens success, and in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (iii, 2. 4. 17) there are ten different dreams stated to be certain signs of approaching death.

During the dreamless, deep, sleep the soul pervades the whole body, to the very hairs and nails, by means of the 72,000 arteries called *Hitā* (the Good). As a young man or a great king having reached the summit of happiness might rest, so doth he then rest. And then no evil touches him, for he hath obtained light.²

The Māṇḍūkya Upanishad, one of the very latest included in the list given above at p. 72, and the shortest of them all, consists of only twelve verses, entirely devoted to this theory of the waking, dreaming, and sleeping states. It gives special names, not found in the older Upanishads, to these three states, and adds a fourth state called the *Turiya* ('fourth'), the state of the man who has reached salvation by realization of the fact that his soul is identical with God. This fourth state is only mentioned elsewhere in the closing words of the Maitrī Upanishad, which is certainly post-Buddhistic, and the idea is possibly derived from the use of the word *Turiya* in a quite different sense and connection (as a name of part of the Gāyatrī metre) in the older Brhadāraṇyaka.³

There is no distinct statement in the Upanishads as to the time or the manner of the entrance of the 'soul' into the body—whether at the moment of conception, or at the quickening of the child in the womb, or at the moment of birth. All views on this point were, no doubt, as hazy then in India as they are now in the West. But there are passages which show that the 'soul' was supposed to have

¹ Prāna, iv, 5.

² Bṛhad., ii, 1. 19; iv, 3. 20; Ch., viii, 6. 3; Kaush., iv, 19. Compare Bṛhad., i, 4. 7; Prāna, iii, 6; iv, 1. 6; Kātha, vi, 16.

³ Bṛhad., v, 14. 3, 7. So two of the other names in the Māṇḍūkya occur already (in a different sense) in the Chāndogya, v, 12.

existed before birth in some other body,¹ and to have been inserted at the origin of things into its first body downwards through the suture in the top of the skull into the heart,² or, as one passage has it, through the tips of the feet upwards through the belly into the head.³ And there is a curious speculation, of which we have three variants, on the transfer of the soul by generation through the seed.⁴

The length of a man's life on earth is predetermined.⁵ When he dies the soul leaves the body. But as to the manner in which it leaves it, and the place to which the soul goes, the statements are just as vague and contradictory as those as to the when and the how of the soul's entrance into the body.

According to one statement of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*⁶ the soul at death goes into the ether, and nothing is left of the man save his Karma. But this doctrine is regarded as a great mystery not to be discussed in public, and the passage (however interesting as a partial anticipation of Buddhism) stands quite isolated, and has been overshadowed in the later Upanishads by another and entirely contradictory doctrine found in another passage of the same work.

This is the well-known passage at vi, 2, 15, 16, which recurs almost word for word in two places in the *Chāndogya*.⁷ According to this passage the souls of "those who know this (a certain fivefold mystical interpretation of the sacrifice), and of those who in the forest follow faith and the truth, go

at death to light;

from light to day;

from day to the bright half (of the month);

¹ *Bṛhad.*, iii, 2, 13; iv, 4, 6; *Kaṭha*, v, 7 (compare vi, 4, and *Ait. Ār.*, 2, 3, 2).

² *Tait.*, i, 6, 1; *Ait.*, 3, 12.

³ *Ait. Āraṇyaka*, 2, 1, 4, 1-8.

⁴ *Bṛhad.*, vi, 2, 16; *Kaush.*, i, 2; *Ait.*, ii, 1-4. Compare *Ait. Ār.*, 2, 3, 7, 3, and *Ch.*, ii, 13; v, 8; *Bṛhad.*, i, 5, 7.

⁵ *Chāndogya*, v, 9, 1 = *Bṛhad.*, vi, 2, 13.

⁶ *Bṛhad.*, iii, 2, 17.

⁷ *Bṛhad.*, vi, 2, 15 = *Ch.*, iv, 15, 5, 6; and *Bṛhad.*, vi, 2, 1-16 = *Ch.*, v, 3-10.

from there to the six months when the sun goes north ;
from there to the Deva-loka, the world of the Gods
[in the Chāndogya, to the year] ;
from there to the sun ;
[from there to the moon] (not in the Bṛhad.) ;
from there to the lightning.

“Then a spirit (whom the Bṛhad. qualifies as ‘made of mind,’ and the Chāndogya as ‘not human’) meets them, and leads them to the Brahma-loka, the world of Brahmā. There they dwell for ages upon ages, and they come not back (to earth).

“But they who (though they do not understand the five-fold mystic meaning of the sacrifices) nevertheless carry them out, and do charitable deeds and penance, they go

at death to smoke (of the funeral pyre);
from smoke to night;
from night to the dark half (of the month);
from there to the six months when the sun goes south;
from there to the Pitr-loka;
[from there to the ether] (only in the Chāndogya);
from there to the moon.

“When they have reached the moon they become food; and then the Devas feed on them, just as the sacrificing priests feed on the Soma as it grows and becomes less. And when that is over they come back to this ether,¹ thence to the air, thence to the rain, thence to the earth. When they have reached the earth they become food, and are again offered in the altar-fire which is the male² (that is, men eat them). Then they are born on the altar-fire which is woman (that is, women conceive them).³ Thus, passing from world to world, do they transmigrate.

¹ It is probably only as a parallel to this mention of the ether that the Chāndogya inserts ether also in the last list.

² This is one of the fivefold mystic explanations of the sacrifice (Bṛhad., vi, 2, 12 = Chāndogya, v, 7).

* That souls pass from man to woman in seed is often referred to elsewhere: Rihad, v, 6. 2; Kaush., 1. 2; Ait., 4; Ait. Ār., iii, 2. 2. 4.

"Those, however, who do not know (either of) these ways, (they become) worms, moths, and gnats."

This is, as a theory, perfectly simple, and holds well together. Those who know the mystic, euhemeristic interpretation of the sacrifice go through light and the Deva-loka to the sun and to an immortal life in the Brahma world. Those who do not know it, but are good men and do penance, go through the night and the world of the dead to the moon, and thence return through rebirth to this world. But the bad become insects.

The Chândogya spoils the symmetry of this theory by sending 'those who know' also to the moon, and by putting with *them* (not in the second company) those who do penance. And again, at the end, by dividing the second company (who, on its own hypothesis, are good) into good and bad, and then giving the good a rebirth into the higher castes and the bad a rebirth into animals or outcasts. Finally, it winds up with a kind of protest against the Brhadāranyaka by saying that the insects form a class by themselves with which the previously mentioned men, either good or bad, have nothing to do.¹

There is yet a third theory in the same book, but inconsistent with each of the foregoing. According to this² the soul at death gathers into itself the Vital Spirits of all the senses; and (the top point of the heart having become lighted up) the soul, guided by that light, departs, taking with it the Vital Spirits, through the eye, to another body, exalted or not according to the deeds done in the body it has thus left. All this is true if the soul at death be full of craving. But if craving have ceased, then at death the soul, being Brahman, goes through the opening at the top of the skull³ to Brahman, obtains Brahman, and becomes immortal.

In the Kaushîtakî, which is certainly later than the

¹ Compare Ob., vi. 9. 3; vi. 10. 2. on rebirth as animals.

² Brhad., iv. 4. 1-6: compare Prâna, i. 9-16; iii. 10. Kaush., iii. 3.

³ Chândogya, viii. 6. 6; Kâtha, vi. 10; Tait., i. 6. 1. Compare Prâna, 3. 6, 7.

Bṛhad., there is yet another theory.¹ "All who go forth from this world go even to the moon. It is by their spirits that the bright half of the moon waxes.² In the time of the dark half it (the moon) sends them on to a new birth. This verily is the door of heaven; to wit, the moon. Him who answers it, it sends on higher. Him who answers it not, it rains down hither, and he is born again here either as worm, or grasshopper, or fish, or bird, or lion, or bear, or snake, or tiger, or man, or some other creature, according to his Karma, according to his knowledge." If, on being thus reborn, he gets to perceive the identity of himself and his teacher, then he goes on, through the worlds of Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Indra, and Prajāpati, to the world of Brahmā, which is described at length and with much eloquence. Five hundred maidens there receive him. His good Karma goes to his kindred, his bad to his enemies. Many are his difficulties and adventures before he at last comes to Brahmā himself, and having answered rightly all the questions put, then whatever victory, whatever power, belongs to Brahmā, that *he* also wins.

The above theories are all that are set out with complete detail. But there are not a few isolated passages which presuppose other views really inconsistent with any of these, though often made up of a mixture of them. Thus the Taittirīya gives an account,³ according to which the soul makes its way out through the head, where the roots of the hair divide. Thence it goes to Agni, Vāyu, Āditya (fire, wind, sun), and finally to Brahman. There it attains to lordship, having reached the lord of the mind, and becomes lord of speech, sight, hearing, and knowledge. This has clear analogies to the last theory, but it is not the same.

The Muṇḍaka Upanishad says that those who think sacrifice and pious deeds are the best are befooled, knowing

¹ Kaushitaki, i, 2.

² So the rays of the sun in one passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i, 9, 3, 10), and the stars of heaven in another (vi, 5, 4, 8), had already been identified with the souls of the righteous.

³ Tait., 1. 6 (ii, 8 is only about abandoning the world, in the sense of becoming a recluse).

not the other things that are better; and when in heaven's heights they have enjoyed the fruit of their good works, they return to this lower world. But those who practise penance and faith in the forest go through the door of the sun to where that immortal Person is whose soul passeth not away.¹ This is taken from the Chāndogya variation of the second theory in the Bṛhad.

The Kāṭha Upanishad says that fire sacrifice leads to heaven, and they who go there enter the immortal state,² having overcome rebirth and death.³ But in another passage it says that he who has mind and intelligence, and is pure, reaches the place whence he is not born again; whereas he who has not, and is impure, goes into transmigration.⁴ Yet, again, it says that some enter the womb and have (living) bodies, but others enter blocks of wood (things that don't move) according to their works and their learning.⁵ But when all the bonds of the heart are broken, then the mortal becomes immortal, moving upwards by the artery that passes into the crown of the head.⁶

The Śvetāśvatara says that those who know the universal spirit become immortal,⁷ but the others transmigrate into various bodies.⁸

The author of the Praśna Upanishad, short as it is, contrives with reckless boldness to give five different views of what happens to the soul after it leaves the body.

a.⁹ Those who trust to sacrifice and pious works are reborn into the world of the moon, and thence return (to this world); but those who have sought the soul by penance, faith, and knowledge gain the sun, the home of the spirits, the immortal, free from danger, the highest state.

¹ Muṣṇḍ., 1. 2. 10, 11: compare iii, 2. 6, 7.

² Kāṭha, i, 13.

³ Ibid., i, 17.

⁴ Ibid., iii, 7, 8.

⁵ Ibid., v, 7.

⁶ Ibid., vi, 15, 16: compare S'vet., i, 8.

⁷ S'vet., i, 7; iii, 10; iv, 11-17; v, 14.

⁸ S'vet., v, 7, 11, 12.

⁹ Praśna, i, 9, 10.

β.¹ Those who observe the rule of Prajāpati (a certain rule there set out of conjugal continence) produce a pair, and to them belongs the Brahma world; those in whom are penance and continence, in whom the truth is set firm, to them belongs the Brahma world.

γ.² It is in the heart that the soul dwells. There there are 101 arteries, each hundredfold, and to each one belong 72,000 branch arteries, in which the Vyāna (a mode of breathing or breath) moves. Through one of these arteries the Udāna (the up-breathing) leads it by the good it has done to a good world, by the evil it has done to an evil world, and by both to the world of men.

δ.³ Whatever a man's thought is (at the time of his death), with that thought he goes into his Vital Spirit, and the Spirit together with the bodily warmth leads him with his soul to the world he wishes for.

ε.⁴ If a man meditates till death on the first letter (only) of the word AUM (Om) he is quickly reborn in the world. It is the Rig Veda verses which lead him to the world of men, but if there he becomes gifted with penance, continence, and faith he achieves greatness. If he meditates on two letters he is quickly reborn in mind. The verses of the Yajur Veda lead him up to the sky. That is the world of Soma (the moon). He first enjoys glory there, and then comes back (to earth). If he meditates on all three letters, that is, on the Great Soul, he goes to light and to the sun. He is led by the verses of the Sāma Veda to the world of Brahmā.

Lastly, it is very remarkable that in the solemn words with which the Chāndogya closes,⁵ and which are put in the mouth of Brahmā himself,⁶ it is said that he who has learnt the Vedas from a family of teachers according to rule in

¹ Praśna, i, 15, 16. Compare Chāndogya viii, 4, 3.

² Ibid., iii, 6, 7.

³ Ibid., iii, 10. Compare the obscure passage in the Chāndogya Upanishad, iii, 5-10, where the soul becomes in succession one of different sets of gods whose colour he has understood.

⁴ Ibid., v, 3-5.

⁵ Chāndogya, viii, 15.

⁶ Just as the contrary doctrine is in Chāndogya, iii, 11, 4.

his leisure time after performing his duties to the teacher, and who after going home to a pure land keeps up his memory of the Vedas by repetition, has brought up virtuous sons, and keeps his senses in subjection to the Soul, and is merciful to all beings (except at the tīrthas)—he who acts thus all his life goes then to the Brahma world, and does not return, yea, he does not return.

Here it is not the man who has mystic knowledge, but the ordinary Brahmin who fulfils the duties of a Brahmin who goes (practically for ever) to the Brahma world. And still stronger is another passage in the same book,¹ according to which when any man, without any distinction at all, departs this life, his speech passes into his mind, his mind into his Vital Spirit, his Vital Spirit into heat, and the heat into the supreme deity.

Indian pandits, almost without an exception since the time of Śaṅkar Ācārya, see no opposition in these divergent statements. They hold that those who see a difference are merely blinded by the want of that insight which is able to reconcile contradictions. To them all that the Upanishads say is one. To most of them it is one with the interpretation put forth by Śaṅkara, in which all the discrepancies are explained away. Others accept other interpretations, and Professor Thibaut has discussed, in a most interesting manner, in the introduction to his English version of Śaṅkara's comment on the Vedānta Sūtra, some special points of these different interpretations. But they are all at one in seeing only one coherent set of views in the Upanishads. And such a position is indeed inevitable to those who look on the Upanishads as forming part of an infallible authority, however entirely at variance it may be with the historical method. From the historical point of view, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that these various speculations are the outcome of a long-continued struggle against those parts of the still more ancient theory, contained in the Vedas themselves, against which

¹ Chāndogya, vi, S. 6.

the growing moral sense of the people brought about an inevitable revolt.

As is well known,¹ the Vedic position is the simple one, closely allied to the beliefs held by all Indo-European peoples, that the souls of the good go to heaven, where, in new and glorified bodies, they enjoy a life of sensuous pleasure (very much like that of the happy upon earth) with the fathers and with the gods; while the bad are cast into the darkness or into the pit. There is nothing here about transmigration, and no stress is laid especially upon sacrifice. It is in the Brāhmaṇas that the efficacy of sacrifice as a means of gaining heaven is put into the foreground in numerous passages²; and there is once reference in an old verse quoted by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,³ to the efficacy of knowledge as leading men to that condition in which desires have passed away. A similar idea is once or twice met with in different forms in other Brāhmaṇas,⁴ so that it must already at an early date have gained somewhat wide circulation in the circles of the Brahmins. Finally, the Brahma-loka, the world of Brahma, is mentioned once in the Atharva Veda, and one obscure passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁵ says that fire, wind, water, moon, lightning, and sun are six doors of, or to, Brahmā. He who sacrifices with a burnt-offering arrives by Agni (fire), as the door, to Brahmā; and is born into union with Brahmā, into the same world as he is in. In another passage,⁶ he who reads the Vedas in a particular way attains to oneness of soul with Brahmā.

Who can doubt that the similar speculations in the Upanishads are the outcome of these; that their variety is due to the variety of their sources; and that their greater clearness is at least partly due to the greater lapse

¹ The authorities are quoted by Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," v, 284-313, and by Zimmer, "Alt-Indisches Leben," 408-422.

² See the passages quoted by Professor Weber in the Z.D.M.G., ix, 237 foll., and by Muir, loc. cit., 314 foll.

³ Śatap. Br., x, 6. 4. 15.

⁴ Taittiriya Br., iii, 10. 11. 6; iv, 10. 9. 11. Ait Br., iii, 44.

⁵ Śatap. Br., xi, 4. 4. 1.

⁶ Ibid., xi, 5. 6. 9.

of time during which they could be more thoroughly thought out? The modifications which we find in the Upanishads are also partly due to another very interesting cause—to the influence of the laity.

The Brāhmaṇas are exclusively the work of the priestly caste of the Brahmins. The Upanishads, as we have them, are no doubt also put together by the Brahmins. But they acknowledge (more especially as regards what is considered the highest teaching of the Upanishads) the co-operation and even guidance of the more thoughtful of the laity. The point is of so much importance for the history of thought in India, and particularly of Buddhism, but another article would be necessary to deal with it at suitable length.¹

¹ See Professor Garbe's article in "Nord und Sud," 1893, "Die Weisheit des Brahmanen oder des Kshatriya?"; and Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv.

FIG. 1

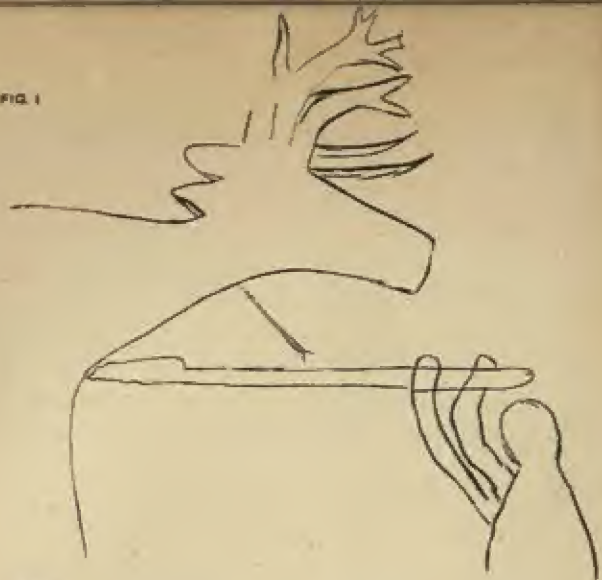
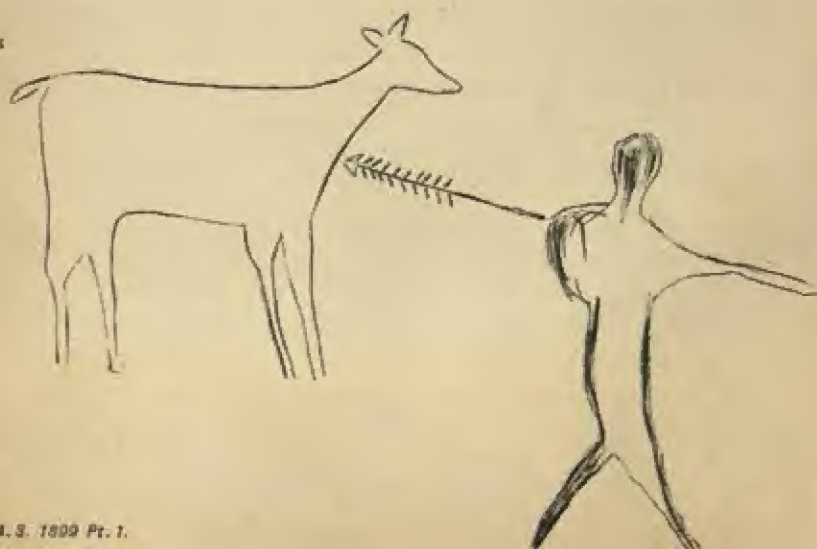


FIG. 2



FIG. 3



ART. V.—*Cave Drawings in the Kaimūr Range, North-West Provinces.* By JOHN COCKBURN.

[THE following paper has been forwarded to us by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has kindly added a few notes.—RH. D.]

Previous Researches.

These drawings were first brought to notice by the late Mr. Archibald Carlleyle and myself, and were discovered by us independently of each other in 1880, he working in Rewah and Mirzāpur and I in Banda. I took up the subject from the anthropological and zoological side entirely, Mr. Carlleyle from the antiquarian or philological side. He evidently had made some important discoveries of *ancient records*, but, as he desired to work them himself, he imparted no information on either the nature or the localities of his discoveries, and his knowledge has died with him.¹ The first scientific paper on the drawings was by myself published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1883, and was entitled "On the recent existence of *Rhinoceros indicus* in the North-West Provinces, and a description of an archaic rock painting from Mirzapur, representing the hunting of this animal" (Journ., lii, part 2, 1883, pp. 56-64, with two plates).² This article excited much interest

¹ "Notes on lately discovered sepulchral mounds, cairns, caves, cave paintings, and various implements. By A. C. Carlleyle, First Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India. In this paper Mr. Carlleyle enumerates all discoveries of interest lately made by him in the district of Mirzapur, and then gives a general account of his discoveries in Berghelkhand, Bandelkhand, and other places during the last nine years. This paper will be published in the Journal, Pt. I, 1883." (Proc. A.S.B., Feb., 1883, p. 49.) Unfortunately, the paper never appeared (V. S.).

² Abstract in Proc. A.S.B. for 1883, p. 123. (V. A. S.)

in Europe, and great things were expected from the discovery. I regret that I have no copy of the paper. A short paragraph is also devoted to the subject in the *Gazetteer* of Mirzāpur. There is a further paper in the *Proc. Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1884,¹ on the durability of hæmatite drawings on sandstone rocks, by myself also. Shortly afterwards Mr. A. M. Markham, C.S., noticed a few words written in this pigment in ancient characters² at Chachaiie Koond, or the Falls of the Tons in Rewah. Mr. Beglar, of the Archaeological Survey, also noticed extensive records in this pigment at the Chitilekna rock, Ramgarh, in Sirguja State, Chutia Nagpur, and attributed the writing to the seventh century.³ Then came the discovery of a dated record in this pigment at Gingi Hill, an islet of British territory belonging to Allahabad, but situated in Rewah. I paid a visit to this spot for the express purpose of noting in what state of preservation the writing was, and found it faint, but yet perfectly distinct and readable.⁴ I have seen older writing. The position of this record shows how extremely difficult it is to find pictorial records. It is situated at the base of the hill, which has here perpendicular sides, and the writing is about five feet from the ground, and very inconspicuous. This record is nearly 1,900 years old, and it seems likely from what has been observed in the interior of the Great Pyramid by Dr. Flinders Petrie that the pigment laid on rock lasts 4,000 years in sheltered situations. This gentleman found that the lines drawn in ruddle for dressing and facing the blocks in the interior of the Great Pyramid looked as fresh as if they had been done a few days before; and as the climate of the North-West Provinces resembles Egypt somewhat,⁵ and as many of the drawings are in rock shelter

¹ *Proc. A.S.B.* for 1884, p. 141. See also *ibid.* for 1883, p. 125. (V. A.)

² I cannot find any record of this discovery. (V. A. S.)

³ Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. xiii, pp. 34-41, pl. x. (V. A. S.)

⁴ Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, xxi, p. 119, pl. xxx. The date is the year 52, probably equivalent to the beginning of the Christian era. The record relates to a Maharaja Bhimsa Sena. (V. A. S.)

⁵ The resemblance is not very close. (V. A. S.)

or caves, only open on one side, they are perfectly protected from the weather, and might last just as long.

These paintings and petroglyphs, or rock writing, must, therefore, be considered among the most ancient records in India; some of them, in all probability, being earlier than the earliest of records graven on stone or copper,¹ and their importance can hardly be overestimated, particularly as some of the writing is in a character that looks like Mongol or Türkī, and, when regarded in connection with the discoveries now being made in the buried cities of Central Asia, the supposed home of the early Aryans, may possibly throw light on the Aryan invasion of India.²

Similar drawings in the identical pigment occur in Australia and in South Africa, where they were done by the Bushmen, in North America, as described by Catlin, and in South America as described by Alfred Wallace. The concentric circles, yet considered by the natives of the Amazons as symbols of the sun and moon, are very common in Indian caves. But the most remarkable feature about them is their close similarity to modern savage Australian drawings done on bark. (See Brough Smith, "The Aborigines of Victoria.") The conventional method of representing the stone chip spear or 'gidjee,' the stone knife, boomerang, and the attitudes of the corroboree dance, are identical. There is also a close similarity in other points. The Australian drawings which have been explained by aborigines to Englishmen are a valuable key to the Indian paintings.

A great antiquity is generally ascribed to this class of drawings, but they continue to be made to the present day, particularly in India, where the painting, done in red pigment on the front of a house where a marriage has occurred, and called *Kohobur*, passes imperceptibly into the cave drawing, some of the conventional forms of animals, birds, and inanimate objects being identical. It is therefore

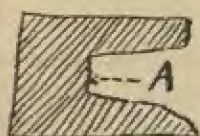
¹ Mr. Cockburn's estimate of the antiquity of these documents may prove to be exaggerated. (V. A. S.)

² This result is, I should think, very unlikely. (V. A. S.)

just possible that the drawings in these caves would afford as complete a pictorial record of the history of antiquity down to modern times as a volume of *The Graphic* does of the civilization of the present day, and they will certainly yield as much as, if not more information than, the sculptures of the Bharhut railing.

Position of the Drawings.

The drawings are executed on vertical rocks, and in caves known as rock shelters. The accompanying sketch will give an idea of a section of a typical rock shelter: the drawings are done on the surface A, which is generally from four to ten feet high, and presents a very smooth and almost imperishable surface of vitreous quartzite. But many of them are on vertical rocks. Overhanging boulders, and the curious deep cañons, or gorges, formed by streams that cut their way through the Vindhyan plateaux, are favourite localities.



S. 2



Valley of Sone River

SECTION OF THE LIKHUNIA ROCK SHELTER C SOUTH OF SHAHGANGI ON THE KYMORE SCARP OVERLOOKING THE VALLEY OF THE SONE.

The Chunderpurba and Karamnasa rivers are cases in point. The drawings occur on both the northern and southern scarps of the Kymores, and also on the plateau between,

which is from twenty to thirty miles wide; thus I have seen them near Mirzāpur and Chunar, at Pabhosa, and at Chitrakot, where a typical rock shelter with ancient drawings has had a series of modern stone steps several hundred feet high built up to it. The best of the rock shelters and drawings, in my opinion, are to be found on the southern scarp of the Kymores, which overhangs the valley of the Sone. The above sketch shows the position and probable way in which these rock shelters of the Kymore scarp have been formed. The stratum A being of great hardness endures, while the material of the cave C was crushed, or broke away at right angles to B, and was removed by denudation. The surface D is generally vertical, being cleanly fractured transverse to the bedding, and is an admirable material to draw on. There was but little soil in this cave. The Likhunia shelter overlooks Tuppeh Chourasi in the valley of the Sone, perhaps the finest bit of scenery in the Mirzāpur District. I have hardly devoted more than a couple of weeks in all to their examination, and only in my spare time. Many of them are in exceedingly dangerous positions, necessitating crawling down the face of a precipice on the hands and knees; but most of these nearly inaccessible caves, if there is any earth on the floor, form veritable museums of prehistoric antiquities in the way of flint knives, cores, arrow-heads, celts, fragments of fossil and charred bone, pottery, etc. From this source alone I am confident I could make a fine collection, sets from which might be sent to every museum in the world, after meeting our own wants. Colonel Rivett-Carnac, assisted by me, has already presented sets of the larger stone implements to every museum in the world.¹ It must not be supposed that every cave contains

¹ "On Stone Implements from the North-Western Provinces of India. By J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.S., C.I.E., F.S.A., etc." (J.A.S.B., vol. lii, pt. 1, p. 221, 1883.) This excellent account, illustrated by three good plates, describes the larger stone implements, hammers, ringstones, and celts collected by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Cockburn in the course of several years. A promised supplementary paper by Mr. Cockburn on the smaller chert implements does not seem to have been published. (V. A. S.)

interesting drawings, or records, or implements, and it must also be understood that very often miles of the Kymores prove to possess no caves at all, or the caves prove to have only a few trivial drawings of a very rude and conventional character in them. Thus, near Markandi and Majbgawan in the Banda District, after a laborious search, I only found two sets of drawings, and the most interesting of these was perfectly inaccessible, as it was on the face of a scarp 100 feet high, and the floor had dropped off. As a matter of fact, rock shelters sufficiently durable to contain drawings only occur in certain localities where the upper strata of the Kymore sandstone have been fused to a very considerable degree of hardness. In the strata known geologically as the Rewah formation they hardly occur, and I only know one good cave in the south of Pargana Khairāgarh of the Allahabad District, near Atrazee [*sic*], where this formation occurs.

The height of the hills is no criterion, but rather their hardness.

Petroglyphs occur everywhere. I have chiefly seen them about Bijaygarh in South Mirzāpur: one particularly fine record in perfect preservation was seen by me at Ek Powah Ghat near the gorge of the Ghaghur, near Robertsganj in South Mirzāpur. Each letter was about two inches long, and the strokes were a quarter of an inch thick. There were about six lines of about four feet in length, if I remember right. The character was some early form of Hindi. The shell-writing occurs everywhere, and much of it is of very large size, each letter being a foot long, and the record extending for fifteen or twenty feet.¹ Words in Asoka characters are common in many of these caves. There can be no doubt that they have been inhabited first by savages, and then by Buddhist and Hindu hermits, from the earliest times to the present day, when holy men from Benares occasionally take up their residence in them, many of the

¹ See Cunningham, Arch. Survey Reports, vol. i, pp. 60, 67; iii, p. 154, pl. xlv; viii, pp. 86, 129, 192. Cunningham referred this style of writing to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. (V. A. S.)

caves being no more than a single long march from Benares. I am certain that a considerable mass of rock-writing will be discovered in the course of a general search, but a search for writing alone would not be very remunerative.

Nature of Drawings.

The more ancient drawings are often very elaborate and exhibit considerable skill, as will be seen by a reference to the plate of the rhinoceros hunt, which covered about a square yard of rock. The drawing is executed with a degree of boldness and accuracy as regards zoological detail quite beyond the natives of India at the present day. The position of the man tossed by the rhinoceros, sprawling in the air, is ridiculously like a picture in Baldwin's "African Hunting." Drawings as large depicting other scenes occur, and a good deal of information may be got out of them. For example, a river scene shows the character of the boat used, and the species of huge fish harpooned is recognizable at a glance. The reels holding the harpoon line are very similar to those used in parts of Africa at the present day.

Some of the drawings of animals are of a high standard of merit. One drawing of a stag, *chital* (spotted deer), with his head turned round, is quite up to a modern drawing, and certainly better than I could draw the animal myself.¹

¹ I have not seen the tracing of this drawing. Tracings of three drawings are enclosed. (V. A. S.)

FIG. 1. Man spearing Gaur stag (*Rucervus Duvaucelii*). From Bhalduria, Pargana Akhaura, Mirzāpur. The animal has an arrow stuck in the throat, and was also shown as attacked by dogs. The spear-head, while very like those made of hoop-iron used by the modern Andamanese for spearing dugong, may possibly have been of stone, though the probabilities are in favour of iron or copper. The Gaur is locally extinct, but is yet found in small numbers 200 miles south.

FIG. 2. Man with a torch encountering a panther at night. From Lohri Cave.

FIG. 3. Man spearing sambar hind with stone spear. The object in front is probably a leaf screen, such as Indian shikarrie yet use in stalking game. The conventional form of representing the head and barbs of the spear is exactly similar to that used by the modern Australian aborigines in representing their stone spears on bark and in cave drawings. From Likhunia Cave.

Individual abnormalities in the antlers of deer are often represented, and I came across an injured drawing of a two-horned rhinoceros. Weapons, utensils, and totems are very accurately figured. Pigments of various colours have been used. I have seen traces of white, black, and yellow, but the chief pigment is ruddle, or red oxide of iron, which occurs in a very pure form in these hills, pencils and lumps of it being found in the soil of the caves. The pigment was probably rubbed up with animal fat, and I have succeeded in reproducing it perfectly, and left my name at various spots with a date, fourteen years ago. It would be interesting to know in what state of preservation this writing is now. Wallace, in his "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," mentions finding the names of Spaniards who had visited picture drawings a century before, in perfect preservation, they being done with the same pigment, red oxide of iron, which was also the favourite war-paint of the North American Indian. Indeed, the Indian equestrian cave portraits resemble the American reproductions of Catlin very closely, though the latter cannot possibly be more than three centuries old, for horses were introduced by the Spaniards. This pigment was laid on pretty thick, and perfectly preserved paintings bear much resemblance to the red paintings on the outside of mummy cases. I have shown in one of my papers how this oxide of iron communicates a stain to the rock—a stain that is evidently capable of lasting thousands of years; but, unfortunately, many causes are at work destroying the drawings, and not a monsoon can pass without some of them being destroyed.

The chief causes of destruction are natural ones. The roofs of a considerable number of the shelters project many feet in the form of a thick slab, and these very frequently give way when saturated by rain, thus closing the shelter. Then, again, the water that oozes through the strata of the sandstone is charged with carbonate of lime, and leaves a thin white deposit of stalactite over the drawings, completely obliterating them. Smoke made by fires of

herdsmen and robbers who frequent these caves accounts for the destruction of a considerable number. I have also seen a few mischievously battered with stones. It may be safely said that every year sees their numbers diminish, so that their examination ought to be taken up as speedily as possible.

ART. VI.—*Māham Anaga*. By H. BEVERIDGE.

THIS lady was one of Akbar's nurses, and is said to have watched over him from the cradle to the throne. She must have been a notable woman, for she acquired great influence over Akbar, and was for a time the administratrix of his kingdom. It was in great measure through her intrigues that Akbar emancipated himself from the control of Bairām Khān. There has long been a mystery about her status and about the paternity of her children. She had two sons, Bāqī Khān Kōka and Adham Khān Kōka, but their father's name is never mentioned. Abū'l-faḡl, Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Badāʾonī, and other writers, always speak of them as the sons of Māham Anaga, but give no hint as to their father's identity. Hence Mr. Blochmann concluded that Adham Khān, the more celebrated of the two, was "doubtless a royal bastard." Professor Dowson demurs to this view on account of the great respect with which Māham Anaga is always spoken of, but admits that there is a mystery about the paternity. If, however, an illuminated MS. in the possession of Colonel Hanna is to be trusted, the mystery is cleared up, for its author states that Māham Anaga was the wife of Nadīm Khwāja Kōka, the sherbet-provider (*sharbat-bardār*) or butler of Humāyūn. The statement occurs at p. 9b of the MS., in telling the story (also given in the *Akbarnāma*) of how Akbar, while still an infant, comforted his nurse Jijī Anaga. Māham Anaga and the other nurses were, it seems, jealous of Akbar's predilection for Jijī, and accused her to Humāyūn of practising enchantments so as to make the young prince refuse all milk but her own. Jijī was very sad about this, and one evening when she was alone with the child, the latter, while yet in the cradle, opened

his *Messiah-like* mouth and bade her be of good cheer, for she would always have the exclusive nursing of him. The statement about Māham Anaga's being the wife of Nadīm is quite clear, and Nadīm is a perfectly possible husband for her, for he seems to have been a foster-brother of Humāyūn, and he is frequently mentioned by Abū'l-faḡl, Jauhar and others, as a faithful follower of Humāyūn's fortunes. It is true that Abū'l-faḡl, in his account of Akbar's nurses, speaks of Nadīm Kōka's wife as Fakhrū-n-nissā, but this may have been another name for Māham, and the author of Colonel Hanna's MS. uses both names as if they belonged to the same person. Moreover, Gulbadan Begum, who is presumably a better authority than either of them, calls Fakhrū-n-nissā the mother, and not the wife, of Nadīm. The main question is—Is the author of Colonel Hanna's MS. a sufficient authority for the statement that Nadīm was Māham Anaga's husband? Colonel Hanna has kindly allowed me to examine the MS., and I have read as much of it as I could in two days. On the flyleaf the MS. is said to be the composition of two ladies—Shukrū-n-nissa, a daughter of Akbar (afterwards married to Mirzā Shāhrukh), and her sister-in-law Habība Bānū, daughter of 'Aziz Kōka and wife of Prince Murād. But I was unable to find in the MS. any reference to a dual authorship, or to its being the work of a lady. The author speaks of himself as a grandson of 'Aziz Kōka, and was consequently a great-grandson of Akbar's nurse Jijī Anaga. He wrote apparently in the time of Jahāngīr. Some of his statements are not accurate, but he seems to have had good sources of information, for he quotes the *Tārīkh-i-Atka Khān*, which seems to have been written by Nawab Sharīf Khān, a son (?) of the Atka Khān (*Shamsu-d-dīn*), and which appears to be now lost. As a descendant, too, of Jijī Anaga, I think he may be trusted about a fact connected with her. Unfortunately, the preface to the first part of the MS. is wanting. What is prefixed to the beginning is a fragment of the introduction to the second part. Hence we have not the author's account

of the work. I conjecture, however, that he was a teacher employed in the royal court and that he wrote his book for the instruction of some young prince. Perhaps this explains the curiously rude and childish form of the pictures in the book. Colonel Hanna is inclined to think them the productions of the above-named two young ladies, but it seems to me more probable that they are sketches made by a Mūnshī for the instruction and amusement of a child.¹

¹ The words used at p. 98 of the MS. are Māham Anaga zan-i-Nadīm Khwāja. Nadīm is not called Kōka, but he can hardly be a different person from the Nadīm Kōka of Abū'l-faṣl. At p. 9a he is called Nadīm Khwāja, *sharbat-kardār*. On the same page, we are told that Jijī Anaga was also called Sulṭānām, and that she belonged to the family of Amīr Sayyid 'Abdu-l-lāh Al Farīd (?). That Nadīm was a man of some position is shown by the statement in the *Albarnūma* (Bib. Ind., i, 241) that he was one of Humāyūn's most trusty servants, and that he was put in charge of Mīrzā 'Askarī when the latter was recaptured after his flight from Qandahār (A.D. 1545).

ART. VII.—*Some Early Babylonian Contract-Tablets or Legal Documents.* II. By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

Bu. 91-5-9, 704.

DEDICATION OF A TEMPLE.

Bêt D.P. Lugala	A temple of Lugala
ô D.P. Šu-ul-la-at	and Šullat
3. Nu-ur-i-li-šu	Nûr-îli-šu
mâr Bêl-na-da	son of Bêl-nada
a-na i-li-šu	for his god
6. i-pu-uš	has made.
išten šar bêt a-na i-li-šu	1 šar the temple, to his god
a-na na-bi-iš-ti-šu	for his life
9. u-ri (?) -di	he has dedicated (?).
Pi-ša-Šamaš-ma	Pi-ša-Šamaš is
ša-gu-um bêti	priest of the temple.
12. Nu-ur-i-li-su	Nûr-îli-šu
a-na ša-gu-ti-im	against the priesthood
u-la i-ra-ga-am	will not bring action.
15. li (?) -mu (?) -un D.P.	The curse (?) of Šamaš
Šamaš	
u Su-ma-ila	and Suma-ila (shall be
	against him)
ša i-ra-ga-mu	who brings action.
18. Maḥar Bur-nu-nu mâr	Before Bûr-nunu, son of
I-bu-bu	Ibubu (?);
Maḥar I-bi-ik-Ištar mâr	Before Ibik-Ištar, son of
I-bu-bu	Ibubu;
Maḥar Sin-rabû mâr	Before Sin-rabû, son of
A-ba-Ellila-kime	Aba-Ellila-kime;

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 21. Maḥar I-din-Sin mār | Before Idin-Sin, son of Ilu- |
| Ilu-ma-lik | malik; |
| Maḥar Sin-i-din-na- | Before Sin-idinnaššu, |
| aš-šu | |
| mār Lu-D.P. Nin-saḥ | son of Lu-Ninsah; |
| 24. Maḥar A-ḥu-um-ḥi- | Before Aḥum-ḥibum, |
| bu-um | |
| mār A-ḥu-ši-na | son of Aḥu-šina; |
| Maḥar Sin-i-din-na- | Before Sin-idinnaššu, |
| aš-šu | |
| 27. mār Pi-ša-D.P. Nin- | son of Pi-ša-Nin-Karak. |
| Kar-ak. | |

Free Rendering.

Nûr-ili-šu has built for his god the temple of Lugala and Šullat. One šar (is the measure of) the temple of his god—he has dedicated it for his life. Pi-ša-Šamaš is the priest of the temple. Nûr-ili-šu shall not make a claim against the priesthood (i.e., demand the restitution of the property he has given). The curse of the Sun-god and Suma-ila (shall be upon him) who brings an action.

This interesting document is drawn up in accordance with the desire for strict legality that seems to have been so firmly fixed in the Babylonian mind, and from that very circumstance, forms a remarkable contrast with the illegal, and, in fact, lawless account given in Judges xvii of the dedication of a priest and images (and, it may also be presumed, a temple) for religious (heathen) worship. The existence of prohibitions against claiming back property that had been sold or given are so common in Babylonian contracts, that one can hardly help believing that the people were very prone to giving, and even to selling, things that they afterwards, in a moment of repentance, proceeded to claim as their own again.

Lines 1, 2. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.
Lugala and Šullat (instead of *Lugala* we may read *Šarru*)

are apparently names of Marduk or Merodach as "the King," and Zir-panitum, his consort, as "the Bride," though the latter rendering is doubtful. If, however, the translation here suggested be correct, the meaning (bride) probably arose from the custom of carrying off a maiden from her father's house. The root is probably *šalātu*, 'to carry off (as spoil).' The absence of case-ending to the name *Šullat* is noteworthy.

Line 5. "For his god." As the form *lū*, oblique case of *lu*, could hardly have been plural at this early date, the temple would seem to have been built for Merodach alone, and it may be surmised that the consort of the god was included "by courtesy" (so to say) only.

Line 11. *Šagum* is apparently the word that appears in the syllabaries of later date as *šangū*, 'priest.' The abstract noun from this, *šagutim* (oblique case), later *šangutim*, occurs in line 13.¹

Lines 15, 16. 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?) 𒌦(?). The first two characters are doubtful, but they seem, from the traces, to be *li* and *mu*, which would make the word *limnu*, construct case of *limnu*, 'evil,' here equivalent, apparently, to the word 'curse.' That *limnu Šamaš*, 'evil of the Sun-god,' is a proper name, is doubtful, and even improbable. On the other hand, *Suma-ila* would seem to be a royal name, coupled, as is usual, with that of the god, to bring down a curse on the contractor, in the case that he should break his solemn word here given. *Suma-ila* (the text has *Zuma-ila*) may possibly be the same as *Šumu-la-ila*, the second ruler of the dynasty of Babylon (that to which Hammurabi or Amraphel belongs). The completing words in this line seem to be those that the sense requires.

In the list of witnesses, all the names are Semitic except *Aba-Ellila-kime* ('who is like the god Bel?'), father of *Sin-rabū*, and *Lu-Ninsah* ('man' or 'servant of the deity Ninsah'), father of the first of the two witnesses named

¹ The root is apparently the Akkadian *šagu*, 'head.'

Sin-idinnaššu. Another possible reading of the name Aḥum-ḥibum is Aḥum-tābum, 'the good brother.'

Bu. 91-5-9, 407.

WEDDING CONTRACT.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| D.P. Aḥ-ḥu-a-ya-bi | Aḥḥu-ayabi |
| mārat In-na-ba-tim | (is) daughter of Innabātum |
| 3. D.P. In-na-ba-a-tum | Innabātum, her mother, |
| ummi-ša ¹ | |
| a-na Zu-ka-ni-ia | to Zukania |
| a-na aš-šu-tim ū mu- | to wifehood and husbandhood |
| tu-tim | |
| 6. i-di-in D.P. Zu-ka-ni-ia | has given. Zukania, |
| i-zi-ib-ši-ma | should he forsake her, |
| išten ma-na kaspi išakḫal ² | one <i>mana</i> of silver he shall |
| | pay. |
| 9. Aḥ-ḥu-a-ya-bi | Aḥḥu-ayabi, |
| i-zi-ir-šu-ma | should she deny him, |
| iš-tu di-im-tim ³ | from the pinnacle |
| 12. i-na-da-ni-iš-ši | he may throw her. |
| a-di In-na-ba-tum | As long as Innabātum |
| ba-al-ṭa-at | lives, |
| 15. D.P. Aḥ-ḥu-a-ya-bi | Aḥḥu-ayabi |
| i-ta-na-ši-ši-ma | shall support her, and |
| wa-ar-ki In-na-ba-tum | after, Innabātum |
| 18. (e)-li Aḥ-ḥu-a-ya-bi | against Aḥḥu-ayabi |
| | |



Reverse.

[u Za-bu]-um ša a-	(and Zab)um (against him)
wa-at	who the words of

¹ Written *ama-a-ni*, the Akkadian for 'his' or 'her mother.'

² Written *ni-la(f)-e*, the Akkadian for 'he shall weigh' (pay).

³ Such seems to be the reading, notwithstanding the extra wedge with which the character *di* is written.

3. [duppi an]-ni-im u-na-ka-ru this tablet changes (shall be invoked).
 Maḥar Li-bi-it-Ištar Before Libit-Ištar;
 Maḥar Bur-nu-nu  Before Bûr-nunu, priest (?)
 ša D.P. Šamaš of the devotees of the Sun;
6. Maḥar D.P. Da-mu-gal-zu Before Damu-galzu;
 Maḥar D.P. Mar-tu-ba-ni Before Martu-bani;
 Maḥar I-da-du-um NI-GAB Before Idadum, the ferryman (?);
9. Maḥar Ḥa-ta-lum mâr Before Ḥatalum, son of
 Mu-da-du-um Mudadum;
 Maḥar Ḥu-pi-lum mâr Before Ḥupilum, son of
 Lu-lu-ḥa-a Luluḥâ;
- Maḥar Be-li-zu-nu Before Bêli-zunu;
12. Maḥar La-ma-zi Before Lamazi;
 Maḥar D.P. A-a-ši-ti Before Aa-šiti;
 Maḥar Ru-ba-tum Before Rubatum;
15. Maḥar Zu-ka-ta-ni Before Zukatani;
 Maḥar Na-ru-ub-tum Before Narubtum;
 Maḥar Ša-ad-ku-bi Before Šad-kubi;
18. Maḥar Ku-mu-zi-li Before Kumuzili;
 Maḥar Za-za-tum Before Zazatum;

Left-hand Edge.

20. (Maḥar) . . . -Sin mâr Maḥar Ku-mu-zi-li mâr Iš-ḥa-ti-i (?)
 Bûr-Sin
 (Maḥar) . . . -la-tum Maḥar D.P. A - a - damiktum (?)
 (Maḥar) . . -šu - tum Maḥar A-ya-ar-tum
 Maḥar A-ḥa-tum

Translation.

20. Before . . . -Sin, son of	Before Kumuzili, son of
Bûr-Sin;	Išhātī(a);
Before . . . -latum (?);	Before An-damīktu (?);
Before . . -šutum (?);	Before Ayartum.
Before Aḥatum;	

Free Rendering of the Contract.

Aḥḥu-ayabi is daughter of Innabātum. Innabātum, her mother, has given her in marriage to Zukania. Should Zukania forsake her, he shall pay one *mana* of silver. Should Aḥḥu-ayabi deny him, he may throw her down from the tower. As long as Innabātum lives, Aḥḥu-ayabi shall support her, and Innabātum afterwards (shall have nothing?) against Aḥḥu-ayabi,

(The spirit of the Sun-god and Zabium) shall be invoked against him who changes the words of this tablet.

With this interesting contract may be compared the Journal of the Society for July, 1897, pp. 604-613, where translations of similar texts are given.

The expression "Innabātum afterwards (shall have nothing) against Aḥḥu-ayabi" seems to imply that such a provision was needful, but the mutilation of the text in this place naturally makes the sense very doubtful. In the J.R.A.S. for 1897, p. 605, there is a similar phrase in the nature of a declaration, wherein is stated that *no person had anything* against the bride that was to be.

The punishment for unfaithfulness seems to be the same as that decreed on p. 607 of the same volume, where death by being thrown down from the tower (probably the highest portion of one of those towers in stages that were to be found in most of the great cities of Babylonia) is spoken of. If this be the case, 𒀭𒀭 𒊕𒊕 𒀭𒀭 (?) 𒊕𒊕 (?) 𒊕 𒊕, *iš-tu AN-ZAG (?) -GAR-KI*, would seem to be equivalent to 𒀭𒀭 𒊕𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕 𒊕, *iš-tu di-im-tim*, of the present

text. Cf. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 221. An alternative method of execution was by throwing the offending wife into the river (J.R.A.S. for 1897, p. 610, and the well-known tablet of Akkadian laws).

The clause decreeing that Ahhu-ayabi is to support Innabātum would seem, from a comparison of parallel passages, to be due to the latter having handed all her property to her stepdaughter on the occasion of her marriage, though this fact is not stated in the record of the deed.

That Ahhu-ayabi was not the real, but the adopted daughter of Innabātum, is implied by a comparison of this text with those translated on pp. 604 and 605 of the J.R.A.S. for July of last year, quoted above.

Bu. 91-5-9, 419.

CONCERNING AN ALLEGED RUNAWAY SLAVE.

D.P. Ārad-D.P. Bu-ne-ne

ša Tam-ḫi-i-li-šu be-el-šu

3. a-na Aš-nun-na a-na išten bar ma-na kaspi

id-di-nu - šu

šattu ḫimiltu i-na li-ib-bi Aš-nun-na ki

6. be-lu-tam il-li-ik-ma

a-na Bâb-ili ki it-ta-bi-tam

D.Pp. Sin-mu-ša-lim û D.P. Marduk-la-ma-za êli
ugarê (?)

9. D.P. Ārad-D.P. Bu-ne-ne iz-zu-u-ma

ki-a-am iḫ-bu-šum

um-ma šu-nu - ma

12. el-li-ta ab-bu-ut-ta-ka

gu-ul-lu-ba-at ta-al-la-ak i-na BARA-NITAḪ (pl.)

D.P. Ārad-D.P. Bu-ne-ne šu-u

15. ki-a-am i-pu-ul

um šu-u-ma

i-na BARA-NITAḪ (pl.) u-ul a-al-
la - ak

18. il-ka ša bêt a-bi-in
 a-al-la - ak
 D.P. Li-bi-it-D.P. Addi D.P. Addu-lu-zi-rum
21. û Ib-ni-D.P. Šamaš aḫ-ḫu-šu
 MU D.P. AMAR-UDUK U Am-mi-ṭi-ta-na LUGAL-E
 IN-PAD-DE- E-WEŠ
24. a-na Ārad-D.P. Bu-ne-ne a-ḫi-šu-nu
 a-na ri-šu-tim la ra-ga-mi
 D.P. Ārad-D.P. Bu-ne-ne a-di ba-al-tu
27. it-ti aḫ-ḫi-šu
 i-lik bêt a-bi-šu-nu
 i-il-la-ak
-
30. Maḥar A-wi-il-D.P. Addi D.P. Amurrū
 maḥar Ilu-bi-ša mār D.P. Sin-i-din-nam
-
- ITI ŠU-UMUN-A UTU NIŠ-IA
33. MU Am-mi-ṭi-ta-na LUGAL-E
 AD-GI-A GÜ-LA D.P. UTUKI D.P. AMAR-UDUK-
 BI - DĀ

Translation.

- Ārad-Bunene
 whose master Tamḫi-ḫi-šu
3. into Ašnunna, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mana* of silver
 sold him:
 for five years in the midst of Ašnunna
6. in subjection he went, and (then)
 to Babylon he fled.
 Sin-muṣalim and Marduk-lamaza, overseers (?),
9. Ārad-Bunene recognized (?), and
 thus said to him
 as follows, even they:
12. thy bright amulet
 is marked—thou must go among the sanctuary-people (?).
 Ārad-Bunene, he

15. thus answered
as follows, even he :
I will not go among the sanctuary-people (?)—
18. the way of the house of my father
I will go.
Libit-Addi, Addu-luzirum,
21. and Ibni-Šamaš, his brothers,
the spirit of Merodach and Ammi-ṭitana the king
invoked
24. to Ârad-Bunene, their brother,
to slavery (he was) not to be claimed.
Ârad-Bunene, as long as he lives,
27. with his brothers
the way of the house of his father
goes.

-
30. Before Awel-Addi, the Amorite ;
before Ilu-biša, son of Sin-idinnam.
-


Month Tammuz, day 25th

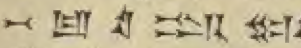
33. year Ammi-ṭitana, the king,
held great counsel with Šamaš and Merodach.

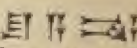
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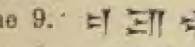
Ârad-Bunene, whose master, Tamḫi-ili-šu, sold him into Ašnunna for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mana* of silver, served faithfully for five years in Ašnunna, and then escaped to Babylon. Sin-mušalim and Marduk-lamaza, overseers, recognized Ârad-Bunene, and said to him thus: "Thy bright armlet has a mark (like that of a slave)—thou must go among the temple-servants (?)." Ârad-Bunene answered thus: "I will not go among the temple-servants (?). I am doing the business of the house of my father." Libit-Addi, Addu-luzirum, and Ibni-Šamaš, his brothers, swore by Merodach and Ammi-ṭitana the king to Ârad-Bunene, their brother, that he should not be claimed to go into slavery—as long as he lives, he is to do, with his brothers, the business of the house of his father.

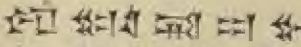
(Here follow the names of the two witnesses, and the date.)


Line 2. As the characters  are written rather close together, the question naturally arises whether they may not have here another value than that usually attributed to them. This being the case, the reading of the name Tamhi-li-su must be regarded as being possibly provisional.

Line 6.  *be-lu-tam il-li-ik-ma*. This phrase receives, apparently, illustration from lines 18, 19 and 28, 29, where we have *ilka ša bêt abi-ia allak* and *ilik bêt abi-šu illak*: "I am going the way of the house of my father" and "he is going the way of the house of his father." *Ilka alāku* would therefore seem to mean 'to go about the business' of someone, and *bêlutam alāku* ought, therefore, to mean 'to go under domination,' i.e. 'to serve a master.'

Line 8. The transcription of the characters  (*el-ki ugarè*) is very doubtful—in fact, it must be regarded as being merely provisional. The translation is, of course, equally so.

Line 9.  *iz-zu-u-ma*. The meaning of this word seems to be clearly indicated by the context. As to the root, that is, in all probability, *nazû*, connected, perhaps, with *nazāzu*, in its meaning of 'to witness.' Indeed, *nazû* will probably be found to account for some of the irregularities of the verb *nazāzu*, as tabulated in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*.

Line 12.  *el-li-ta ab-bu-ut-ta-ka*. Another difficult phrase. According to Delitzsch, *abbuttu* means 'a kind of fetter,' but from this passage it would seem to have been an armlet or wristlet. If this be the case, *ellita* must be the adjective qualifying it, though adjectives preceding the noun are comparatively rare.

Line 13.  *gu-ul-lu-ba-at*. This must be the 3rd person fem. sing. of the permansive *pu'ul gullubu*, from the root *galābu*. *Gullubu* is generally rendered 'to cut,' 'to cut off,' especially of the hair. If, however, *abbuttu* have the meaning of 'fetter' or 'armlet,' *gullubu*

must also signify 'to cut in,' 'to engrave,' and 'to provide with a distinctive mark.'

Line 16. 𒌦𒍪 , *um*, seems to be written here, by mistake, for 𒌦𒍪 𒍪 , *um-ma*, as in line 11.

Line 21. Note the plural *āhhu*, 'brothers,' here, and *āhhi* (oblique case after *itti*) in line 27. The singular occurs in line 24, and has only one *h* (*aḥi-šunu*, 'their brother').

Lines 22, 23. MU AMARUDUK U AMMI-ṬITANA LUGALE INPADDEWEŠ. This is the usual oath-formula found in these texts, and indicates, from its position, that it is equivalent to the English idiom "they swore by Merodach and Ammi-ṭitana the king to Ārad-Banene, their brother, that he should not be claimed as a slave."

The word 𒊕𒍪 𒍪 𒊕𒍪 , *ri-šu-tu*, is not from the noun *rēšu*, meaning 'head,' but from *rēšu* 'servant,' which in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* is placed among the roots having *l* as middle radical.

Bu. 91-5-9, 511.

CLAIM AND JUDGMENT.

D.P. Ri-ba-tum mārat	Ribatū, daughter of Salā
Sa-la-a	
ša Sa-la-a ābū-ša ¹	who Salā, her father,
3. u Mu-ul-lu-uk-tim	and Mulluktim, her mother,
ummi-ša ²	
id-dī - nu - ši	gave (property) to her
D.P. Šu-nu-ma - ilu	Šunu-ma-īlu
6. ū Mār-ir-ṣi-tim	and Mār-iršitīm,
mārē E-ri-ib-Sin	sons of Ērib-Sin,
ir-gu-mu-ši-im-ma	made claim against her, and
9. dayane ik-šu-du-ma	took judges, and
samnet (?) gan ekli (?)	8 (?) gan, the field her in-
ḥi-bi-il-ti-ša	heritance (?)
ut-te-er-ru-ši	they claimed from her.

¹ The original has the Akkadian *at-ta-a-ni*, 'her father.'

² The original has the Akkadian *ama-a-ni*, 'her mother.'

12. D.P. Šu-nu-ma - ilu û Mâr - ir - ši - tim mârê E-ri-ib-Sin	Šunu-ma-ilu and Mâr-iršitim sons of Êrib-Sin
15. u-ul i-tu-ru u-ul i-ra-ga-mu, MU D.P. UTUKI D.P. A-A D.P. AMAR- UDUK	shall not make claim (and) shall not bring action. The spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Merodach,
18. û Sa-am-su-i-lu-na [IN- PAD-DE-WEŠ]	and Samsu-iluna, they have invoked.
Maḥar -ilu . . . maḥar Ap-pa-an-ili dayanu	Before -ilu . . . ; before Appan-ili, the judge ;
21. maḥar D.P. Sin-na-tum dayanu maḥar D.P. Sin-im-lik dayanu	before Sinnatum, the judge ; before Sin-imlik, the judge.
ITI ŠE - KIN - TAR UTU U-KAMA .	Month Adar, day 10th,
24. MU AMA-AR-GI KI- EN-GI KI	year of Amargi (and) Kengi.

Free Rendering.

(The tablet) of Ribatum, daughter of Salâ, to whom Salâ, her father, and Mulluktu, her mother, have given (property).

Šunu-ma-ilu and Mâr-iršitim, sons of Êrib-Sin, made claim against her, and took judges, and claimed from her 8 (?) *gan*, the field her inheritance (?).

(Result :) Šunu-ma-ilu and Mâr-iršitim, sons of Êrib-Sin, shall not make claim, and shall not bring action.

They have invoked the spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Merodach, and Samsu-iluna.

The translation of 'inheritance' for *hibitti* in line 10 seems to be required by the context. The word, however, as well as the meaning, is doubtful.

Utterru in line 11 apparently comes from *târu*, the root of *itûru* in line 15.

The date, "Year of Amargi and Kengi," is equivalent to the second year of Samsu-iluna. Whether this entry refers to some conquest, or to a battle, is uncertain until further historical details have been acquired. Kengi is given as equivalent to the land of Šumer, identified with that portion of Babylonia known in the most ancient times as Šinar.

Bu. 91-5-9, 418.

AN APPEAL CONCERNING PROPERTY DETAINED.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sarnet šar berutu (?) | 8 šar, a plantation |
| ša ana šalšet bar ma-na kaspi | which for 3½ mana of silver |
| 3. iš - ša - mu | was bought. |
| D.Pp. Marduk-mu-ba-li-iṭ | Marduk-mubaliṭ |
| . . -hu-ul-lu-ši | hired (?) it |
| 6. ḥamšet šar berutu (?) | 5 šar, a plantation (was) the |
| mi-iš-lum | part |
| it-ba-al-ma i-te-pu-uš | he took and acquired |
| zu - ḥa - ar - šu šattu | its smaller piece (?) for 50 |
| ḥamšâa | years (?) |
| 9. i-na li-ib-bi a-ši-ib | in the midst I have in- |
| | habited. |
| um-ma a-na-ku-ma gu- | Thus I then (said): "Be |
| um-me-er-ma | contented, and |
| kasp-am id-nam | pay the money," (but) |
| 12. kasp-am u-ul id- | he did not pay the money, |
| di-nam | |
| û bitu ḥa-ab-la-an-ni | and the house was lost to me. |
| êšret (?) gan ekli ši-bi- | 10 gan, a field, the possession |
| it BARA-NITAḤ | of the shrine-man (?) |
| 15. [ša?] a-lik i - di - ia | going by my side |
| ša ki-nu-un šu-bi-lu-u | who delivers the censers |
| Ala D.S. id-di-nam-ma | gave the place, and |
| 18. iš-tu šatti šelašâa | since the 30th year |
| a - ak - ka - al | I am eating (of its produce). |
| i-na-an-na a-di a-na-ku | Now as long as I |





- | | |
|--|--|
| 21. i-na ħar-ra-an be-li-ia
ka-ta
i-na Sippar D.S. wa-aš-
ba-ku
mi-ši-il êk̄li-ia | in the pathway of my lord,
of thee,
in Sippar dwell,
half of my field |
| 24. šī-bu-ut āli D.S. il-
ku-ma
a-na ša-ni-i-im-ma it-
ta-at- . . .
Be-li at-ta bêt beruti (?) | the elders of the place have
taken,
for the second time it has
been (sequestered?).
My lord, thou the house of
the plantation |
| 27. ħub-bu-um-ma li-ki- . .
ra-kab-ia a-na be-li-ia
lu-ub-lam
u êk̄l-am ša ħa-lu-ni-
in-ni | claim (?) and take, (and)
let me send my messenger
to my lord,
and the field that has been
sequestered from me, |
| 30. šī-bu-ut āli D.S. li-še-
lu-nim
êk̄l-am li-te-er-ru-
nim-ma
la a - ma - at | let the elders of the place
give up,
the field let them return,
and
I shall not die. |
| 33. Be-li at-ta i-zi-iz-za
D.P. Marduk ra-im - ka
a-na šu-te-šu-ri-im | My lord, be thou angry—
Merodach, he who loves thee,
to cause to be directed |
| 36. i-na ki-it-tim ib-ni-ka | in justice created thee. |

Free Rendering.

(Tablet) referring to 8 *šar*, (the measure) of a plantation that was bought for 3½ *mana* of silver. Marduk-mubaliṭ hired it, and a plantation of 5 *šar* was the amount he took and acquired. I have inhabited the smaller portion for fifty years. I said to him thus: "Please pay the rent." He did not pay the rent, and the house is a loss to me. A field of 10 *gan*, the property of the temple-servant who goes by my side, who causes the censer to be brought—(this) place he sold (me), and since the 30th year I have lived on it. Now that I dwell in Sippar, in the service of thee,

my lord, the elders of the place have taken the half of my field, and for the second time it has been alienated (?) (from me). My lord, do thou claim and take possession of the house (and) plantation, (and) let me send my messenger to my lord, and let the elders of the place give up the field that has been sequestrated from me—let them return the field, and I shall not die. My lord, be thou severe. Merodach, who loves thee, formed thee to rule in righteousness.

This text being a difficult one, the above translation is given with all reserve, for many improvements in the rendering will undoubtedly be made when more is known concerning the language and manners and customs of the time to which it belongs. The fifty years mentioned in line 8 and the thirtieth year referred to in line 18 are, naturally, difficult to reconcile, though an explanation of this difficulty will probably be found before long. Certain words and expressions at present doubtful also obscure the meaning, as well as one or two slight breaks.

The transcription of   by *berûtu* (lines 1, 6, 26) rests on the probability that the group is equivalent to  , which was pronounced the same (*ki-gala*) in Akkadian, and was therefore a variant of it.

Itepuš in line 7 seems to come from the root *épēšu*, which has the meaning of 'to acquire.' If this be the case, a new form (the secondary one of the *kal*) has to be registered in the dictionaries. The form hitherto met with is the *pu'ul*, found in the Assyrian contract tablets.

Zuhar in line 8 is apparently the construct case of *zuharû*, a word that seems to come from the root *zahâru*, 'to be small,' by the change of *s* into *z*.

In line 10 the verb 'said' is, as often happens in these texts, omitted. *Gummer* is apparently the imperative of the *pu'ul* of the verb *gamâru*, 'to complete,' and has evidently here the meaning of 'be content,' equivalent to our word 'please.'

BARA-NITAH (line 14) would appear from this passage to designate a 'temple-servant.' The text Bu. 91-5-9, 419

(see p. 109 ff.), seems to indicate that the temple-servants were escaped slaves whose masters could not be found.

Kinun in line 16 is apparently the terminationless form of *kinunu*, meaning, according to Delitzsch, 'chafing-dish' and 'censer.' I have regarded the form here used as being collective, but the singular may, nevertheless, be intended.

Kubbu (line 27) is apparently the imperative pu'ul of *kabû*, 'to speak,' and probably means 'to claim' or 'demand.'

Iizza in line 33 seems to be from *êzêzu*, 'to be angry.' *Iizza* is probably for *iziza*, this again being for *izzu*, the root-vowel being kept on account of the obscuration of the form that would otherwise have occurred by the bringing together of the two *z*'s.

Notwithstanding the many doubtful points in this text, the general sense of the whole may be regarded as being fairly certain. One peculiar thing about it is, that although it is addressed to some one who was the superior of the person making the complaint, there is not the usual dutiful introductory phrases that generally begin documents of this kind. This being the case, it is impossible to find out who the personage was who was appealed to.

Bu. 91-5-9, 2,474.

CLAIM AND JUDGMENT.

A-na išten âmtu ad-kal- ši-im	Concerning one slave, her handmaid (?),
ša A-ya-ti-ia um-ma-ša	which Ayatia, her mother,
3. a-na Ħu-la-al-tim	to Ħulaltum, her daughter,
mârti-ša	
i-zi-bu-ši-ma Ħu-la-al tum	left her, and Ħulaltum
D.P. A-ya-ti-ia um- ma-ša	Ayatia, her mother
6. it-ta-aš-šu-ši-i-ma	nourished her, and
D.Pp. Sin-na-šir mu-ti	Sin-našir was husband of
D.P. A-ya-ti-ia ša i-na	Ayatia. What was in Buzu
Bu-zu D.S.	

9. D.P. A-ya-ti-ia šattu Ayatia (in) the 20th year
 ċšrāa
 i-zi-bu-ši-ma um la ra am left her and (there) was (?)
 no tablet (?)
 a-na mi-im-ma ša A-ya- concerning anything of
 ti-ia šu (?) Ayatia.
12. iš-tu A-ya-ti-ia After Ayatia
 a-na ši-ma-ti-ša to her fate
 il-li - ku went,
15. D.P. Sin-na-šir a-na Sin-našir against Ḫulaltum
 Ḫu-la-al-tim
 aš-šum ad-kal-ši-im concerning her maid (?)
 ir-gu-um-ma I-šar- brought action, and Išarlim
 li-im
18. ra-bi-a-an Sippar scribe of Sippar,
 D.S.
 ū kar Sippar D.S. di- and recorder (?) of Sippar,
 nam judgment
 u-ša-ḫi-zu-šu-nu- caused them to have.
 ti-ma
21. ar-nam i-mi-du-šu He placed the wrong upon
 him;
 u-ul i-ta-ar-ma u-ul i-ra- he shall not make claim and
 ga-mu shall not bring action.
 niš D.P. Šamaš D.P. The spirit of Šamaš, Mero-
 Marduk u Ḫa-am- dach, and Ḫammurabi
 mu-ra-bi (they have invoked).
24. Di-in I-šar-li-im Judgment of Išarlim,
 D.P. Amat-D.P. Šamaš Amat-Šamaš, the agent,
 D.P. damkaru
 D.P. Itti-Bēl-ki-in-ni Itti-Bēl-kini,
27. D.P. Bur-Sin Būr-Sin,
 D.P. Il-šu-ba-ni Il-šu-bani.
 Araḫ Adari Month Adar,
30. MU IT-TI ŠI-DA Year of the canal Šida-Ellila.
 ELLIL-LA

Free Rendering.

Concerning one slave, her maid, whom Ayatia, her mother, left to Hūlaltum, her daughter, and Hūlaltum (on that account) nourished Ayatia, her mother. And Sin-našir (was) husband of Ayatia. What (was) in the city Bazu Ayatia left to her in the 20th year, and there was no tablet (?) (documentary evidence) concerning anything (that belonged) to Ayatia. After Ayatia died, Sin-našir brought an action against Hūlaltum on account of the maidservant, and Išarlim, scribe of the city of Sippar and recorder (?) of Sippar, caused them to receive judgment. He declared him (Sin-našir) to be in the wrong. He is not again to bring action in the matter. Judgment of Išarlim. (The four names which follow are apparently those of a kind of jury.)

The transcription of 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 (lines 1 and 16) by *ad-kal* is very uncertain, the second character of the group having so many values. There is every probability that the word is Akkadian.

In line 9 the text seems to be corrupt, and the rendering "there was no tablet" is, therefore, provisional. Perhaps we ought to read, instead of 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 (?), *um* (or *duppa*) *la ra-am*, 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗, *um-ma la ra-ga-am*, "(saying) thus: '(There is to be) no going to law.'"

From this inscription it seems clear that, at the period to which it refers, Babylonian women had absolute control over their own property. In this case, Ayatia must have adopted Hūlaltum as her daughter, and left to her her property. Sin-našir, however, is here represented as proceeding against his foster-daughter to recover the slave referred to.

The mutilation of the chronological list does not allow us to fix the exact date in the reign of Hammurabi when the tablet was written.

LIST OF THE MALAY BOOKS BEQUEATHED TO THE SOCIETY

BY THE LATE

SIR W. E. MAXWELL, K.C.M.G.

COMPILED FROM NOTES MADE BY C. OTTO BLAGDEN, M.R.A.S.

1. *Hikāyat Indra Putra*. MS. Fol. 110. 22 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1887. Size, 13 by 8.
2. *Tuhfat al Nafis*. A historical work, containing the history of certain Malay States down to modern times, including an account of the Royal Family of Selangor. By Rāja 'Ali of Riau. MS. Fol. 228. 22 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1307. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$.
3. *Hikāyat Shamṣu'l Barin*. MS. Fol. 83. 25 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 9.
4. *Hikāyat Rāja Budīman*. MS. Fol. 42. 25 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$.
5. *Undang-undang*. Laws of Sultan Mahmūd Shah of Malacca. MS. Fol. 21. 22 lines on a page. Ending abruptly at 58th chapter. Size, 13 by 8.
6. *Kitāb Undang Malāka*. Book of Laws of Malacca. MS. Fol. 28. 22 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
7. Three Malay Tales by Mir Hassan, viz.: *Şri Rāma*, fol. 27; *Rāja Dōnan*, fol. 29; *Rāja Ambōng*, fol. 20. MS. 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1303. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$.
8. *Aṣal Rāja-rāja Malāyu*, or *Kitāb Katurunan Rāja-rāja Malāyu*. A Genealogical Chronology of Malay Kings. Followed by sketches of the history of Muar and Naning; a list of Malacca Governors and Resident Councillors (c. 1717-1855); a list of the Khalifs (561-1242); a history of Riau and other Malay States (A.H. 1087-1156), containing a good deal

- about the relations of the Malays with the Dutch Government of Malacca. MS. Dated A.H. 1242. Fol. 27. 21 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$.
9. *Chronological Extracts*. Apparently the same as the lists in No. 8, but without the following history. MS. Fol. 11. 24 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
10. *A Treatise on the Hukum Qanūn*. MS. Fol. 30. 34 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
11. *Undang-undang Menangkābau*. Laws. Followed by a poetic address to the reader by the copyist. MS. Fol. 25. 26 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
- 11a. *Book of Laws*. Wants beginning. MS. Fol. 19. 22 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
12. *Kitāb Ta'bir Mimpi*. Treatise on the interpretation of Dreams and other matters connected with Luck and Magic. MS. Fol. 15. 27 to 30 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by 8.
13. *Tāj al Salāṭīn*, or *Mahkōta Segala Rāja-rāja*. MS. Fol. 102. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1880. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$.
14. *Hikāyat Kanya Māra*. Litho. Singapore, A.H. 1303.
15. *A Treatise on Magic, Divination, etc.* 1st part (continued in No.). MS. Fol. 30. 22 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
16. *Silsilat al Salāṭīn*. A Genealogical History of the Kings of Kedah. MS. Fol. 100. 21 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by 9.
17. (a) *A Religious Treatise*. Fol. 11. (b) *A Book of Laws*. Fol. 17. MS. 26 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8.
18. *Hikāyat Rāja Bāyan Budimān*. A series of 22 Tales. MS. Fol. 80. 25 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 9.
19. *A Treatise on Laws*. Imperfect. Maritime Law, Law of Family Property, etc. MS. Fol. 43. 32 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by 8.
20. (a) *A Book of Laws*. 64 chapters. Followed by a chapter containing a story of Rāja Nusrawān the Just (Charitra Rāja Nusrawān 'Aadil). MS. Fol. 20. 22 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by 8.

21. *Mārong Mahawangsa*. A History of Kedah. MS. Fol. 75.
19 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8.
22. *Sūrat al Anbia*. Stories of the Prophets. Vol. I.
Beginning with the Creation of the World, of Satan,
Adam, etc., to Joseph's being sent into Egypt. MS.
Fol. 150. 23 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$.
23. *Sūrat al Anbia*. Vol. II. Continuation of story of
Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, Zachariah, to Jesus
(Nabi Isa). Followed by 12 pages of short stories,
ending with that of Jonah (Nabi Yunus). Fol. 142.
Dated A.H. 1294.
24. (1) *A Treatise on Fowls*. Lucky and Unlucky (for Cock-
fighting?). 18 chapters.
(2) *On Casting of Bullets, Shooting, etc.* (Magic.)
7 chapters.
(3) *A Genealogical History of the Kings of Perak*.
2 chapters. Fol. 21.
MS. Fol. 49. 23 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8.
25. *A History of Perak*, down to about A.D. 1770. Con-
taining particulars regarding the relations with the
Dutch Government of Batavia, etc. MS. Fol. 61.
25 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$.
26. *Sejārah Malāyū*. MS. Fol. 118. 21 lines on a page.
Dated A.H. 1266. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 8.
27. *Hikāyat Bistamām* (?). Litho. Fol. Singapore.
28. *Hikāyat dān Rincāyat*. Stories and Traditions. A
Romance. MS. Fol. 186. 23 lines on a page.
Dated A.D. 1882. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{1}{2}$.
29. *Comparative Vocabularies of Malay and various Dialects*.
Some of the words are those of non-Malayan Jungle
Tribes, Sakai, Semang, Jakun, Mentra, etc., all
written in the Arabic character. MS. Fol. 154.
23 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8.
30. *A Mythical History* (?). Beginning with Adam and
relating the myth about Iskandar, etc. Ending
with a list of Rājas. MS. Fol. 13. 20 lines on
a page. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{2}$.

31. *Hikāyat 'Abdullah bin 'Abdulkāder*. First lithographed edition of the well-known autobiography of the Munshi 'Abdullah. Litho. 4to.
32. *Sri Rama*. Edited by Roorda van Eysinga. Printed. 4to. Amsterdam, 1843.
33. *Sh'iar Kén Tambūhan*. A Poem, with notes. Edited by J. J. de Hollander. Printed. 4to. Leiden, 1856.
34. *Chrestomathie Malaye*. Lettres et Pièces Diplomatiques. Printed. By E. Dulaurier. Fasc. I. 8vo. Paris, 1845.
35. *Rāja Ambōng*. A Malay Fairy Tale. Printed. (Wanting last page.) Pamphlet. 8vo.
36. *Hikāyat 'Abdullah bin 'Abdulkāder*. Duplicate of No. 31. Imperfect.
37. *Tāj al Salāṭin*. Litho. 4to. Sarawak. A.H. 1287.
38. *Hikāyat Jāhidīn*. Printed. 8vo. Singapore, 1888.
39. *Collection des principales Chroniques Malaises, Chronique de Pasey, etc.* E. Dulaurier. Fasc. I. Printed. 8vo. Paris, 1849.
40. *Biblia Malaice*. Ed. J. Willmet. 8vo. Harlemi, 1824.
41. *Qāmūs al Mahmūdiyyah*. A Malay Dictionary. (Malay only.) By Saïd Mahmūd bīn 'Abdulkāder. Printed. 8vo. Singapore, 1893.
42. *Chrestomathie Malaye*. Printed. 8vo. Paris, 1845. *Chroniques Malaises*. Fasc. I and II. 8vo. Paris, 1849. By E. Dulaurier. (Bound in two vols.)
43. (1) *Sh'air* (?). MS. A Poem. Fol. 66. 17 lines, in double column, on a page.
(2) *An Account of the Isrā and Mi'rāj*. Fol. 32. 19 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 6.
44. (1) *Undang-undang Menangkābau*. A Book of Laws in 132 chapters. MS. Fol. 69. 13 to 16 lines on a page.
(2) *A Genealogical Account and Lists of the Kings of Perak*. Fol. 12.
(3) Another paper on the same subject. Fol. 12.
(4) *Short Chronological Account of the Sultans of Stambout or Rūm*. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

45. *Rules of Land Assessment under the Malacca Lands Ordinances.* Printed. 8vo. Singapore, 1888.
46. *Hikāyat Būrang Bāyan Budimān.* MS. Fol. 130. 13 to 16 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1879. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$.
47. *A Book of Laws.* Containing Law of Property, Maritime Code of Malacca, Laws of Menangkābau, Constitutional Law, Hukum Qānūn, Criminal Law, etc. MS. Fol. 77. 17 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $6\frac{1}{4}$.
48. *Pantan Ahf Bā Ta.* An Alphabetic Acrostic Poem. MS. Fol. 4. 14 lines, in double column, on a page. Size, 9 by $7\frac{1}{4}$.
49. *A Book of Arabic Prayers or Texts.* Part with Malay interlinear notes or translations. MS. Fol. 17. 17 lines, in double column, on a page. Size, 9 by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
50. *Treatise on the Law of Marriage.* By Daūd bin 'Abdullah of Patani (?). MS. Fol. 77. 21 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
51. *Rāja Dōnan.* Printed. 8vo. Singapore, 1887.
52. *Hikāyat Ālf Lailah wa Lailah, or Hikāyat Saribū Sātū Malam.* Malay version of the Arabian Nights. First portion. Litho. Singapore.
53. *Sūrat Fa'al.* A Book of Divination. Copied from a Borneo MS. MS. Fol. 21. 11 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
54. *Kitāb al Huruf Aksar bilāngan.* A short treatise apparently on the mystic meaning and value of the letters of the Alphabet. MS. Fol. 12. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$.
55. *Tāj al Salāṭīn.* MS. Fol. 84. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 62.
56. *Hikāyat Tubb'a Dh'ul Yazān.* A History of a pre-Muhammadian Prince of Yemen. MS. Fol. 169. 16 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
57. *A Series of Explanations of various Arabic Words.* Arabic words in red, followed by lengthy Malay explanations in black. MS. Fol. 9. 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$.

58. *A Collection of Poems*. Mainly love songs, especially Pantuns. MS. Fol. 97. 16 and 17 lines, in double column, on a page. Size, 8 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.
59. *Hikāyat Sirangkā* (?) *Bāyū*. A Romance. MS. Fol. 57. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
60. *Hikāyat Rāja-rāja berputra*, or '*Ādat Segala Rāja-rāja Malāyū yang purba kala*'. A treatise on the Malay Court Customs and Ceremonies observed during Pregnancy. With Notes and Glossary. MS. Fol. 60. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
61. *Kitāb al Fara'idh*. Treatise on the Muhammadan Law of Inheritance. MS. Fol. 22. 17 and 18 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1275. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.
62. *An Account of the Isrā and Mi'rāj*. Litho. 8vo. A.H. 1298.
63. *A Poem*. MS. Fol. 38. 15 lines, in double column, on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
64. *Sha'ir Sōngking* (?). A Poem about a certain Ratu Udina of Kosambi Karta (?). Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1303.
65. *Sha'ir Aceh*. A Poem about Achin. Litho. 4to. A.H. 1303.
66. *Sha'ir Bāngā Ayer Māwar*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1296.
67. *Hikāyat Abū Sambah*. A Story. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1304.
68. *Sha'ir Iblis Shaiḍani*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1302.
69. *Sha'ir Unggas bersuāl jawab*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1298.
70. *Hikāyat Panchātandrān*, or *Hikāyat Gaḥila Damīna*. A Malay version of *Kalilah wa Damnah*. Litho. 8vo. Singapore, A.D. 1868.
71. *Kitāb Pemimpin Jōhor* (or *Jauhari*). A Manual of Malay Grammar and Style. Litho. 8vo. Singapore, A.D. 1878.
72. *Sha'ir Pengantin Jurāgan Awi* (?), or *Sha'ir Pengantin Nikah Kahūin*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1303.

73. *Sha'ir Būngā Ayer Māwar*. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1303.
74. *Sha'ir Īkan Terūbo' dān Pāyū-pāyū*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1304.
75. *Tanbihah al Akhīdān*. A Treatise on the Ceremonial Law of the Muhammadan Religion. Litho. 4to.
76. *Hikāyat Rāja Shāh Mardān*. A Romance of Indian origin. MS. Fol. 88. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 6½.
77. *Hikāyat Hang Tūah*. A Historical Romance. MS. Vol. I. Fol. 199.
78. *Hikāyat Hang Tūah*. Vol. II. Fol. 173. Dated A.D. 1892 and A.H. 1310. 17 lines on a page. Size, 7¾ by 6½.
79. *Hikāyat Muhammad Hanīfīa*. A Historical Work. Litho. 4to. A.H. 1292.
80. *A Treatise containing the Explanation in Malay of a number of Arabic Technical Terms (Religious, Grammatical, Legal, etc.)*. MS. Fol. 32. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1263. Size, 8 by 6½.
81. *Hikāyat Mahārāja 'Alī*. A Historical Romance. MS. Fol. 27. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 6½.
82. *Sha'ir Salindang (or Silindung) Dalīma*. Also known as *Shā'ir Śrī Būnian*. A Poem. MS. Fol. 72. 15 lines, in double column, on a page. Size, 8 by 6½.
83. *Sabīlal*. The Rites and Ceremonies of Muhammadanism. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1289. (First fasciculus wanting.)
84. *Sha'ir 'Abdul Mulūk*. A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1288.
85. *Injīl Lūkas*. The Gospel of St. Luke. Printed. 8vo. London, 1886.
86. *Sha'ir 'Abdul Mulūk*. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1284.
87. *Bāb al Nikāh*. A Treatise on Marriage Law. MS. Fol. 127. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1245. Size, 7¾ by 6.
88. *Sha'ir Pūnggo'*. A Poem. Litho. 8vo. Singapore, A.H. 1298.

89. *Peraturan Mengurat Surat Kiriman kepada Raja-raja, etc., dan Aturan Membuat Kira-Kira dan Haribulan.* A sort of "Polite Letter-Writer." Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1288.
90. *Hikayat Raja Budak.* Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1288.
91. *Sha'ir Kên Tambuhan, or Tabuhan.* A Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1288.
92. (1) *Hikayat Darmah Tāsiah.* (2) *Hikayat Abū Nāwas.* Litho. 4to.
93. *A Treatise on Religious Observances, Fasting, Prayers, etc.* MS. Fol. 77. 17 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
94. *Sha'ir Jauhar Manikam, or Juragan Budiman.* A Romantic Poem. Litho. 4to. Singapore, A.H. 1284.
95. *A Collection of Pieces, viz.:* (1) *Hikayat Si Miskin.* Litho. (2) *Hikayat Darmah Tāsiah.* Litho. (3) *Hikayat Abū Nāwas.* Litho. (4) *Hikayat Raja Suliman.* Litho. (5) *Charita Laila Majnūn.* MS. Fol. 26. Dated A.H. 1274. (6) A *Sha'ir* MS. Fol. 5. (7) *Sha'ir Sinyôr, or Sha'ir Silambari.* Litho. (8) *Sha'ir Iblis.* Litho.
96. *A Treatise on the Customary Law of Menangkābau and other Legal Matters.* Written in a dialect containing Menangkābau words. MS. Fol. 58. 14 to 17 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$.
97. *An Account of the Ierā and Mirāj.* MS. Fol. 34. 15 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$.
98. *Niemann's Bloemlezing.* Pages 1 to 136 of Vol. II, being part of *Hikayat 'Abdullah bin 'Abdulkāder Munshi.* Printed.
99. *Johor Land Revenue Regulations.* In Malay. Printed. 8vo. A.H. 1311.
100. *Penggli Hāti.* A Collection of Modern Anecdotes. Printed. 4to. Singapore, A.D. 1878.
101. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Malay. Printed. 8vo. London, 1888.
102. *The Psalms of David.* Malay. Printed. 8vo.

103. *Silsilah Rāja-rāja yang didālam negri Pērāk*. A Genealogical History of the Kings of Perak. MS. Fol. 16. 15 to 18 lines on a page. Written at Blanja, Perak, A.H. 1299. Size, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4.
104. *A Religious Treatise*. MS. Fol. 32. 15 lines on a page. Size, $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$.
105. *Fragment wrapped up in ornamental cloth*. Part of a historical work. First dozen or so of pages missing. On the lines of the *Sejarah Malayū*, but shorter, and with several divergencies. Ending with a history of the Perak Rājas. MS. Fol. 36. 15 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$.

Note.—This list has been made for record and library purposes. Mr. Blagden hopes to make a more thorough examination of the collection and to catalogue them more exactly.—O. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. TATHĀGATA.

MONSIEUR ET HONORÉ SECRÉTAIRE, — Permettez-moi d'ajouter quelques mots à ce qui a été dit de la question débattue dans notre Journal ; c'est-à-dire, du sens et de l'étymologie du mot *tathāgata*.

Je ne puis dire quelle signification les premiers bouddhistes attachaient à ce terme, mais on peut hardiment affirmer ce qu'il était pour eux au premier siècle de notre ère.

En effet, lors de l'introduction du bouddhisme en Chine, en l'an 67 A.C., *tathāgata* a été traduit en chinois par les deux mots *zho lai* 如來, dont le premier signifie 'ainsi' et le second 'venir, venant,' ou 'venu.'

Conséquemment, pour les Indous bouddhistes de cette époque *tathāgata* équivalait à *tathā āgata*, 'ainsi venu.' N'est-il pas probable que c'était son acception primitive?

Mais en ce cas, que signifie ce *tathā* qui ne s'explique pas d'une manière obvie?

La réponse à cette question ne me paraît pas difficile. Si l'on compare ce mot *tathā* à ses dérivés *tathātvaṃ* 'la vraie nature d'un être,' *tathya* 'vrai' (Sanskrit Wörterbuch de Roth : wahre natur, wahr), et à son congénère *tattvaṃ* 'essence, vérité,' on sera forcé de conclure que *tathāgata* signifiait, selon les Indous eux-mêmes, 'qui est venu véritablement, selon sa nature, comme cela devait être.'

Je propose cette solution à la discussion de nos savants confrères.—Votre tout dévoué,

C. DE HARLEZ.

Louvain, 24 Oct., 1898.

2. CHINIOT OF BĀBAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN INDIA.

Belfast, Oct. 27, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—In Mr. Beames' article on "The Geography of the Kandahār Inscription" in the Society's Journal for October, 1898, after citing the references in Bābar's Memoirs, pp. 254, 255, to the countries of Behrah, Khushab, Chenāb, and Chaniūt, he identifies the last of these places (at p. 804) with "Chiniot, a town on the Ravi near Gugaira," and interprets Bābar's reference to it as meaning the Rechna Duāb.

Chiniot is not on the Ravi, but on the Chenāb, and is fully sixty miles from Gugaira, and about fifty miles from Bhera, which is almost due north of it. It is still a well-known town, and is the headquarters of a revenue subdivision (*tahsil*) of the Jhang district. It will be found under the name of Chanyot in the map of the Panjab illustrating Alexander's campaign, opposite p. 104 of Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," and as Chandanvati in the following map; and a rocky hill near it is mentioned at p. 183. In an enumeration of old cities of the Panjab in the Archaeological Survey Report for 1872-3, at p. 94, Cunningham includes Sodra, Chaniot, and Shorkot on the Chenāb.

It was while on his way across the Salt Range to Bhera in February, 1519 A.D., that Bābar mentioned these countries, "among which" he "now was" (Dowson's Elliot, M.H., iv, 232), and which he desired to recover, as they had been in the possession of Sultan Mas'ūd Mirza, ruler of Kabul and Zabul. He appears to have meant the districts which were within easy reach of the fort of Bhera, and could be controlled by a force stationed there; and the mention of Chiniot indicates that the country in that neighbourhood, on both banks of the Chenāb, was included. Some part of the Rechna Duāb (between the Chenāb and Ravi rivers) would thus be included, but probably not a very large part; and the country adjoining the Ravi, as well as the Upper

Rechna Duāb, could hardly be referred to, as they would naturally be controlled by the garrison of Lahore.

From the positions of Bhera, Khushab, and Chiniot it may fairly be inferred that the Chenāb country embraced the greater part of the Lower Chaj Duāb, except so far as this was included in the other three countries named. But as Khushab is only about forty miles in a straight line from Bhera, its territory can scarcely be said to comprise the southern part of the Sind Sāgar Duāb. At most it would represent the middle part of that Duāb, and probably it would not extend right across it to the Indus.

In the same article, at p. 801, last line, a comma is apparently omitted between Shor and Patan Shaikh Farid. Shor appears to be Shorkot, north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenāb; while Patan Shaikh Farid is the place now known as Pāk Patan, the ancient Ajudhan, near which there was an important ferry over the Satlej (see Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," p. 218).—Yours truly,

D. G. BARKLEY.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. PEDRO TEIXEIRA ON THE VEDDAS OF CEYLON.

DEAR SIR,—None of the many writers on the Veddas of Ceylon seems to have called attention to what is, apparently, the earliest reference by a European writer¹ to these "wild men of the woods." This occurs in cap. xxxv of Pedro Teixeira's *Relaciones*,² where, in one of his many digressions from the subject of his book, he refers to Ceylon, its products, etc. After speaking of cinnamon, he proceeds:—

"And before leaving the forests where it [the cinnamon] grows in the same Island of Seylan, I shall relate the custom of a certain race that lives in them which is worthy of being known: these barbarians are called Pachas, and dwell naked in the thickets and

¹ I exclude the Greek and Latin authors quoted by Tennent, as their references are doubtful, to say the least.

² See R.A.S. Journal for 1897, pp. 624-628, 933-939.

woods, living on the fruits thereof: but their principal food is flesh of deer, of which the Island contains a large number, and killing many with bow and arrow they cut them in pieces, and in the trunks of the oldest and most worm-eaten trees, which on that account have most capacity, having filled them with honey, of which there is abundance there, they place as much of that flesh as will fill them, and leave it thus until the time of need, when they make use of it; which in the honey is preserved without corruption, and they eat it without preparing it in any other way; to which I refer on account of its being a strange manner of living."

That the above refers to the Veddas there cannot be the least doubt, the custom being described by Governor Rijklof van Goens¹ in 1675, by Robert Knox² in 1681, and by Captain João Ribeiro³ in 1685. Teixeira has, however, confused the Veddas with a low caste of Sinhalese, who, in early Portuguese times in Ceylon, appear to have led a bandit life in the western forests, armed (like the Veddas) with bows and arrows.

The earliest reference that I have found to these *Pachas* is in Couto (dec. V, liv. v, cap. viii), where, recounting the treacherous massacre in 1539, by command of Miguel Ferreira, of the Moors Pachi Marcá and Cunhalé Marcá, the historian says:—"And that night, as they were going through the forests, where by order of Madure were concealed many Pachas (who are a caste of Chingalás of the most cruel nature, who when they have overthrown an enemy immediately cut off his nose and lips), as they were passing along they poured flights of arrows upon them, and one by one struck them all down, and cutting off their heads sent them to Miguel Ferreira, by which he was appeased."

Again, in his graphic description of the famous siege of Colombo by 'Rajû' (Rāja Sinha I) in 1587, Couto (dec. X, liv. ix, cap. iv) says that at one of the posts of defence

¹ In Valentyn's "Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien," deel v, "Ceylon," p. 208.

² "Hist. Rel.," p. 63.

³ "Fatalidade Hist.," p. 70.

the captain of the fortress placed "some Dorias¹ with their Pachas, who are a race low by blood, but valiant in war."

From Bocarro (dec. 13, cap. clxviii) we learn that in 1617 the captain-major Manuel Cesar marched with his troops to Hiripiṭiya, in the Hāpiṭigam Kōralē, "a village of the faithless pachas," to inflict chastisement on them for their treachery.

Ribeiro (op. cit.) mentions the Pachas as a people of low caste; and from the Portuguese account of the siege of Colombo by the Dutch in 1655-6 embodied in Baldaeus's "Ceylon," it seems that Pachas were still employed in the defence of the city,² as they had been seventy years before. Valentyn (op. cit.) does not enumerate them in his elaborate list of castes; and the only mention of them that I have found in his work is in a list of castes in the *disāvani* of Colombo drawn up in 1707 by the Dessave Bolscho, where 922 "Paatjea" are entered, being preceded by "Chialiassen" (*chaliyas*, or cinnamon-peelers) and followed by "Hunawas" (*hinnaēvō*, or washers for *chaliyas*).

The name 'Pacha,' as applied to a caste, appears to have died out in Ceylon. The word itself is simply Sinh. *pajja*, *paja*, or *pajoyā*, "Sudra, low and wicked man, one of a degraded tribe, mischievous fellow" (Clough), the literal meaning being 'foot-born,' referring to the legendary origin of the Sudras.—Yours very truly,

Croydon, Oct. 1, 1898.

DONALD FERGUSON.

4. MORE LIGHT ON 'OMAR KHAYĀM.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to Professor Denison Ross's very interesting article, and to Mr. Burn's letter, I beg leave to point out that the true reading for the penultimate

¹ A *Durayā* is a headman of the jaggery, palankin-bearer, and cinnamon-peeler castes.

² The Portuguese diarist says: "On the 13th four *Pachas* deserted." This the English translator (in Churchill's "Voyages," vol. iii) renders: "The 13th we sent away four *Pachas*, or Advice-boats!" He evidently confounded *Pachas* with *patasos*.

word of the first line of the verse quoted at p. 359 of the April number is ك *kham* and not ه *ham*. Mr. Whinfield has shown me that this is the reading in the Lucknow edition of the quatrains, and I have since found it in three MSS. of the *Tārīkh Alfī* in the British Museum and in two in the India Office. This reading also makes better sense. What 'Omar said was, "You have gone and come back, nay, you have turned crooked," in allusion to the circumstance of the erect body of a man having been changed into the crooked or bent body of a quadruped. If the abridged copy of the *Tārīkh Alfī* referred to by Professor Schukovski be that described by Dr. Dorn in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vi, 121, it is a very modern work, it having been written in 1834. The *Tārīkh Alfī* was written by the order of Akbar and dates from about 1586. The dates given in it are calculated from the death (*Rihlat*) of Muḥammad, and so are ten years less than the Hijra dates. Hence, when 'Omar *Khayām's* death is placed under the year 495 in the *Tārīkh Alfī* this means 505 A.H. But even then the date given for the death is twelve years less than the commonly accepted one (517 A.H.).

The notice in the *Tārīkh Alfī* is a curious one, and apparently longer than that in the abridgment used by Professor Schukovski. It begins in the same way as the extract at p. 358 of our Journal, but there seems to be some differences in the readings. 'Omar's ancestors, it tells us, came from *Shamshād*. The Persian of the curious passage about 'Omar's avarice is: "az wāste bakhal dar intishak-i-'alūm u ġīnat dar taḡnīf chandān aṣarī namānd." The story about the three friends is not given, but the story of the donkey is, and also the anecdotes about 'Omar's quarrel with Sultān Sanjar and about his last hours.

The new date for 'Omar's death is important, for it reduces the improbability of his having been a schoolfellow of Nizām al Mulk. Both Professor Browne and Professor Denison Ross reject the story about the three friends on account of alleged anachronisms, but is it really so unbelievable? Nizām al Mulk was born in 408 A.H., and was cut off by the hand

of an assassin in 485 A.H. when he was about seventy-five years of age according to our calendar. Does the fact, if it be one, that Hasan died in 518 A.H., make it impossible that he should have been Nizām al Mulk's schoolfellow? We do not know how long the latter might have lived if he had not come by a violent death. At all events 'Omar Khayām might have been his contemporary, for he died in 505 A.H., or only twenty years after Nizām al Mulk was killed. Of course, if Hasan lived till 518, he can hardly have been born in 408, but he may have been some years younger than Nizām and still have been at school with him. It must be remembered, too, that Hasan certainly died at an advanced age, and that the period 408-518 is not so formidable in the Muhammadan calendar as in the Christian. It amounts to 106 and not to 110 years.

For convenience of reference I note the pages in the MSS. which refer to 'Omar :—

1. B.M. MS., Or. 142, pp. 300c & b.
2. Do. do. Add. 16,681, p. 526b.
3. Do. do. Add. 6,551, pp. 323b & 324c.
4. India Office MS., No. 312 (113 of Ethé), p. 280.
5. Do. do. No. 835, p. 248b.

P.S.—The *Dastūr al Wazrā* of Khwāndamīr, a work written after the *Habība-s-suīr*, gives 478 as the date of Hasan Ṣabāh's death (B.M. MS., Or. 234, p. 906), and a notice in Schefer's Supplement, p. 56, which is put as if an extract from the *Waṣāya*, but does not occur in that work, gives 492 as the date. Probably, however, these are both mistakes. A better defence of the story may perhaps be found in the uncertainty about the date of Nizām al Mulk's birth. The commonly received date is 408, but that seems to rest on the authority of Arabic writers who were far removed in place, if not in time. The local history called the *Tārīkh-i-Baihaq*, which was written in the middle of the sixth century, gives 410 as the date (B.M. MS., Or. 3587, p. 43a, No. 89 of Rieu's Supplement), and the same date is given in the *Nasakh*

Jahānūva (B.M. MS., Or. 141, p. 89a). Nizām himself, in a story accepted by Gibbon, is said to have declared himself to be 93 years of age. Certainly there is nothing in what is known of his career to make it necessary that he should have been born as early as 408. He was Prime Minister for thirty years, but he may have begun when he was thirty, and we do not hear of his being much employed in public affairs before 455. The only employment that we hear of was at Balkh, but as he was ill-treated there he probably did not remain long before he ran away. Something, too, may be said for the verisimilitude of the story in the *Waṣāya*. That book cannot be older than the ninth or the end of the eighth century, but it was written by and for a descendant of the Vizier. It contains anecdotes of Alp Arslān and others, and one or two of them have been copied into the *Nigāristān*. Are these also inventions? Is it not more likely that the author used, as he says he did, books and family traditions, and that there is a substratum of truth in the story of the three friends? It would help us in deciding on the authenticity of the story if we knew the date of the Imām Muwaffiq who is mentioned as the teacher of the friends, but it is difficult to identify him. Hājī Khalfā (vi, 144, and iii, 316) speaks of an Imām Muwaffiq who died in 568, and Yāqūt (s.v. Bijistān) refers to an Abūl Qāsim Muwaffiq who was greatly respected in Nishapūr, and who flourished about 520. If either of these be the Muwaffiq of the *Waṣāya* the story is false. On the other hand, Imādu-d-dīn Isfahānī, in an Arabic extract given at p. 115 of M. Schefer's *Supplément*, quotes some one who speaks of an Imām Al Muwaffiq who was teaching in 434, and had 'Umīd al Mulk Alkindarī for a pupil. This seems to support the story. Alkindarī was Nizām's predecessor as Vizier, and was presumably older than he, for he was the minister of a previous king. If he was at school in 434, Nizām may have been a later pupil. Indeed, if the story be true, he must have been about the last pupil that Muwaffiq had, for he was then over 85.

I have gone into these details from a desire to support the story if possible, but I admit that the chronology is a difficulty. It is due to Mr. Whinfield to point out that the apparent anachronisms in the story were noticed by him several years ago, in the introduction to his translation of the quatrains.

H. BEVERIDGE.

5. ARI.

The histories of Burma, as stated by Sir A. P. Phayre in his work, published by Trübner & Co., p. 33, make mention of certain recluses or priests, called ARI, who conducted the religion prevalent at Pagan in the year A.D. 1000. Sir A. Phayre seems to think that they were the priests of Nāga worship, and that their "practices resembled those of the Vāmāchāris of Beagal." He, however, makes no attempt to explain the word, and now Mrs. Bode, who does not pretend to know anything about Burmese, suggests that it may be connected with *ariyo*. Mr. Tawseinko says, in his notes on the Kalyānī inscriptions of King Dhammaceti of Pegu (A.D. 1469): "A debased form of Buddhism, which was probably introduced from Northern India, existed at Pagan. Its teachers, called Aris, were not strict observers of their vow of celibacy; and it is expressly recorded in native histories that they had written records of their doctrines, the basis of which was that sin could be expiated by the recitation of certain hymns." He, too, makes no attempt to explain this word, whose spelling ought to have attracted notice.

As given in Stevenson's Dictionary, and in the copy of Burmese history in my possession, it is spelt အရိတ္တိ, which properly transliterated would be *arāṁṁ*, but, according to the modern pronunciation of Burmese, is now *ari*.

If this word were pure Burmese it would be a noun formed from the verb ရိတ္တိ, which might be pronounced either as *ri*, *reh*, or *rih*, with a heavy accent. There is

no verb of this kind in present use, though one, now obsolete, is found in the word ရည်တံ့ *ri'tāz*, 'to indulge in mutual love.'

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the word has been borrowed from some foreign language—Sanskrit or Pāli; and, if so, the : at the end shows that it has been abbreviated.

There is a similar word, ဗျည်း *byeet*, 'a consonant,' which is undoubtedly the shortened form of ဗျဉ္ဇနံ *byañjanam*.

As the letter ဩ in the middle of a word is usually *ññ*, as in ပဉ္ဇာ *pañña*, သုဉ္ဇ *suñña*, I feel sure that အာရည်း stands for *araññaka* or *araññako*, 'one who dwells in the forest.'

Whether these 'forest-dwellers' were priests of a Nāga cult, or like the Vāmāchāris of Bengal, according to Phayre, remains to be proved. Burmese histories cannot be relied on, especially with reference to the period prior to A.D. 1000. They have evidently been written up according to the fancy of the compiler or his patron.

For instance, Phayre says (p. 21): "Nearly two centuries later (A.D. 924) it is related that in the reign of an usurper, Soa Rahan, a corrupt worship called Nagā, or dragon worship, was introduced." He also states that Soa Rahan caused the image of a dragon to be set up and worshipped.

Other historians, however, state that Soa Rahan, or Puppā-tsoa-raham (Pubbā-chao-araham) was a monk who married the queen of the preceding monarch, and was an exceedingly religious Buddhist, who was learned in the Bidagat and Bedin (Pitaka and Vedas), and make no mention of Nāga worship or other heresies.

Seeing that the historians of Burma cannot be relied on, the only course is to search thoroughly for the early traces

of the prevalent religion amongst the ruins of Tagoung and Old Pagan, in latitude 23° N. or thereabouts, and not in New Pagan below Ava, which was not founded till many years later.

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

November 28, 1898.

6. THE TANTRAS.

CHER MONSIEUR RHYS DAVIDS,—Je viens de lire l'article qu'un de vos plus éminents collaborateurs a bien voulu me faire l'honneur de consacrer dans notre Journal à l'examen d'un volume d'études bouddhiques que j'ai récemment publié (Octobre, 1898, pp. 909 et suivantes).

Voulez-vous me permettre de vous dire deux mots à ce sujet. Aux déductions de M. Rapson, je pourrais opposer des arguments tout aussi solides à mon point de vue, et l'unique résultat de cette joute courtoise serait d'accuser la divergence irréductible de nos opinions, de notre méthode, de nos tendances. Une remarque cependant : au fond, comme il arrive presque toujours, la divergence initiale porte sur la définition des termes : M. Rapson appelle 'Bouddhisme' la doctrine prêchée par Śākyamuni ; j'appelle 'Bouddhisme' l'état général de croyance qui s'est condensé autour du nom du Buddha. L'un comme l'autre sont en dehors de notre atteinte directe ; l'hypothèse est notre seul guide et bien arbitraire. Le temps, les découvertes nouvelles, la connaissance plus exacte de l'Inde tireront sans doute la lumière de ce chaos. Soyons, en attendant, indulgents les uns aux autres ; essayons de nous comprendre, cherchons à nous aider les uns les autres.

M. Rapson ne cache pas son mépris pour "l'infect Tantrisme." Je ne suis vraiment pas suspect de tendresse à l'égard des Tantras : j'en ai étudié quelques-uns—besogne pénible et qui de prime abord ne vous paie pas de vos peines. Eh bien, je les trouve intéressants, je constate qu'ils sont inhérents à toutes les formes religieuses de l'Inde, je

les crois nécessaires à la connaissance de ce que j'appelle le Bouddhisme. Ils vous choquent : j'en suis chagrin, mais avouez que je n'y peux rien. Déclarer inutile l'étude des Tantras sous prétexte qu'ils sont modernes, c'est vraiment abuser d'une prémisse peu stable et mal définie.

Je vous prie de bien vouloir agréer, cher Monsieur Rhys Davids, l'expression de mes sentiments respectueusement dévoués.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

Wetteren (Gand), Nov. 29, 1898.

[I think a reader of my notice will see that I do not mean to say, and did not say, that the study of the Tantras was useless because the Tantras are modern. They are a phase of Indian belief, and unquestionably come to form a part of later Buddhism, but I cannot see that there is any evidence to indicate the slightest connection between them and early Buddhism—whatever definition may be given of that term. The study of each and every phase of Indian belief seems to me important, and Indianists are to be congratulated that a scholar, to whose wide and varied learning I ventured to call attention, has taken up the study of what is not a very pleasant subject, and has therefore been avoided by others. They will not be the less grateful to him because they cannot share his views as to the history of Buddhism. —E. J. R.]

7. THE MOHAMMADAN CALENDAR.

Windsorworth, Dec. 17, 1898.

DEAR SIR,—Why does Mr. C. J. Rodgers think that the *tārīkh* on the date of the battle of Pānīpat "is certainly one day wrong" when it states that the battle was fought on the morning of Friday, the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 932? (cf. p. 729 of the current number of this Journal). Does he merely think so, because according to the ideal chronology that Friday fell on the 8th of Rajab? If so, may I suggest

that he should peruse a brief note by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in the current (October) number of the *English Historical Review*. Although we have the testimony of Sultan Suleyman's diary to prove that the Friday in question was reckoned as the 8th of Rajab in Stambûl, yet the author of the *tārîkh* may still be right. The obvious explanation is, that in his neighbourhood the new moon was observed a day earlier at the beginning of the month than in the Turkish capital.

LEWIS L. KROPP.

To the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- THE UPANISHADS. Vol. I: *Isa Kena and Mandaka*. 8vo; pp. 175. (Madras: Natesan & Co. Price 3s.)

This is the first volume of a contemplated series of translations of Śaṅkara's commentaries on the Upanishads. It would have been more useful if the title had made this clear, as the sole value of the undertaking is precisely the English translation of these commentaries. It will be a distinct advantage to the student of the historical development of religious thought in India to have this English version of the eighth-century interpretation of the old Upanishads. Unfortunately the English is neither forcible nor always exact. The student can find a reference to any point he is engaged on more easily by means of the translation. But he will naturally wish also to refer back to the text. It would, therefore, be a great advantage in any future volumes to insert, in brackets, the number of the page of the original, at the place where the translation of that page begins. And there should be a complete alphabetical index of all the separate words explained by Śaṅkarācārya, and also of the subjects discussed. As it stands, the little volume will be more useful as an edifying manual of the later Advaitism than as a help to the study of the old Upanishads themselves.

ETYMOLOGIE DES SINGHALESISCHEN, VON WILHELM GEIGER.
 Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Bavaria. Large
 8vo; pp. 100. (Münich: Franz & Co., 1898.)

CEYLON TAGEBUCHBLÄTTER UND REISE ERINNERUNGEN,
 VON WILHELM GEIGER. 8vo; pp. 212. (Wiesbaden:
 Kreidel, 1898.)

In the first of the above publications by the able and versatile Professor of Indo-European languages at the University of Erlangen, he has made a considerable step towards a scientific treatment of the language of Ceylon. It is the firstfruits of the special journey he undertook to that beautiful island in order to gather, on the spot, materials for his forthcoming monograph on the Ceylon Language and Literature to be published in Bühler's "Grundriss." And very pleasant are the anticipations it raises of the future results we may expect from that journey, of which he has also published so interesting an account in the second volume named above.

Our members will recollect the very valuable papers contributed to this Journal by the late Professor Childers in 1876 and 1877 on the Sanskrit origin of Sinhalese. Professor Ernst Kuhn in 1879 and Professor Eduard Müller during the years 1880-82 carried the investigation further. But these papers are all of a fragmentary nature, and do not even attempt to deal at large with the very important historical results which may be expected from a full study of the language and the literature of the Sinhalese. Professor Geiger has now set himself resolutely to the task of dealing with these questions as a whole; and his present treatise on the etymology of Sinhalese gives us every hope that it will at last be adequately and thoroughly dealt with.

It is not easy to explain the neglect with which this interesting language has been treated. The records of the Sinhalese language, both in books and in inscriptions, go back much further than those of any other Indian Prakrit.

The level of general culture, and of literary effort, in Ceylon, has always been very high. Since the more learned among the Sinhalese began to write in their spoken language also, as well as in Pali, there has been a constant succession of literary productions of a high class. And though there are no books extant of an earlier date than the ninth or tenth century, there are inscriptions going back at least to the third, if not earlier. We have, therefore, a long series of documents from which the gradual evolution of the dialect and the history of the literature can be very fully traced out—longer, indeed, than is the case, for instance, with English.

One reason why these valuable records have not been hitherto utilized is the want of texts. Since the English took possession of the island the patronage extended so often by the native kings to literature and scholarship has practically ceased. Whereas the home Government issues a magnificent series of editions of ancient texts dealing with the former condition of the country, the Ceylon Government has hitherto printed only one, the well-known chronicle called the *Mahāvamsa*, and that is in Pali, not in Sinhalese. And the only Sinhalese text so far printed in Europe is my *Yogāvacara Manual* issued last year—and that, too, is so full of Pali quotations that they occupy about half the book. What is, therefore, most urgently wanted is a series of the ancient texts properly edited by competent scholars with suitable introduction and notes. Such a project cannot be carried out by private enterprise. It would be impossible for any publisher to recoup the expenses required. It would redound to the credit of any Government in Ceylon who should do for the ancient literature of that island what the Record Office publications have done so well for the corresponding texts in England.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS, ANURADHAPURA, CEYLON; comprising the dāgabas and certain other ruined structures. Measured, drawn, and described by JAMES G. SMITHER, F.R.I.B.A., late Architect to the Government of Ceylon. Sixty-seven plates. Published by order of the Ceylon Government. Imperial folio; pp. ii, 64.

Such is the title of a large and highly important work on the ancient Buddhist architecture of Ceylon, which has been presented to the Society by the author. With the exception of a few scattered reports, this is the first book on the subject which has been written by a professional architect, and it contains results of the explorations carried out by himself under the order of the Ceylon Government. We are indebted to the late Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead, whilst Governor of Ceylon, for initiating the survey, which has since received the patronage of his successors, and is being now ably carried on, on a larger scale, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

The present volume is unfortunately not handy for general use on account of both its unwieldy size and the want of proper indexes. It deals with seven dāgabas, three palaces, and a bathing-pond, as follows: (1) the Thūpārāma dāgaba, (2) the Laṅkāārāma dāgaba, (3) the Mirisaveṭṭi dāgaba, (4) the Ruvanveḷi dāgaba, (5) the Abhayagiri dāgaba, (6) the Jetavanārāma dāgaba, (7) the Kujjatisārāma dāgaba, (8) the Daḷadā Māligāva, (9) the Mahasen's pavilion, (10) the Queen's pavilion, and (11) the Kūṭṭam pokuna.

We need not draw special attention to the accuracy of Mr. Smither's drawings of the ruins. So far as excavations permitted him at the time, he has done his work admirably. The reader himself will recognize it on an examination of the sixty-seven plates, which are drawn to a large scale, and which form the greater portion of the work. The descriptions are prefaced by a historical account of each ruin, mostly derived from Turnour's translation of the Mahāvamsa. In these we are sorry to find inaccuracies, especially in the spelling, the etymology, and

the meaning of native terms. The mistakes could have easily been avoided, had the author had his last proof revised by a competent Pāli and Sinhalese scholar, and had he used Vijesinha's translation of the *Mahāvamsa* instead of Turnour's. We find, for example, *Prākrama* for *Parākrama*, *Deveni-piatiṣṣa* for *Deveni-pēṭiṣ* or *Ḍevānampiyatissa*, *Aṭamosthana vandaname* for *Aṭamasthāna vandānāva*, *Dattugaimunuu* for *Duṭṭugemunuu*, *Dāthādātu* for *Dāṭṭhādātu*, *Golakābhaya* for *Goṭṭābhaya*, *Mahāwamma* for *Mānavamma*, *Ambustāla* for *Ambasthala*, etc.

The ruins dealt with in the work under review do not, of course, represent all the types of architecture found even in Anuradhapura alone. But the *dāgabas* being the principal feature in Buddhistic monuments, the author has rightly devoted the greater portion of his book to their description. One of the earliest amongst these *dāgabas* is the *Thūpārāma dāgaba*, which was built, according to the Sinhalese chroniclers, by *Devānampiyatissa* (the contemporary of Asoka), 307-267 B.C. The author has identified this *dāgaba* with the one so named at present, and situated to the north of the *Ravanveli dāgaba*. In this identification he has followed the current tradition and the belief of previous writers. But so far as we are aware, no proper record or monument has as yet been found which definitely confirms the tradition.

Without repeating his lucid descriptions, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to draw attention to certain points of interest. An important feature of the *Thūpārāma* and the *Laṅkāārāma dāgabas* is the existence of concentric circles of pillars round them. Several theories regarding the purpose for which these pillars were intended have been put forward.

Fergusson supposed that they represent the rails of the Indian *topes*, the pillars being originally "connected with one another by beams of wood on their capitals," from which painted frames or curtains may have been suspended. The author thinks that the pillars were surmounted by emblematic figures and ornaments of some kind.

Mr. H. W. Cave, in his beautifully illustrated work "The Ruined Cities of Ceylon," supports this theory, and adds: "they were doubtless used on festal occasions to suspend strings of lamps and garlands, always one of the chief features of Buddhist ceremonial" (p. 41).

The other theory, more or less based on certain passages in Turnour's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, is that the pillars supported a roof which covered the entire *dāgaba*. But the author, after a careful examination of the building, concluded that it was impossible, from an architectural point of view, for these pillars to have supported a roof of 65 feet span, elevated 23 feet above ground. The theory, however, that they may have sustained some other kind of roof has not been disproved.

The following is the opinion of Mr. C. R. Peers, as an architect:—

"From an inspection of the measured drawings and restorations of the *Thūpārāma dāgaba*—plates iv and v in Mr. Smither's book—it would appear that it would have been quite possible that the concentric circles of pillars supported architraves, probably of wood; but it does not appear, from the relative positions of the pillars in one circle to those in the next, that the original design included any form of timber roofing, such as raking rafters running from one circle to the next. Also, there is no provision made, as far as can be judged from the present condition of the building, for counteracting the thrust which would result from such a construction. If the wall marked on the plan as 'parapet' was originally as high as the fourth or outermost circle of pillars, it would, of course, have been possible to roof the space between it and these pillars.

"In plate xi, the plan of the *Laṅkāṛāma dāgaba*, the positions of the two inner circles of pillars allow of the possibility of constructing a raking roof, the thrust of which might be taken by the brick roof, the thrust of the plan as existing inside the third circle of pillars—over the two inner circles of pillars and the space between them and the brick wall.

"On the archaeological aspect of the question, I am quite unqualified to express any opinion."

Tradition and written history, moreover, agree as regards the existence of a roofed structure at the Thūpārāma. The passage *Thūpārāme Thūpagharam*, in the Mahāvamsa, xxxv, vv. 87 and 91, clearly indicates it, and Mr. Smither is right in saying that by the word *thūpa-gharam* the ancient chronicler referred to "a structure within which the dāgaba was enclosed," but this edifice must have been, at least partially, roofed over, as we find it recorded (ch. xlix, v. 81) that Vajira, one of the generals of Dappula III (A.D. 827-843), "covered the Thūpa house at the Thūpārāma with tiles of gold as became it, and fixed doors also of gold to the house." Besides, there is no quotable example in the whole range of Sanskrit and Prākṛita literature where the word *gharam* or Skt. *gṛiha* is used to mean a roofless structure (cf. *Paṭimā-gharam*, *bodhi-gharam*, etc.). Mr. Smither's criticism on Turnour's translation of the passage (in Mah., xxxv, 88), *thūpārāme thūpagharam kārāpesi mahīpati*, is also not quite accurate. By Turnour's expression "the roof over the Thūpārāma," he probably meant a roof only over the *ārāma*, or the sacred ground round the *thūpa*, and certainly not over the large *thūpa*. The *Waṭa-dā-gē* referred to by Mr. Smither was a circular building at the Thūpārāma, and was distinct from the *Thūpagharam*.

In reference to the other ruins, we may observe that Mr. Smither has followed the traditional identification of them. He has not attempted to find out how far this identification can be verified either by authentic monuments found in course of excavation or in their absence by collateral evidence derived especially from native records. His historical sketches of the ruins and the theories based on them can, therefore, hold good only if the identifications are correct. On the other hand, his accurate descriptions of the ruins as they stand at present are invaluable. With the extended operations of the Ceylon Archaeological Survey now being excellently carried on by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, and

with the publication of many of the ancient native chronicles, it is hoped that materials will be brought to light which will settle the doubts as to the identity of these ruins, and enable Mr. Bell to make a plan of Anuradhapura as it stood in ancient times when it was the capital of Ceylon.

SELECTED POEMS FROM THE *DĪVĀN-I-SHAMS-I-TABRĪZ*, edited and translated, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press, 1898.)

Persian poetry is, without doubt, better of its kind than Persian prose; the best Persian poetry is, on the whole, that of the mystics; and Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, if he be not, as Mr. Nicholson reckons him (p. viii), "the greatest mystical poet of any age," is assuredly in the very highest rank of those divinely intoxicated dreamers whose spirits, "freed," as *Hāfidh* has it, "from all that wears the colour of attachment," hang poised in the fathomless empyrean of the Transcendental. It is unnecessary in this place to recapitulate the facts known to us of a life singularly uneventful for one who was contemporary with Chāngīz and Hūlāgū Khāns, and whose peaceful retreat at Qonya (Iconium) can hardly have altogether shut out the storm of consternation produced in the Muḥammadan world by the Monghol invasion, the sack of Baghdad, and the extinction of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. His great mystical *Mathnawī*, an inexhaustible storehouse of transcendental lore, has long been famous both in the East and in the West, and, though it has not yet found a European editor, is accessible to us in several unusually excellent Oriental editions, amongst which those of Bulāq and Tih-rān (ed. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, A.H. 1299 and 1307, with *Kashf al-abyāt* or Concordance of verses) merit especial praise. To the English reader also it has been made known by Sir James Redhouse's versified translation of Book i, and by Mr. Whinfield's excellent selections.

It is otherwise with Jalālu'd-Dīn's lyrical poetry, that vast collection of amazing rhapsodies (of which there exist single MSS. containing nearly 60,000 couplets; in other words, equal in extent to the *Shāhuāna*) composed in the name and to the glory of Shams-i-Tabrīz, "that weird figure, wrapt in coarse black felt, who flits across the stage for a moment and disappears tragically enough." Very striking is the parallel drawn by Mr. Nicholson in the work before us (p. xx) in the following words:—"He was comparatively illiterate, but his tremendous spiritual enthusiasm, based on the conviction that he was a chosen organ and mouthpiece of Deity, cast a spell over all that entered the enchanted circle of his power. In this respect, as in many others—for example, in his strong passions, his poverty, and his violent death—Shams-i-Tabrīz curiously resembles Socrates: both imposed themselves upon men of genius, who gave their crude ideas artistic expression; both proclaim the futility of external knowledge, the need of illumination, the value of love; but wild raptures and arrogant defiance of every human law can ill atone for the lack of that 'sweet reasonableness' and moral grandeur which distinguish the sage from the devotee."

Of this *Dīrān*, which, though written, as already said, in the name of Shams-i-Tabrīz, is well known to be the work of Jalālu'd-Dīn, there exist two Oriental editions (Tabrīz, A.H. 1280; Lakhnaw, A.H. 1295); an Anthology (*Auswahl*) by Rosenzweig, containing seventy-five odes with German verse translations (Vienna, 1838); and a fair number of MSS., which differ in an extraordinary degree as to extent and arrangement. The editions and seven MSS., of which the most ancient, dated A.H. 774 (A.D. 1372), is in the British Museum, as well as a large number of other works, Arabic, Persian, and European, have been used by Mr. Nicholson in the preparation of the excellent and finished piece of work which now lies before us, whereof, it may be added, the form is worthy of the matter. It contains an Introduction (pp. xv-li) singularly original and rich in suggestions; forty-eight of the odes (including only

four of those selected by Rosenzweig) with English prose translations (pp. 2-195); excellent Notes (pp. 197-330); four Appendices (pp. 331-350); and Arabic and English Indices (pp. 351-367). Of the Appendices, the first contains some illustrative passages from the *Dirān*, showing the close analogy which exists between the Šūfī and the Neo-Platonist doctrines, together with a list of the historical and autobiographical allusions (comparatively few in number) which it contains; while the second comprises translations in verse of five of the odes. It were greatly to be wished that the number of these had been increased, for Mr. Nicholson has a very happy knack of producing verse-renderings at once graceful and true to the original, as, for example, the following (pp. 46-9 and 343-5):—

هر نقش را که دیدی جنسش ز لامکانست
گر نقش رفت غم نیست اصلش چو جاودانست

"Poor copies out of heaven's original,
Pale earthly pictures mouldering to decay,
What care altho' your beauties break and fall,
When that which gave them life endures for aye?"

Bad verse-translations are certainly not to be encouraged, and a very good scholar may be a very bad versifier; but where the gift of song is conjoined with the scholarship, there can be no question that, in the case of poetry, a rendering into verse, even though it be at times somewhat free, far more truly reflects the original than a bald prose version, however literal. The impulse given to Persian studies in Germany and England by the genius of Rückert and FitzGerald is a sufficient witness to the truth of this assertion. It behoves Orientalists to remember that nothing will ultimately conduce so much to the advancement of their favourite studies as an increase in the interest of the general reading public in their results; and that, in literature, form, if not everything, is at least a very important factor.

Of the text and translations of the odes selected from the *Dirân* by Mr. Nicholson, we need only say that they display the most careful and scholarly workmanship, and that only in a very few places could we, after a careful scrutiny, suggest any change—for instance, in the seventh couplet of Ode IV (pp. 14-15):—

مشهور آمد این که مس از کیمیا زر میشود
این کیمیای نادره کردست مس را کیمیا

Here the point of the last line is, perhaps, insufficiently emphasized by the translation "Our copper has been transmuted by this rare alchemy." The translation should rather run:—

" 'Tis notorious that copper is transmuted by the Philosopher's Stone into gold,
[But] our copper has been transmuted by this rare Alchemy into the Philosopher's Stone."

The "rare Alchemy" is so called because it not only transmutes into gold that which is subjected to its influence, but bestows on it its own power to effect this transmutation in others.

The Notes which illustrate the Odes are rich and suggestive, indicating in particular a very wide familiarity with the writings of the great mystics of both East and West. In this respect Mr. Nicholson follows with success the excellent methods employed by Mr. Whinfield, notably in his scholarly edition and translation of the *Gulshan-i-Râz*. From Mr. Whinfield's conclusions, however, he differs in assigning to Christian influences a much smaller share in the moulding of Sūfī doctrine. In this view we concur, and still more strongly in the thesis which Mr. Nicholson so ably maintains that Sūfīism, in so far as it is not an independent growth, owes more to Neo-Platonism than to any other system. We have been too long misled by vague generalities about "Aryan reactions against Semitic thought" and "Indo-Iranian affinities," into ignoring the

historical fact that the complex Perso-Arabian civilization of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, while owing comparatively little to India, borrowed with both hands from the Alexandrian philosophers. Of these Porphyry (and even, perhaps, Iamblichus) was better known to them than Plotinus, though Mr. Nicholson is in error when he says (p. xxx), following Renan, that the name of the latter was unknown in the East, for he is explicitly mentioned in the *Fihrist* (p. 255) as *Flūṭīnus* (فلوطینس), while, as shown by Haarbrücker, it is he to whom Shahristānī refers under the title of "the Greek Shaykh" (المشیخ اليونانی).

A very interesting portion of Mr. Nicholson's Introduction is that (§ 8, pp. xxxvi *et seqq.*) in which he endeavours to trace the external influences which may have helped to form Jalālu'd-Dīn's style—a fruitful line of inquiry which might well be extended. Naturally he puts in the first place Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭar, to whom Jalālu'd-Dīn avows his obligations; but he also finds references to, or reflections of, Sa'dī, Nidhāmī of Ganja, and 'Omar-i-Khayyām. We are disposed to include in the list another poet, in no wise less than these in verse, and more interesting in personality, to wit, Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, the head of the Isma'īlī propaganda in Khurāsān in the latter half of the eleventh century of our era. The following parallels are at least remarkable:—¹

I. (N., p. 15.)

بوئیست نو عین و نون بی وری ' نام معروف عنبر سارا

"The name well known of pure ambergris [*'anbar*] is a scent, not [the letters] *'ayn*, *nūn*, *bé*, and *ré*."

(M., i, p. 15.)

میم و واو و میم و نون تشریف نیست

لفظ موئن جز بی تعریف نیست

¹ When Nāṣir (N.) is cited, his *Dīrās* (ed. Tabriz, A.H. 1280) is intended, unless otherwise specified. In the case of Jalālu'd-Dīn's poetry, the first book of the *Mathnawī* (M.) is cited from the Constantinople ed. of A.H. 1288, the other books from the Tihārān lithographed ed. of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla (A.H. 1299), while of the *Dīrās* only Mr. Nicholson's Selections (S.) are here referred to.

"*Mim, edr, mim, and nūn* confer no honour: the word
'*Mu'min*' [Believer] only serves to define."

(M., ed. Tih., p. 90, l. 21.)

هیچ نامی بی حقیقت دیده ' یا ز گاف و لام گل گل چیده '
اسم خواندی رو مسمی را بجو ' مه بیالادان نه اندر آب جو '

"Didst e'er a Name without an Essence see,
Or cull a Rose from R, O, S, and E?
Thou speak'st the Name: go seek the Object, fool!
The moon is in the sky, not in the pool."

II. (N., p. 77.)

گوئی مرا که گوهر دیوان ز آتش است '
دیوان این زمان همه از گِل میخیزند '

"Thou sayest to me, 'The Essence of the Devils is of
Fire'; the Devils of this age are fashioned from
clay!"

(M., i, p. 16.)

چون بسی ابلیس مردم روی هست '
پس بهر دستی نشاید داد دست '

"Since there are many devils which have the face of
man, therefore one should not place one's hand
in every hand!"

III. (N., p. 187.)

چو جانست قوی شد بایمان و حکمت '
بیاموزی آنگه زبانهای مرغان '

"When thy soul hath been strengthened by Faith and
Wisdom, then shalt thou learn the tongues of
birds."

(S, pp. 8, 9, and note *ad loc.*)

چه بودی که یکت گوش پیدا شدی ' حریف زبانهای مرغان ما '

"How would it be if one ear showed itself familiar
with the tongues of our birds?"

IV. (N., p. 5.)

بمردم شود آب و نان تو مردم
نه بینی که سگ سگ کند آب و نان را

"Thy water and bread in man become man : seest thou not that the dog converts water and bread into dog[-flesh]?"

(M., i, p. 14.)

هر دو گون زنبور خوردند از محل
لیک شد زمین نیش ز آن دیگر عسل
هر دو گون آهو گیا خوردند و آب
زین یکی سرگین شد و ز آن مشک ناب
هر دو نی خوردند از یک آبخور
این یکی خالصی و آن پسر از شکر

"Both sorts of bee [i.e. bee and wasp] draw nourishment from one place, but from this comes the sting and from that other the honey.

"Both sorts of deer feed on [the same] grass and water; by this [only] dung is produced, by that pure musk.

"Both reeds [i.e. the common reed and the sugar-cane] are fed from one source; this one is hollow, while that one is full of sugar."

Many other instances could be adduced, did space allow it, of striking coincidences of thought and expression between Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and, not only Jalālu'd-Dīn, but other Ṣūfī poets, such as Maḥmūd Shabistārī; and the significance of the alleged descent of Shams-i-Tabriz from Kiyā Buzurg-umīd, the second Grand Master of the Isma'īlīs of Alamūt (*Introduction*, p. xix), has, apparently, not escaped Mr. Nicholson (*ibid.*, p. xxx); for though an Isma'īlī may "abandon his ancestral sect, burn their books and tracts, and preach Islām in the strongholds of heresy,"

there is some truth in Firdawsī's saying, "*Zangī bi-shustan na-gardad safīd*" ("The Ethiopian will not become white by washing"), and in Sa'dī's well-known couplet—

عاقبت گرگت زاده گرگت شود ' گرچه با آدمی بزرگت شود

*"At length the wolf-cub will become a wolf, even though
he grow up with men"*

—though we are far from desiring to apply these quotations in the uncomplimentary sense in which they are generally used, rating, as we do, the intelligence and learning of the Isma'īlīs and 'Rāfiḍīs' very far above those of their 'Nāṣibī' antagonists.

In conclusion, we most cordially congratulate Mr. Nicholson on the successful accomplishment of a very difficult piece of work, and the Cambridge University Press on the excellent manner in which it has been produced. The volume should receive a cordial welcome from all Persian scholars and students of Oriental Mysticism.

E. G. B.

CATALOGUE OF JAPANESE PRINTED BOOKS AND MSS. IN
THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By R. K.
DOUGLAS, Keeper of Oriental Books and MSS. (Printed
by order of the Trustees.)

It is difficult, if not impossible, to review a catalogue of this kind in such a manner as to do justice to the author and avoid weariness to the reader. Catalogue-makers, like lexicographers, eminently deserve a gratitude they rarely obtain. This is pre-eminently the case with Professor Douglas in the present instance. Some early Spanish missionary described the scripts of Japan as a "*conciliabulo de los demonios para enojar à los fideles*," and the confusions of Japanese literary and artistic nomenclature are even more perplexing. A Japanese author or artist appears to live in a succession of constant name-changes, and to shun

diligently the use of his own name. Thus, Hokusai had more than a dozen known names; Bakin, whose real name was Takizawa Kai, used such appellations as Sakitsu, Saritsu, Raisai, Gendô, and half a dozen others; while one author is mentioned in Professor Douglas' preface as "rejoicing" (did he rejoice? if so, it was a solitary joy) in twenty-three names!

But this was not Professor Douglas' only difficulty. The titles of Japanese books are usually written with Chinese characters. But how are these to be read? In many cases, one may say, they are not to be read at all, save with the eye. But if read phonetically it is very often not even in Japano-Chinese, nor in pure Japanese, but in a mixture of the two, the exact rendering of the Japanese portion being in too many instances in the highest degree uncertain. Lastly, there is the difficulty of recognizing foreign names spelled in Japanese *kana*. 'Makusu Muyûraru' perhaps most persons will recognize, but it is less easy to disinter 'Muirhead' from 'Bôiren,' and in not a few instances even Prof. Douglas has been obliged to abandon the task.

There are really four catalogues comprised in the book—principal and supplementary catalogues of authors, with their works arranged under their names, and a fairly abundant number of cross references, giving titles (with their translations) of 16,000 works, a catalogue of book-titles with proper references, and a valuable index of the more important books with their authors arranged in order of subjects. Perhaps to the student of Japanese literature this is much the most useful part of the volume, for it must be confessed that a considerable proportion of the books contained in the principal and supplementary catalogues are of little, if any value, many being translations from common European books and works of a purely ephemeral utility, marking no stage or phase in the course of Japanese civilization or history. This redundancy, however, is due to no fault of Professor Douglas, but is rather his burden, for it has added immensely to his task, and deprived him of time which doubtless he would much rather have given to brief

descriptions of the standard works in Japanese literature, which after all are not very numerous and might have been sufficiently described in a score or so of pages.

In the execution of his task Professor Douglas is a pioneer. No such work exists in any Western language, or has ever been attempted, and even in Japanese I only remember one, the "Gunsho ichiran."

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG QUELLENMÄSSIG UNTERSUCHT, VON DR. OTTO PAUTZ. 8vo; pp. 304. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898.)

Recent events in the East prompted the author to write this book. The Moslim world has, indeed, been brought in such close contact with European culture of late, that the duty of making themselves acquainted with the principal tenets of Islām devolves upon all those who are affected by these events. The quickest way to accomplish this is to study the life of its founder, and to follow step for step the first movements of his faith. It is, however, just here where the greatest difficulty lies, because the origin of Islām is even now anything but clear, in spite of the excellent works we possess on Muhammed's biography.

The problem Dr. Pautz has set himself is to describe the Muhammedan doctrine of revelation, and to explain the essence, tenets, and vehicles of the same. To this end he has acquired a thorough knowledge of the Arabic sources, and has bestowed much care on the study of the Qorān, which is not the most attractive of readings. He has also contributed many valuable remarks on the exegesis of this book, a subject which has not yet found all the attention it deserves.

Yet as regards the treatment of the main question, viz., the powers which brought Islām into existence, Dr. Pautz's book is rather disappointing. Upon the point of view from which we eye the impetus which urged Muhammed into the career of a reformer, our conception of the nature of

Muhammedan revelation must largely depend; and here the author merely repeats what is already known. The rise of Islām is a subject for the historian rather than the theologian, because predisposition of any kind mars criticism in this field as well as in any other. No one can blame Muhammed for having attacked Judaism and Christianity, nor was it always misguided judgment which caused him to reject the doctrines of the two older churches. The late Professor Palmer already raised the question: why did not Muhammed rather accept either of these creeds than found a new one (*The Qur'ān, transl.*, vol. i, p. li)? This was exactly what he could not do, because some dogmas of the one appeared irreconcilable with his conception of the Unity of God, whilst the law code of the other was incompatible with the conditions of life in Arabia, with the habits of the people, and with many sources of the national wealth. This detracts but little from the surprising merit of having rendered monotheism victorious against such tremendous odds. Like his predecessors, Dr. Pautz makes Muhammed ponder in the solitude of Mount Hīrā on the real essence and the proper veneration of God (pp. 15-16), and that it was on this spot where the birth of the new idea took place. He evidently means that Muhammed found monotheism spontaneously. This I do not believe. The Moslim traditions on the first revelation (Qor., xcvi, 1-5), in which Dr. Pautz seems to place some reliance, were not conceived till many years later, nor without the assistance of the Prophet himself, and they deserve no credence at all. The legends on the *iqra'*-verse—as can be clearly shown—form part of a circle of homilies which in their simplest form evidently originate from one and the same author. For the first word of v. 1, which Dr. Pautz also and justly regards as the oldest of the Qorān, he has very properly adopted Noeldeke's translation, *Predige*, which is superior to any other. He notes the derivation which I suggested in 1883 (R.E.J., p. 188, and *Beitraege zur Erklarung des Qorān*, p. 6) from Gen., xii, 8, and similar verses, although he does not think it correct. This derivation,

however, becomes more patent to me the more closely I examine it. It is only necessary to consider that post-Biblical Jews pronounced the Tetragram by *Adōnai* (my Lord), which the LXX rendered by *κύριος*, the Pšīṭha by *māryā*. Why should Muhammed in his first proclamation use *rabb(ika)*, which is the exact Arabic translation of the same term? Is this not also verbatim the same verse? It therefore makes no difference whether he heard the verse in Hebrew or Syriac, from a Jew or a Christian. Now the addition of the words 'who has created' (viz. 'man,' as in v. 2) gives in one short phrase the whole idea of Gen., ch. i. In this manner Muhammed managed in a proclamation of five words to teach the existence of God, his Unity, and that he is the Creator. Should this represent the result of the musings of an unlettered man? The *iqra'*-verse is the key to the right comprehension of Muhammed's prophetic afflatus. When once he had succeeded in convincing his countrymen of these three principles, everything else became, by the force of circumstance, but the natural sequence. Traditionists may relate what suits them, but all that is said of Muhammed's mental struggle, that he believed himself possessed by a demon, or that the archangel Gabriel acted as intermediary, must be abandoned. Never was a man more conscious of his actions than Muhammed was when he proclaimed his first address, nor does this lessen the admiration due to him; for it required great moral courage to take this first but decisive step. Of course a proof of the existence of God must not be expected in the Qorān, as this is a postulate in a revealed religion, but Muhammed made a distinct attempt to demonstrate His Unity (Qor., xxiii, 93; xxi, 22). On the formulas of Unification there is a great deal more to say than Dr. Pautz has done. The phrase "There is no God besides Allāh" is but the final crystallization of several attempts to condense the first article of the Moslim creed into a motto.

More satisfactory are Dr. Pautz's remarks about the difference Muhammed endeavoured to establish between himself and the *Kūhīns* (soothsayers) of his people. The

same is to be said about the observation that, in order to intensify the grandeur and mysteriousness of his revelations, Muhammed frequently substituted indefinite terms or the pronouns 'it' and 'this' for 'Qorān'; but this again proves with what shrewd calculation he proceeded. Fully justified is the remark that the doctrine of original sin is nowhere to be found in the Qorān, and the survey of the various terms used to describe the revelations is really helpful from an exegetical point of view.

Not tenable, however, is Dr. Pautz's observation that human free-will appears unchecked in the Qorān, because it is preached side by side with its opposite. The subject is too vast to allow of more than a few words on it here. Muhammed had evidently meditated on this problem, and as taught both in Jewish and Christian writings, but found it too hard to solve. In his theory of predestination he was not able to distinguish between man's responsibility for his actions, and his fate, which are both in the same 'Book.' Whilst on the one hand trying to raise the standard of morals, it was his interest to minimize the belief that man could shape his own fate. The political aspect of this question Dr. Pautz has overlooked entirely. Muhammed's aim was to ensure absolute obedience, and next to the belief in Allāh hardly any dogma is enjoined with the same emphasis as to obey 'his prophet.' As the fate of everyone who took part in a battle was sealed beforehand the command of recklessness was superfluous.

The charge Muhammed brought against the Jews and Christians of having falsified their holy writings must be explained rather than refuted, because from his point of view it was not unfounded. One of his accusations is, that the Rabbis by writing laws "with their hands" placed themselves on a level with God (Qor., ii. 73). Dr. Pautz is not sufficiently acquainted with Rabbinical literature to see the connection between this and innumerable passages in the Qorān, and to give due appreciation to what others have said on this matter.

The question whether Muhammed was able to write and

read is not so immaterial as our author assumes, since it in some way concerns the criticism of the Qorān. It is at least certain that he could read Hebrew square characters, though not always correctly, as can be proved by his misreading of several Hebrew words which have hitherto puzzled students of the Qorān.

Our task in studying the early history of Islām consists chiefly in viewing Muhammed with a calm and dispassionate mind, with all possible rationalism, and complete absence of sentimentality. We then see how he from the very outset of his career worked in the most systematic manner, with great cleverness and real enthusiasm. We must never lose sight of the faculties he brought to bear on his work, the circumstances with which he had to reckon, and the character of the people he wished to impress. The Qorānic doctrine of divine revelation can be summed up in a few words: it is the transmission of a Biblical idea already in existence to a ground where the new faith was to spring up; all we have to do is to observe how it grew and developed in the new surroundings.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THROUGH ASIA. By SVEN HEDIN. (London: Methuen & Co., 1898.)

This is the latest and in many respects the most important contribution to our knowledge of the heart of Asia. We have here records of journeys of exploration made by a scientific traveller of learning and experience. In the Preface Dr. Sven Hedin gives a brief and comprehensive summary of his travels in Asia, and of the scientific work which he performed in the course of these travels, and also of the material and formation of his book. This very modest Preface is followed by an Introductory Chapter, in which we have an interesting résumé of the recorded travels and explorations in Tibet and Central Asia. Beginning with the visit to Tibet in the fourteenth century by Odorico di Pordenone, the sketch brings us down to Captain Bower's travels in Tibet and China in 1891-2.

In the next chapter we have a description of the traveller's original plan, and of the departures from it which circumstances compelled him to make. We have also particulars about his equipment and the expenses of his travels and explorations. The first part of his travels was through Russia to the Kirghiz steppes, on to Tashkend, and ultimately to the Pamirs. From the Russian Fort to the north-east of Fort Pamir the traveller set out on his first journey of exploration. His record of his attempts to ascend the great mountain range Mus-tagh-ata is extremely interesting. He went on to Kashgar and thence returned to Fort Pamir, from which he proceeded by a different route back to Kashgar. Thence he went on to Merket, from which he began his terrible journey across the great desert. The story of the traveller's sufferings and privations in this vast waste of sand is a thrilling one told in a plain and simple manner. After this we have his journey down the Khotan-daria and his return to Kashgar again.

The second volume begins with another visit to the Pamirs. Then we have the journey from Kashgar to Khotan, and thence on to Karashahr, with an interesting discussion on the Lop-nor question. Our traveller next takes us through North Tibet, over the Arka Tagh, to the Desert of Tsaidam. From the Mongolian Tsaidam he goes to the Tangut country, through it to the Koko-nor, thence on to Si-ning-foo, and at last to Peking the goal.

It is impossible to give in a short notice any fair idea of the vast and varied information about tribes and districts of Asia, little known or quite unknown, which these two volumes contain. The information, moreover, is imparted in a pleasant, affable manner, and the reader finds himself acquiring knowledge about Taghliks and Kirghizes, and wild asses and camels, and unknown mountains and rivers, and many other subjects, without any effort and with real enjoyment. There are numerous photographs by the author and sketches made or inspired by him; and the work is furnished with two large maps, and has an index.

In the parts of this remarkable and valuable treatise

which treat of Chinese men and matters there are a few errors and peculiarities of transcription which may be briefly noticed for the benefit of the general reader. In vol. ii, p. 735, we read: "The entire distance between Kashgar and Khotan has been divided by the Chinese into *potai* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ mile distances)." The author adds: "The *potai* are indicated by flattened pyramids of clay, eighteen or twenty feet in height, and there are on an average ten such intervals or 'miles' between every two stations." This *potai*, as the author's illustration shows, is the Chinese P'ao-t'ai, commonly translated by *Fort*, and the term was probably applied in the above district to the Fire and Smoke Beacons used by the Chinese from the earliest times.

Then at p. 748 we are told that *jade* is called 'Yü-tien.' But *Yü* (于) -*tien* is the Chinese name for Khotan, and the name for jade is *Yü* (玉) simply.

On p. 783 we find the following statement:—"The same Chinese traveller whom I have just quoted, Shi Fa-hian, also journeyed in the seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Thai Tsung of the Thang dynasty from Khotan to Lop-nor." This is an unfortunate slip, and Dr. Sven Hedin forgot for the moment that the pilgrim who travelled in the reign of T'ang Tai Tsung was the celebrated Yuan-chuang (Hiouen Tshang).

The 'Darin' of our traveller is the *Ta-jen* or 'Great Man,' 'His Excellency,' of other writers; and his *jambaus* (p. 932) are the *Yuan-pao*, the silver ingots, or 'shoes of sycee,' of people who live in China.

T. W.

LES PARSIS: Histoire des communautés zoroastriennes de l'Inde, première partie. Par D. MENANT. Annales du Musée Guimet, bibliothèque d'études, tome septième. (Paris: Leroux, 1898.)

The Indian Parsis themselves have collected ample materials for a history of their residence and progress in India, from the best documents and authorities which still

survive and are accessible. These materials are available for Anglo-Indians in the *Gujarāti Pārsi Prakāśh* (1878-88), compiled by Bahmanji Behrāmji Paṭel, and the *Mumbai-no Bahār* (1858-84) by Ratanji Frāmji Vāchā; while the mere European can consult Dōsābhāi Frāmji Karākā's English *History of the Parsis* (1858 or 1884). M. D. Menant has made full use of all these three authorities, besides consulting the statements of old travellers, Albirūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Briggs's *Parsis*, etc., and he has had the advantage of personal intercourse with many of the leading Parsis in Bombay at the present time. The result is a very correct and impartial, but sympathetic and picturesque, history of the Indian Parsis, and of their successful progress in education and enlightenment. This first part of the work confines itself chiefly to their civil life and progress, while a second part will be devoted to a consideration of their religious faith and duties, both past and present.

The Introduction gives a brief review of Parsi history, from the fall of the Sāsānian empire in Irān, owing to the defeat of Yazdagard at Nihāvand, and his assassination at Marv in 650, down to the present time. The rapid conversion of the mass of the people to Islāmism; the retirement of some of the faithful Zoroastrians to Khurāsān for less than a century, and thence to Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, for a short time; whence many of them sailed to Diu, near the Gulf of Cambay, where they stayed about a score of years before crossing the sea to Sanjān, then a populous commercial town, where they were allowed to settle (possibly about 716) by its Hindu ruler, Jādi Rānā, on certain conditions, which secured them full freedom of religion in return for conformity with Hindu law in civil matters. Here they built a place of worship in 721, according to tradition. Probably further immigrations took place; but the Parsis were much disturbed by the Musulmān conquest of Gujarāt, though soon accommodating themselves to the change of government. Early European travellers found them settled as cultivators along the coast of Gujarāt,

and later as traders at Surat and Bombay. Near the end of the fifteenth century Cāngā Āsā, a rich and pious Parsi of Naosāri, sent a messenger to Irān to obtain some religious information, and this appears to be the oldest correspondence between the Indian and Irānian Parsis of which we find any documentary evidence surviving.

Regarding the rapidity of the conversion of the Persian Zoroastrians to Islāmism, we may gather from Pahlavi writings that it was hardly so rapid as the conversion of the Romans, or the Anglo-Saxons, to Christianity. If we turn to the *Dādistān-i Dēnīk*,¹ we find that its writer was Mānūsheihar, the executive high-priest of Pārs and Kirmān, the director of the profession of priests and leader of the religion, who wrote his *Epistles*² in 881, and his *Dādistān* perhaps fifteen years earlier. This latter treatise contains replies to ninety-two religious questions, which had been propounded to him by some of his distant disciples, and which had lain two months unattended to, until he returned home to Shīrāz from a tour in the provinces. He mentions incidentally (*Dd.*, i, 6) that, notwithstanding the grievances of the religion, there still were controllers, priests, high-priests, judges, and other religious leaders in various quarters. This is certainly not the language of absolute despair, although it must have been written about A.Y. 235. In his *Epistles*, written A.Y. 250, "Shīrāz, Sīrkān, Kirmān, Rāi, and Sarakhs are still mentioned as headquarters of the old faith, and we are told of assemblies at Shīrāz and among the Tughazghuz, the former of which appears to have had the chief control of religious matters in Pārs, Kirmān, and the south, acting as a council to the high-priest of Pārs and Kirmān, who was recognized as the leader of the religion. We also learn that the leaders of the Zoroastrians, if not their high-priests, were still in the habit of maintaining troops."³ It was probably more than a century later before the Irānian Parsis were reduced to

¹ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, pp. 1-276.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 277-366.

³ *S.B.E.*, vol. xviii, p. xxvii.

the scanty numbers reported by early European travellers in Persia, and which have only recently begun to increase. Whether the traditional date of the arrival of Parsi fugitives at Sanjān, which is not very well authenticated, be altogether compatible with this continued comfort and influence of those of their faith in Irān, is therefore a matter for consideration.

After dealing with the exodus of the Parsis from Persia, and the fate of the Zoroastrians who remained behind, M. Menant proceeds to describe the Indian Parsis and the progress which they have made—their population, costumes, customs, and festivals; their domestic life, birth, and investiture with sacred shirt and girdle; their marriage and funerals; their *pancāyat* and education; and their trade, literature, and politics.

In accordance with their agreement with the Hindu Rājā, the Parsis adopted Hindu dress and customs, so far as these were not inconsistent with their own religion; and the tendency of this adoption was, no doubt, to produce a closer conformity, in the course of time, than they intended originally, as in the case of infant marriage, which had not been a Zoroastrian practice, but which the Indian Parsis often adopted, even after the middle of this century. Since then, this custom has gradually disappeared, and is now practically extinct among those in Bombay. Other Hindu fashions of dress and manners have also given way to European customs and education. Whether the Hindu, Jewish, and Musulmān's dislike of the pig, which the Parsis had fully adopted, has yet disappeared seems doubtful, and M. Menant does not appear to allude to it. It was not a Zoroastrian prejudice, as appears from the pig being mentioned as a common domestic animal, in company with a dog, or a goat, in *Shāyast-lā-shāyast*, ii, 58;¹ also as a supply for a sacred feast, in Mānūscheihar's *Epistle*, I, viii, 3.

With regard, however, to all practices really enjoined by their religion, the Parsis are highly conservative, and find little difficulty in defending them. Even their mode of

¹ S.B.E., vol. v, p. 260.

treating the dead can be shown to be more conducive to sanitation than burial, provided the *dokhmā* be far enough from dwellings, and the dead be not too numerous: two conditions which are quite as necessary in the case of a cemetery as in that of a *dokhmā*. In Vend., viii, 16-18, instructions are given for expelling the fiend of corruption from the path along which a corpse has been carried. This precaution consisted in leading either a yellow dog with four eyes, or a white dog with yellow ears, along or across the path, a certain number of times, and in reciting certain spells; but it appears to be no longer practised. The difficulty of finding a dog with four eyes, even when it is assumed that two of them might be spots above the usual two eyes, must have been considerable; however, about ten years ago, there was a chocolate-coloured dog, living a few miles from Munich, something like a very large spaniel, and having a large white spot above each eye, who might have passed for the four-eyed dog, though not quite right in colour.

When it is said that the Parsis are prohibited from fasting, as in *Les Parsis*, p. 92, it is necessary to observe that they do abstain from meat occasionally, and substitute fish (pp. 113, 166, 190); but this abstinence is not for the purpose of acquiring religious merit, as actual fasting and vociferous mourning for the dead are alike forbidden by their religion. It may also be noticed that the Avesta word *asperena*, quoted in p. 93, is equivalent to Skt. *apūrṇa*, 'imperfect, incomplete,' and is used as a noun for anything imperfect or immature: thus it means a lamb, or immature sheep, in Vend., iv, 48, and a rag, or imperfect cloth, in Vend., v, 60. The Pahlavi gloss, in the latter case, which has been read *jūjan*, 'a dirham,' can also be read *yūgo* = Pers. *yūk*, 'a rag.'¹

Interesting features in M. Menant's work are the numerous illustrations, including thirty-two portraits and four family groups indicating the rapid change of education and costume

¹ *The Academy*, 24th Sept., 1887, p. 207.

since 1860, which has certainly not increased the picturesqueness of Parsi attire. As a very favourable specimen of the old school, Frāmji Kāvasji Banāji (1767–1851) is specially worthy of notice. At first a shipping agent and interpreter, he made two voyages to China before the end of last century, and a few years later engaged largely in the China trade on his own account, becoming the owner of several ships. Later on, for many years, he made experimental plantations in Salsette for improving the cultivation of grain and fruits, and continuing the growth of sugar-canes, mulberry-trees,¹ and spices, which had already been introduced under European management, but with no greater success. He improved the water-supply of one district in Bombay, and did more to encourage the spread of English education among the natives than any other leader of his time. He himself had learned the language under difficulties, but spoke it fluently and well, though with a slightly foreign accent. To his patronage the Parsis owe the first translation of their most sacred books into Gujarāti; and he took a great interest in the first introduction of railways into India, but did not live to see the opening of the first section of railway line. He was a kind-hearted, liberal-minded, enterprising man, with much perseverance and energy; and the Parsis have good reason to be proud of him, as a worthy representative of their general character, and to be grateful to him for his foresight in striving to put a sound English education within the reach of every one of them. His portrait, which M. Menant has published, appears to be a correct likeness of his appearance in his latter days, so far as memory can be trusted after the lapse of half a century.

The most striking change that has taken place among the Parsis during the last thirty years has been the spread of European education and habits among the ladies, as a necessary supplement to the more general female vernacular education that commenced twenty years earlier. So long as the young men were imperfectly educated, scholastic

¹ *Parsi Prākāśh*, p. 561.

instruction of females was very wisely opposed by their elders, as likely to do more harm than good. But the rapid progress of the men soon made female education indispensable, and the male students began to take the matter into their own hands successfully, until they could find female teachers to undertake the continuance of the work. The result has been that, in 1892, only one-sixth of the Parsi females in Bombay between 14 and 24 years of age were classed as illiterate, while the illiterate Parsi males between the same ages were still one in eight;¹ so the women had already nearly overtaken the men in the branches of education most generally useful.

The Zoroastrian woman has always enjoyed as much freedom as was compatible with implicit obedience to her parents and husband, as well as respect for her religion. This may be clearly seen from many passages in the Avesta; and the Pahlavi literature, which gives us a view of the opinions held in Sāsānian times, tells much the same tale. Thus the *Dīnkard*, book viii², informs us that a privileged wife can make a plaint for her husband, and also give evidence (ch. xx, 11), but not if a foreigner or not well-behaved, though any woman who is her own guardian can give evidence (§ 29). A woman or child acquainted with the law is a better judge than a man unacquainted with it (xxii, 21). The priesthood of a woman or child is also mentioned (xxix, 6). The limits of a wife's liberality and reverence are alluded to (xxxi, 5). The religious controller of a daughter is her mother, but her father gives her in marriage, during the joint life of the parents (xliii, 10). The mother becomes guardian of the father, when necessary, if they have a son (§ 18). And the performance of housewifery is taught by that wife who shall joyfully pay reverence to her husband; because her housewifery is for the satisfaction of the husband, the satisfaction is through her reverence, and the reverence arises through joy (Dk. IX, lxvi, 10).³ The laws of inheritance also, which are detailed

¹ *The Parsis*, p. 354.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxivii.

in the *Dādīstān-i Dēnik*, liv and lxii, give twice as much to the wife, or any blind or crippled child, as to each healthy child or dependent relation. Further, the Persian *Rivāyat* of Kāūs Kāmān (about A.D. 1553) provides, in case of a debtor's death, that the debts and his privileged widow's dowry shall be the first charges upon his estate, and then his widow and children share the remainder according to law.

The seclusion of their women, borrowed from the Musulmāns, was probably felt as an inconvenience by Parsi men long before they ventured to discontinue it. I was told, by a Parsi of the middle class, more than fifty years ago, that he had driven out with his wife and family one afternoon, when he was disconcerted by seeing the first Sir Jamshedji Jijibhāi passing in his carriage. But Sir Jamshedji found an opportunity, a few days later, to congratulate him upon his good sense in breaking through the absurd custom of always avoiding his wife in public.

M. Menant mentions the attachment of the Parsis to England (*Les Parsis*, p. 363), and this loyalty to British rule has often been noticed, especially by foreigners who have taken the trouble to become personally acquainted with really influential Parsis; but those who remark this loyalty seldom try to account for it. To a certain extent it may be due to both the British and the Parsis being foreigners in India and few in number, with the same interest in peaceable internal government, which no native dynasty has ever been able to maintain for any length of time; and the Parsis have had too much experience of native governments already to wish for a repetition of such incompetence. Under these circumstances, Parsi loyalty certainly shows that they have no real cause for dissatisfaction with British rule. But the chief reason for their contentment is probably the similarity of character between the average Briton and Parsi. In both we may generally trace the same enterprise and self-reliance, the same fondness for liberty and dislike of official interference, the same perseverance and self-control, and the same love of justice and hatred of tyranny

and deceitful servility. May they long retain these attributes of character, and not give way to effeminacy or corruption, which are too often the effects of rapid progress in the material comforts of civilization.

E. W. WEST.

LES FONCTIONNAIRES COLONIAUX. *Documents officiels: Tome I, Espagne-France.* (2^e Série de la Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale.) pp. viii and 375.

LE RÉGIME FONCIER AUX COLONIES. *Documents officiels: Tome I, 1^{re} Inde Britannique, 2^e Colonies Allemandes.* (3^e Série de la Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale.) pp. 804.

(Institut Colonial International, 36, Rue Veydt, Bruxelles.)

These two volumes form part of a highly important series of works which are being issued under the auspices of the *Institut Colonial International* of Brussels. They are intended to facilitate the comparative study of the various systems of colonial administration, and are planned on very generous lines with a view to that end.

Les Fonctionnaires Coloniaux contains the administrative regulations touching the *personnel* of the colonial establishments of France and Spain. The latter regulations will have, it is to be feared, little more than a historical interest after the events of this year, but the former, which occupy about four-fifths of this volume, are likely to grow in importance. It would be interesting, did space permit, to compare them in detail with the regulations of the India Office and Colonial Office of this country. One point, which would strike even a superficial observer, is the much greater minuteness and complexity of the French rules. Another is the provision, under them, of a systematic course of instruction in Eastern languages, a matter in regard to which our own country still lags most wofully behind every other nation. A third is the great consideration shown by the French Government to its officials, not indeed in paying

them very high salaries, but in allowing frequent and ample vacations and leave, with special regard to the climatic conditions of the countries in which they serve.

Le Régime Foncier aux Colonies contains the regulations relating to the disposal and acquisition of waste lands in the British Indian provinces of Bombay, Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the Panjab, Burma, Assam, and Coorg, and the land regulations of the German Colonies and Protectorates of East Africa, Togo and the Cameroons, South-West Africa, New Guinea, and the Marshall Islands. The first part of the volume (which relates to British India and occupies about five-eighths of the whole) is furnished with an introductory memorandum by Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E., a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who has also added explanatory notes to each section, which will be of great assistance in rendering these somewhat complex regulations intelligible to the unofficial and especially the foreign reader. The general administrative system of British India is briefly sketched, some indication is given of the circumstances peculiar to each of the provinces here dealt with, and the native and other technical terms occurring in the text of the regulations are duly explained.

The second part of the work, which deals with the German colonies, is annotated in a somewhat similar way, but by no means as fully, by Mr. H. Herzog. The German regulations here given have, however, a somewhat wider scope than those reprinted in the British Indian part, including as they do such subjects as compulsory expropriation for public purposes, purchase of lands from native occupiers or owners (which is placed under considerable restrictions and in some cases forbidden), and a very complete system of registration of title. Seeing that the whole of this German legislation dates no further back than the year 1887, and that most of it is still more recent, it must be admitted that it has already accumulated into a relatively considerable bulk.

It is noticeable that a large part of this legislation consists of Imperial Ordinances and Orders of the Imperial Chancellor

made in pursuance of them, comparatively little being apparently delegated to any local legislative or administrative authority in the colonies themselves except the filling in of details. As these regulations, however, are scrupulously exact and minute, this latter function is perhaps of greater relative importance than would appear at first sight. The general scheme of the whole system for the ascertainment of proprietary rights and the demarcation of Crown lands does not differ fundamentally from that with which British Indian and Colonial officials are familiar.

These volumes deserve the careful attention of all persons who are interested in the comparative study of administrative methods, and of every Government which cares to profit by the experiences of other nations.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LE LIVRE DES BEAUTÉS ET DES ANTITHÈSES ATTRIBUÉ À ABU OTHMĀN AMR B. BAHR AL-DJĀHIZ DE BASRA. Texte arabe, publié par G. VAN VLOTEN. 8vo; pp. xxiii, 382. (Leyden: Brill, 1898.)

We cannot but hail with satisfaction the publication, by a European scholar, of the first of the writings attributed to Al Jāhiz. It is somewhat strange that "the staring" leader of the Basrian Mu'tazilites did not engage the special attention of students of Arabic literature before, although attention is called to his name in numerous works on the most heterogeneous subjects. There were few subjects relating to the religious, social, or literary life of his age on which (if we may trust the native litterateurs) Al Jāhiz did not have a word to say. He continually endeavoured to root out antiquated views and prejudices, and impregnated many younger authors with the spirit of his criticism. The writings attributed to him are legion. The MS. Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 3,128 alone is composed of abstracts of not less than twenty-seven essays bearing his name, but Professor Rieu has already remarked in his Catalogue that only two of them are mentioned by Hājji Khalfā. The uncertainty

regarding the authenticity of many of the works is not of recent date. Ibn Abi Useibia, in mentioning an essay by the famous physician Ar Rāzi (which was written as an answer to an attack of Al Jāhiz against medical aid, i, p. 316), says: a treatise 'attributed' to Al Jāhiz. Rather much has been made of his complaint that his talents remained unappreciated, and that he was obliged to adopt a pseudonym in order to be read.¹ This must be taken *cum grano salis*. For it stands not only in glaring contrast to the flattering remarks passed on him by the author of the *Fihrist* (p. 44) and Ibn Khalliqān (transl. by De Slane, ii, p. 405), but it is certain that other authors used *his* name as a hall-mark for their own productions.

Dr. van Vloten has clearly demonstrated that this was the case with the book under consideration. He shows that the bulk of the book did not originate from Al Jāhiz' pen, but was compiled some time after his death either by, or with the assistance of the *كتاب المجاسن والمساوي* of, Al-Baihaqī. Fortunately this circumstance does not diminish its literary value, and cannot deprive it of a prominent place in Arabic *Adab* literature. It is exceedingly rich in material of the most variegated kind, its object being to discuss the good and bad points of a number of propositions, both sides of the question being illustrated with tales, anecdotes, proverbs, and verses. The last-named two groups are of particular importance. The book abounds in fine observations, and contains many details which add to our knowledge of Arab culture, history, and literature. It is noteworthy that with respect to proverbs Al Jāhiz seems to have been regarded as a special authority. Al Tha'ālibi in his *ثمار القلوب* (see H. Kh., ii, p. 493, and Cod. Brit. Mus. Add., 9,558) quotes his name continually, often several times on one page. Unfortunately he seldom mentions the work from which he quotes, e.g., *كتاب التدوين* (fol. 54^{vo}) and *كتاب البغال* (fol. 67^{vo}). Many

¹ See Préface, p. xi; and Goldziher, "Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie," p. 141; Brockelmann, "Geschichte der arab. Literatur."

quotations are evidently taken from the كتاب الحيوان, although the work is not named, and I have no opportunity of verifying this. As Dr. van Vloten has promised to deal further with the Jāhiz literature, he will probably clear up much that is still uncertain concerning it, and possibly also include the quotations in Al Tha'ālibi's work in his researches.

Another prominent feature of the book are the sayings handed down by Moslim traditions on behalf of Muhammed. Among these, of some interest is the answer he is supposed to have given to a believer who asked him to pray for a pious wife for him, "Allah," Muhammed replied, "announces in heaven which husbands and wives are destined for each other." Compare with this a passage in the Talmud (Sōtā, fol. 2^{vo}): "R. Jehūdāh says: 'Forty days before the creation of the embryo a heavenly voice calls out: "So and so's daughter shall be given to such and such a man."'" The saying of Al Ḥasan al Basri (p. 162, l. 18) وإنما خرجت من سبيل بولين نطفة مشجت باقذار is all but a literal rendering of a passage in Abōth, iii, 1.

The verse of Al Ḥuṭeia (p. 38), said by Ka'b al Aḥbār to be based on the command of gratitude given in the "Tōrā," has been fully dealt with by Goldziher in Z.D.M.G., vol. xlv, p. 499. Another quotation preceding this one, also supposed to be from the "Tōrā," and bearing on the same subject, is equally spurious. The proverb, p. 168, l. 19, كلب جوال خير من أسد رابض should be compared with Eccles., ix, 4.

The list of trades and professions exercised by the Qoreish chiefs in Mecca (p. 165) is characteristically not placed in the chapter on the "merits of gaining a livelihood," but in that one which deals with the disadvantage of ancestral pride and self-glorification. This list is nevertheless of great archaeological interest, and gives at a glance a clearer insight into ancient Arabic culture than many lengthy accounts of traditionists and historiographers coloured by racial and religious prejudice.

A considerable but not less interesting portion of the book, comprising a series of chapters, is devoted to women of various characters and stations. The lead is taken by the 'mourning' ones, and no one will be surprised to see that a relatively large space is devoted to the poetess Al Khansā. The verses accompanying the anecdotes concerning her form a welcome supplement to those published by Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie*, etc., p. 181. Both sides of the marriage question are illustrated by anecdotes, proverbs, and poems. The chapter on "the tricks of women" contains some pretty tales. As to the superscription (مكر النساء) and the parallel proverb كيد النساء in Al Tha'ālibi's above-mentioned work (fol. 59^{vo}), see Qor., xii, 28, 31. The various forms of rivalry and jealousy occupy a larger place in the book than any other subject. Altogether, these portions are full of fine pieces of composition. The chapter on Persian feasts is particularly instructive. Rather curious is the report that (p. 362) when the Neirūz (New Year's Day) fell on a Saturday the King sent to the *Rās al Jālūth* (رأس جلوثا), Exiliarch of the Jews in the Irāq a present of 4,000 dirhams, for no other reason than that this was an old custom. Here, again, it is interesting to note that Al Tha'ālibi (i.e., fol. 63^{vo}) mentions the *الجالوت* رأس, but with the misapprehension that رأس meant the real head of the *Jālūth*, *الجالوت* رأس. اليهود وكما أن الأسقف رئيس التصارى والمؤيد رأس المعجوس. The word *الجالوت* is in so far the cause of further confusion, as in Qor., ii, 250, it stands for Goliath. The conclusions which might be drawn from the consonance of the two terms would lead too far. The discussion of the Persian feasts, and the concluding one on 'the Presents,' show to what extent Persian customs had crept in upon the life of good Moslems under the Abbaside rule.

The edition is done with the care and skill Dr. van Vloten has taught us to expect from him. His treatment of the poetic passages deserves special praise. To the list of misprints I should like to add—p. 60, l. 1, v. طوال and

دُئِيَاَت; p. 178, l. 4, 1. الرِّبَاح; p. 213, l. 8, v. يُسَلِّم.

An index of names would have been not only a welcome but even a necessary appendix to make the edition a ready book of reference.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

GRUNDRISS DER IRANISCHEN PHILOLOGIE: V, NEUPERSISCHE LITTERATUR. Von Dr. C. H. ETHÉ. (Strassburg, 1897.)

With the exception of his Catalogues of the Bodleian and the India Office MSS. and some articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, nearly all Dr. Ethé's contributions to the study of Persian literature have been written in German, and lie buried in the depths of German periodicals, always more or less inaccessible to English readers, and now mostly out of print. Few English students are fortunate enough to possess copies of Dr. Ethé's studies on the earliest period of Persian poetry—his papers on the forerunners of Rūdagī, on Rūdagī and his contemporaries, on Kisāi, on the Quatrains of Abū Sa'īd bin Abū-l-Khair, and on those of Avicenna. His paper on Nāsir bin Khusrāu, which gave a masterly solution of the problems suggested by the poems of that author, was read at the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, but is now only accessible in the voluminous report of the transactions of that Congress. His latest work, which forms the subject of this notice, does not seem hitherto to have attracted in this country the attention which it deserves. It quite supersedes the older authorities such as Hammer's "*Redekunste Persiens*" and Ouseley's "*Persian Poets*." The first portion of the book is devoted to the poets, who are treated of according to the class to which they belong—Epic, Lyric, Didactic, or Mystical; and the account of each of the most notable poets is followed by an excellent bibliography. The same plan is followed in the case of the prose-writers, and probably it was this portion of his work which cost Dr. Ethé most trouble, since the ordinary *Tazkiras* do not, generally speaking, pay much attention to prose-writers. The only regret one feels is

that Dr. Ethé was not able to enrich his notices of the poets by specimens of their verses, as Hammer did, but this was, of course, impossible in the limited space allotted to him by the editors of the "*Iranische Philologie*."

E. H. W.

HITTITER UND ARMENIER, von P. JENSEN. Mit zehn lithographischen Schrifttafeln und einer Übersichtskarte. (Strassburg : Karl J. Trübner, 1898.)

A book well printed, and on thick paper, of xxvi and 255 pages, ten double-page plates giving values of characters, and a map, enables Professor Jensen to lay before the public his carefully, learnedly, and elaborately reasoned-out system for the decipherment of the so-called Hittite inscriptions, which have so greatly puzzled and exercised the minds of students and scholars ever since they were brought clearly to the notice of the learned world by Dr. Wright.

There is no doubt that the system of Professor Jensen, following, as it does, that of Grotefend in the decipherment of the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions, is the best means of penetrating the secret of this strange writing, and one cannot but desire that such perseverance as the author of this book has shown may turn out to have led him on the right path. Even if half the values that he professes to have made out prove to be correct, or approximately so, he is deserving not only of the gratitude but also of the thanks of all those to whom Oriental archaeology is a thing of importance and worthy of attention.

It is to be hoped, then, that the learned Professor, who has brought together so much material bearing on the subject, has met with at least some measure of success. The immense difficulties that attend the work of decipherment in the domain of "Hittology," however, will be well realized when one sees what one so well equipped for the fray as Professor Jensen has been able to produce:—

INSCRIPTION FROM HAMĀ.

- Line 1. 's mi sign of a dignity ('word-beginner') mši
 (á) mi (-sign of nominative) ? H(H)atíá
 ?-? (-sign of nom.) ('word-beginner') ?
 ('word-beginner') r (-sign of nom.) á-i
 w(p')-? s-r dsari(o)
- „ 2. (division-mark) s (MAN) ? ? ? (-)m-á
 (division-mark) dsari(o) (-)m r ?-a ? s-r' ? m-s.
 dsari(o) ? dsari(o) mši ?
- „ 3. ?-a í-á-i mšíá ? m-s r(-)?(-)w(p')(-sign of nom.)
 dsari(o).

Translation.

- Line 1. I am the (of the) ?, the great one (of the great
 one), the powerful ?, of H(H)atí the (a) ?,
 of [the goddess] ?
 the man, of this land (? district, or city ?)
 king, the king,
- „ 2. I, the ? ? ? ?,
 [among] the kings the man, the powerful
 (great), ? (name) the king, the powerful,
 the great,
 the king, ? the king, the great, the powerful,
- „ 3. the ? of the god (?) the great, the ?, the great
 one, the ? (?), the king.

(The reference-marks to the numerous notes and some few variants have been omitted as tending to confuse the transcription and, to a certain extent, the translation.)

If Professor Jensen has really got so far as to give with any certainty the meanings of such words as are translated above without queries, he has without any doubt made some progress, but, to put it mildly, his method of transcription is a very teasing one, and it is something of a labour to find one's way through it. The value of the book would have been greatly increased, and a great deal of trouble

saved to the reader, if the inscriptions translated had, in every case, been accompanied by the original text. The original characters are, in fact, absolutely necessary to enable the reader to see clearly which of them the author regards as certain or otherwise in his work.

Other inscriptions treated of are from Hamā, Jerābis ("inscriptions of the kings of Kargamī(š) or Kar(š)gamī(š)"), Mar'aš ("inscription of a king of Gurgum"), the lion-hunt inscription of Arslantepe near Ordasu ("inscription of Mutalu of Comagene and Melitene"), inscriptions from Izgin, Gürün, Cilicia, Bulgarmaden, Ivriž, Bor, Kölitolu, Beiköi, Agrak, Fraktin, Chammanene (?) near Bogazkeui, Karabel, and a number of seal inscriptions. It will thus be seen that there is a sufficient amount of material to work upon.

It is somewhat startling to see that, in his rendering of the so-called "boss of Tarcondemos" (generally read Tarqudimme), Professor Jensen reads the name TAR-BI-BI-uassimi or TAR-KU-uassini. He may be right, but his reading seems to me to be hardly in accordance with the divisions of the characters in the Babylonian text, though, as the text in question is very badly engraved, almost any division of the characters is possible. With regard to this object, I am not by any means satisfied, myself, that the Assyrian characters are genuine.

According to the author, there are various helps to the deciphering of these inscriptions. A diagonal stroke is a doubtful "word beginner and closer," whilst another, generally written like sanseriph IL, certainly (according to the author) has this power. Another, a double group, "marks once the beginning of an inscription." Besides these, there is a 'word-closer,' a 'word-divider,' a nominative sign, and (doubtful) a determinative for ideograms and signs of words.

It is a valuable work if the conclusions it contains be correct. One cannot help wishing, however, for a sufficiently long bilingual.

T. G. PINCHES.

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND. Archaeological Reports. Edited by F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A. 1898.

This is a small volume of 70 pages, with illustrations and maps, the letterpress being contributed by Professor Flinders Petrie, Messrs. Clarke, Grenfell, Kenyon, Crum, and the Editor. It is an excellent report, and not only shows what the Fund has done during the year, but also what has been done in the domain of Egyptology in general during the same period. The plate facing p. 7 gives an excellent reproduction of the fragment of a sculptured mace-head, representing an Egyptian king of the second dynasty opening canal works. This interesting object was found at Hieraconpolis.

T. G. PINCHES.

A GRAMMAR OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN MODERN SYRIAC. Compiled and translated by the Rev. F. F. IRVING. Printed at the Press of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission, Ūrmi (Urumiyya), Persia, A.D. 1898.

Whatever view may be taken as to the utility or desirability of missions which have for their object the conversion of Muḥammadans, all must sympathize with those which devote their energies to the strengthening, building up in knowledge and righteousness, and education of the native Churches in the East. Amongst these, the excellent work done by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Nestorians of Ūrmi (Urumiyya), in the Persian province of Ādharbāyjān (Atropatene), has long been recognized and appreciated. From the Mission Press there established many Syriac works have been issued, but hitherto nothing in Persian. The Persian Grammar, compiled and translated into modern Syriac by the Rev. F. F. Irving, which has just been printed and published in Ūrmi, marks, therefore, a new departure. The writer of this brief notice, having received a copy of the work in question, desires to call the attention of Syriac scholars

to it; but, being himself unacquainted with Syriac, can do little more than chronicle its appearance and offer his congratulations to those untiring and devoted workers to whose beneficent activity it owes its existence.

The little volume comprises 240 pages of $17 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and consists of (1) a sketch of Persian grammar, treating of the different parts of speech in order, of the inflexion and composition of words, and of Arabic locutions employed in Persia; (2) an account of the Calendar (Persian and Arabic, Turkish cycle of years, *hijra* computation, and conversion of Muhammadan to Christian dates, and *vice versa*); (3) dialogues in Persian and modern Syriac; forms of address employed in letters, specimens of letters, petitions, bonds, legal documents, leases, etc.; (4) tables of money, weights, and measures; (5) list of Syriac verbs, with Persian equivalents. The work is based chiefly on the late Professor E. H. Palmer's *Persian Grammar*, Captain Wilberforce Clarke's *Persian Manual*, and M. Kazimirski's excellent *Dialogues et Vocabulaire Français-Persans*. Its general plan and conception appear good; its utility is indisputable; and though there are a good many misprints in the Persian and some Indianisms (no doubt derived from Captain Wilberforce Clarke's *Manual*) in the dialogues, this could hardly be otherwise in so novel an attempt. Revision of the proofs of the next edition by a well-educated Persian *mirzā*, and a more exclusive use of Kazimirski's work, will easily remedy these defects in the second edition, which, it may be hoped, will soon be called for.



















E. G. B.


ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT, edited by F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A. Sixth Memoir. A COLLECTION OF HIEROGLYPHS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN WRITING, by the Editor. (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898.)


The ever active Editor of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund (from whose pen comes the Annual

Report, also noticed this quarter) gives us, in this work, a scientific description, based on new material, of a number of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, of which drawings from the hands of Mr. H. Carter, Mr. Blackden, Miss P. F. E. Paget, and Miss A. Pirie, are printed in colour at the end.


The plates are nine in number, with a total of 193 figures, and show the various objects depicted in the Egyptian Hieroglyphic system in what the Egyptian sculptors and scribes conceived to be their natural colours, and with greater attention to detail than the majority of Egyptian inscriptions show. The originals, which were found in various sites in Egypt, are of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties.

Interesting is the well-drawn figure of a 'pin-tailed duck,' which, though in modern conventional writing identical with that for the goose, , was, in reality, a quite distinct sign. It is this character which stands for 'son,' generally written  , and having the pronunciation of *si* or *se*. In the Babylonian name-lists it is reproduced by *si*, as in |  |  |  |  |  |, *Siptahi*, or |  |  |  |  |  |, *Siptahu*, 'son of (the god) Ptah'; |  |  |  |  |  |, *Sihuru*, 'son of Horus,' etc. The duck which is represented is a brightly-coloured bird with two long feathers in its tail, hence the name given to it.

The character , from its form in the more carefully-drawn and coloured hieroglyph given in the plates, is described as being probably the opening of a drain with a stand to support it (p. 63).

The well-known character , which generally means 'good,' has long been supposed to be the representation of a lute. As, however, it is drawn in these coloured pictures of hieroglyphics with the same markings on the oval part as are found on the hieroglyph for 'heart,' and the long

neck of the object has a number of horizontal lines upon it, Mr. Spurrel and Professor Petrie suggest that it may represent the heart and tracheae. This explanation, it is pointed out, would then agree with the description given in the Hieroglyphics of Hieropollo ("absurd inventions," mostly), where it is said that "a man's heart hung from the windpipe means the mouth of a good man."

As is also common knowledge, the 'chicken,' , does not represent the young of our own familiar barn-fowl, but some other bird of the same family. Mr. Griffith suggests, with some show of probability, that it is the young of the quail, possibly hatched from the eggs that were found abundantly in the harvest-field.

One could go on, however, quoting interesting identifications from this attractive book far beyond the limits of our space. It is well got up, and clearly printed, but would have been handier in a smaller form. It is difficult to over-estimate the good work done by the Egypt Exploration Fund in printing the results of the discoveries that are being constantly made in Egypt by their explorers. It is work that deserves the support of all who have the recovery of the lost records of Egypt at heart, and Mr. Griffith has rendered a real service to science in the compilation of this volume.

T. G. PINCHES.

M. Edouard Naville publishes, in the *Revue Archéologique*, an interesting article upon a small wooden box with ornamentation in Egyptian style, which the Rev. Mr. MacGregor has added to his collection at Tamworth. This object is of a semi-cylindrical form, is divided within into two compartments, and has a flat lid running lengthwise in a groove made to receive it. The interesting thing about this object, however, is the broad band carved in relief with representations of wild animals—a lion carrying off a cloven-hoofed animal on his back, a dog running and apparently in the act of barking, a calf or steer, also running, a lioness devouring

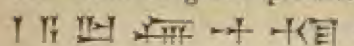
an ibex, and another mutilated design seemingly of the nature of a struggle between a lion and a bull.

M. Naville sees in this carving a style of art similar to that of a plaque of ivory found by M. Perrot at Spata, and printed by him in his *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. vi, p. 826. He points out, moreover, that, whilst the dog recalls the bas-reliefs of Aššur-bani-apli where the hunting-dogs are shown, the lioness devouring an ibex has an absolutely similar *motif* in the art of Mycene. He thinks, however, that the author of these sculptures, though he may have been a Greek, was not domiciled in Greece nor in the Isles of the Aegean, but somewhere in Syria.

Pictures of these and of other objects of art of the same nature found in Egypt accompany this interesting article.

The veteran Professor J. Oppert is in his element in the paper "Alexandre à Babylone" that he contributes to the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, this subject giving him opportunity to touch upon many chronological questions of interest. More interesting, however, to the general reader, is his translation of an inscription of the reign of Alexander that refers to the temple at Babylon known as E-sagila. It records a gift, by Baruqan (so I read instead of Maruqa) through his servant Nanzanu, of ten manas of silver as tithe, being his contribution towards the clearing away of the rubbish of the temple preparatory to its restoration, as recorded by Strabo, whom the author of the paper quotes. This work, begun by Alexander, was never finished, for the death of the Greek ruler occurred shortly afterwards, and none of his successors thought it worth while to continue it, especially as it was a labour of great magnitude.

The name of E-sagila in the Aramaic docket (as I have already noted in this Journal) ought to be read with two yods at the beginning (עסגל, (*Ye-sangil*). With regard to the spelling of the name of the king, the mutilation of the last two characters preserved renders it rather doubtful,

but there is great probability that the real reading is , A-lik-sa-an-dar-ri-is, a corruption of the Greek Ἀλέξανδρος, as mentioned by Professor Oppert in his note, p. 419. The veteran Assyriologist may be congratulated on having written a learned and most interesting paper.

T. G. PINCHES.

A GLOSSARY OF THE ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS. By STANLEY A. COOK, B.A., etc. pp. viii + 127. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1898.)

The preparation of such a glossary as Mr. S. A. Cook has produced by the diligent use of the time that he could spare from other work needs no elaborate justification: an examination of the private notes of Semitic scholars would probably reveal that not a few have had to make more or less extensive lists for their own use. Nor is there any more need to justify its publication by the Cambridge Press: it is not a superfluous addition to the Semitic scholar's workshop, nothing of the kind having appeared before; it is useful, few, if any, having time to construct for mere private use a record at all so complete.

The importance of a study of Semitic (as of other) inscriptions is becoming more and more recognized. Unfortunately it is a branch of study difficult to prosecute, because, apart from the great libraries, many of the publications containing the texts are not generally accessible. Within the last thirty years over 1,100 Aramaic inscriptions have been made available for study.

In 1868-77 the Comte de Vogüé published 150 Aramaic inscriptions from Palmyra; in 1875 Mordtmann published other 93; in 1885 Euting published still 40 more, and 70 Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions from Arabia; in 1887 Euting published 12 more from Palmyra; in 1889 the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres began the issue of the second part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, with 112 (Nos. 1-112) Aramaic inscriptions from Babylonia, etc., 34 (Nos. 122-155) from Egypt, and

161 Nabataean; in 1891 Euting published 677 from the Sinaitic Peninsula; and in 1898 D. H. Müller published over 40 from Palmyra. In addition to these, not a few inscriptions are to be found in the pages of the various Journals and Proceedings of learned societies, most of which are enumerated by Mr. Cook.

Of course, these inscriptions have been diligently studied. Euting's two volumes have indexes of proper names, one of which includes also some words of the language. Between the issue of these two volumes Ledrain, in 1887, published a useful *Dictionnaire des Noms Propres Palmyréniens*. D. H. Müller's *Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli* (1893) contains a vocabulary. Still, there was nothing whatever of the nature of a general dictionary until the appearance of this glossary of Mr. Cook.

In the preface (pp. v-viii) he mentions the chief collections of inscriptions used, states what has been done already by other scholars, and describes the general aim of the present work.

The introduction (pp. 1-10) contains a convenient classification of the available Aramaic inscriptions, according to their source, as coming from what we may call—(1) a north-east district, stretching from Babylonia to Asia Minor; (2) a south-west district, viz. Egypt; (3) the intervening district. To this middle region belong by far the most of the published Aramaic inscriptions, viz.: (a) the Nabataean, (b) the Palmyrene, and (c) the Sinaitic. The bibliography and the chronological limits of each of these groups are briefly stated. At the end is a list of abbreviations.¹

The glossary itself (pp. 11-127), a laborious piece of work containing over 2,000 entries (as compared with some 500

¹ We think that readers who at first object to the very free use of abbreviations and symbols will in time come to appreciate them. We do not like, however, the hybrid 'cfa.'; it should be cpa. or cft. (if Pehlvi has to be learned it does not need to be copied). Certain readers would find it convenient to be told that the frequent references to Ibn Doreid are to the *Kitāb al-Istikṣāṣ*, ed. Wüstenfeld. A symbol indicating the origin of the inscriptions cited merely by numbers would have been useful. In the article [27, e.g., printing 158ⁿ for 159 would have informed the reader that 158, as well as N 7, is a Nabataean inscription.

in Ledrain's *Dictionnaire*), rests on the work of the copiers and editors of inscriptions and on critical discussions founded thereon. The usefulness of the book consists in its bringing to a focus under each word in alphabetical order, with a constant exercise of judgment and critical care, whatever relates to it in the publications enumerated in the preface. A first compilation of such a kind is entitled to lenient treatment, which will be willingly accorded. All we are justified in looking for is (1) as close an approach as possible to completeness of record; (2) an honest attempt to discriminate between what is certain and what is doubtful in decipherment and interpretation; and (3) accuracy of statement.

(1) As for the first of these, completeness: Mr. Cook could not, of course, be expected to go behind published inscriptions; he believes he has included all such except certain (e.g. in some of the earlier numbers of the *ZDMG*) which, he thinks, have not been critically enough edited. (2) Uncertainty of decipherment is indicated by a point over the Hebrew letter; conjectural restoration, by square brackets. Mr. Cook sometimes controls the decipherment of the editors, from the context, or from an examination of the facsimiles. In the matter of interpretation he does not aim at being independent: he has followed, as he tells us, the editors of the various texts. Later critical investigations, however, have been laid under contribution, and we find now and then a suggestion that is new.

(3) The reader will wish to know most of all what degree of accuracy has been attained. As the book professes to be in principle a digest of the work of others, only extended use of it as an index can reveal how far it is trustworthy. We may say at once, however, that such cross references as we have had occasion to verify have been found correct,¹ and that, where some questionable point has led us to compare the original, the same is true of the citation of

¹ Occasional slight discrepancies between a note of reference and the place referred to (e.g. $\text{נ}^{\text{י}}$ on p. 11, third article, compared with $\text{נ}^{\text{י}}$ on p. 32) are almost unavoidable and will mislead no one.

inscriptions.¹ It is naturally to the strictly Aramaic part of the work that the compiler has devoted most attention. Where the decipherment is so often uncertain, and the meaning doubtful, the choice between rival explanations is often difficult, and we cannot expect always to agree with the result. It is a pity that practical considerations forbid a fuller treatment. The illustrations from Arabic, Assyrian, and ancient Egyptian are generally taken from the same source as the inscriptions themselves, and (apart from misprints and slips of the pen²) criticism of them does not touch Mr. Cook.³

¹ On p. 42, however, under ܗܕܪܥܐܪ, 120¹ should be 124; and on p. 63, under ܚܝܫܐܪ, 362 should be 662. Moreover, ܐ in ܐܡܚܢܐܢ and in ܐܡܚܢܐܢ, on pp. 22 and 97, should be ܐ. The facsimile is quite unambiguous.

² It is not worth while pointing out such things as omissions or misplacements of a; but it may be of use to some readers to correct the following misprints:— on p. 13 ܐܕܪܐܐ for the ܐܕܪܐ of CIS—i.e. ܐܕܪ; on p. 19 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 27 ܐܡܐ for ܐܡܐ; on p. 37 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 43 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 53 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 55 ܚܫܐܐ (following a misprint in De Vogüé) for ܚܫܐܐ, and ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 88 'Obaisat (after CIS) for 'Obaisat; on p. 93 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 96 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 97 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; on p. 111 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; (on p. 113 ܚܫܐܐ is a rare form, not an error for ܚܫܐܐ); on p. 115 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ; and on p. 119 ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ, and ܚܫܐܐ for ܚܫܐܐ.

³ Sometimes, however, the effort to be concise leads to obscurity or misstatement: on p. 19, under ܐܠܫܡܝܐ, Nöldeke's explanation "one who is cut from the body of his mother" is not an alternative translation of ܐܠܫܡܝܐ, but a translation of ܐܠܫܡܝܐ; in the same article Lepa. 86 refers to *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, Abth. vi (Band xi), Tafel 14-21; on p. 22 ܐܢܝܐ and 'nose' are alternatives, not equivalents; on p. 56 the juxtaposition of ܚܫܐܐ and Heb. ܚܫܐܐ suggests to the unwary reader that the Arabic word is known in the sense of 'grasshopper'; on p. 105, if 'to place, to set' be correct, ܚܫܐܐ should be ܚܫܐܐ. On the other hand, there seems to be a misapprehension on p. 38 in the

We hope he will have the satisfaction of having his book much used while it is still up to date. It is well printed and well bound. Perhaps the leaves were left uncut because it was thought likely that scholars would wish interleaved copies.

This glossary will materially facilitate the *Ausbeutung* of the inscriptions. The brief introduction will be an aid to the student, who will probably wish that Mr. Cook had allowed himself more scope. Students of the Aramaic inscriptions will appreciate his method of quoting systematically every form in which a word occurs (cp. ה'א, ה'וה); his warning that certain readings are uncertain; and his quotation of alternative readings (e.g., אברשו, אבנט, מותבה). His practice, in the case of obscure words, of quoting the context (cp. for example מנת, סר, etc.), and in the case of bilingual inscriptions of giving the equivalent expression in the second language (כ'סא, ספא, מודא, etc.), will be specially appreciated by the student who is not fortunate enough to have easy access to the sources. Mr. Cook's interest in comparative Semitic philology appears in useful observations occurring from time to time (cp. for

article 76. دبع does not mean 'tanner.' Mordtmann means to say that the Palmyrene proper name 767, coming from a root = Arab. دبع, will mean 'tanner.' Görlin on p. 37, given as the Ethiopic for 'fear,' should be *germā*. On p. 75 منوات, Manawāt, should be منات, Manāt.

In the case of Assyrian and Egyptian words, it is to be regretted that the system of transliteration employed in the *CIS* has been preserved. It is extremely desirable that, whatever be done about the Egyptian vowels, the system of transliteration of the consonants that is now dominant should be used in all Semitic work. This does not in Assyrian, as in Arabic, employ a *h* and a *ḥ*, but only a *h*—*ḥ* not being distinguishable, except etymologically. In any case it is misleading to find *himahhi* on p. 37, and similarly *h* in almost all Assyrian words, but *paidḥu* on p. 24. In Egyptian, on the contrary, it need hardly be said, *h* and *ḥ* represent distinct symbols and distinct sounds. Thus, in *hakonu(i)* on p. 53, and in *Hor in heb* on p. 55, *h* is correct; but if so, in *hrd hrt* on p. 55, in *anh* (i.e. 'nh) on p. 94, in *hontu* on p. 82, in *hadie* on p. 50 (and of course in ענהחם and תהבס), in *honsu* on p. 55, and in other examples, *h* should be *ḥ*. We may add here that we do not suppose the author means to propose a new theory of the date of Daniel when he assigns it to the middle of the second century B.C. (p. 3, note 2).

example such notes as those on the letters **ס**, **י**, etc.). No one working through the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament should overlook the notes on the parallel or the divergent forms supplied by the inscriptions: the fact that some of the inscriptions can be dated gives special value to their evidence. Mr. Cook's work on the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* has given him a special interest in Semitic onomatology, which is fortunate, for he tells us that three-fifths of the entries in his glossary are proper names.

Finally, we may give one example of the convenient way in which such a glossary collects interesting facts, and of the care with which it must, nevertheless, be used—

One of the most firmly established facts of Semitic phonology is that, under certain conditions, words that appear in Hebrew with **ס** and in Arabic with **س** will be found in Aramaic to have **ע**. A well-known example of this is the word **ארעא**, 'the earth.' It is well known, however, that certain Aramaic dialects have the remarkable parallel form **ארקא** (cp. Jer. x, 11). Now the glossary shows that whilst the inscriptions contain both forms, the common form **ארעא** occurs in only one inscription and the peculiar parallel form in no less than nine. This might lead to the generalization that the Aramaic represented by the inscriptions, most of which are late, used almost invariably the form with **ק**. If the inscriptions containing the word are noted more carefully, however, it will be found that they are the inscriptions on the famous sculptures from Zenjirli and its neighbourhood, and the legends on certain well-known weights and tablets from Nineveh, all belonging to the eighth century or the seventh. Elsewhere in the Aramaic inscriptions the word does not happen to occur except in the one case referred to, where it appears in the common form **ארעא**. This is in the Sinaitic peninsula, and the inscription, which is one of the three that bear dates, belongs to about the year 189 A.D.

Anyone who experiences difficulty in remembering the inscriptions by the numbers will find it pretty easy to construct an analysis of them on a single leaf of paper to keep as a mark in the glossary. He will thus be able to determine at once the nature of the attestation of any word or form.

Enough has been said to show that the glossary is an addition to the Semitic library, useful to learners and convenient for scholars, and to suggest to those who use it to help on the cause by reporting important inaccuracies to the author. Cambridge has done well in encouraging its younger scholars by undertaking the publication of such a work.

HOPE W. HOGG.

At the last moment, as these sheets are being passed for the press, M. Lidzbarski's eagerly expected *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* has been issued, and is found to contain a complete glossary. It would not be fair to compare it with the other work, their scale and scope being so different. Had the scholars in Germany and England who encouraged Mr. Cook to go on with his work been able to tell him of the enterprise on which Lidzbarski was engaged, the glossary, at least in its present form, would probably not have appeared. If its author does not regret his labour, however, no one else will. The *Glossary* and the equivalent columns of the *Handbuch* seem, on a rapid glance, to be to some extent complementary as well as parallel. One would not willingly be without either. Each has entries that the other lacks; and the plan of the smaller work made it possible to give many references and other notes which the learner, in particular, will find very useful.—H. W. H.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1898.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 8, 1898.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. W. A. Briggs, M.D.,
 Mr. M. N. Venketasvami,
 Mr. V. R. Pandit,
 Captain F. Webb Ware,
 Mr. M. Macauliffe,
 Mr. C. G. Luzac,
 Mr. V. C. Seshacharri,
 Mr. F. W. Thomas,
 Mr. Nobushigé Aménomori, and
 Mr. H. Franklin

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. R. Sewell read a paper on "The Cinder-Mounds of Bellary." The paper appears in the present number.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. J. Kennedy, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Beveridge, and Dr. Thornton took part.

December 13.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

H.H. the Mahārāja of Mysore,
 Mr. A. R. Macdonald,
 Mr. Robert Pearce, and
 Mr. Suryanarain Row

had been elected members of the Society.

The Rev. Professor Mills, D.D., read a paper on "The Initiative of the Avesta." The paper will be printed in a subsequent number.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. E. G. Browne, Professor Ross, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Rhys Davids took part.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xii, No. 2.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

Hartmann (M.). Zur kurdischen Literatur.

Kegl (A. v.). Visāl und seine Söhne, eine Dichter-Familie des modernen Persiens.

Mahler (Ed.). Aegyptologische Studien auf dem Gebiete der Chronologie.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome xii, No. 1.

Loisy (A.). Le Monstre Rahab et l'histoire biblique de la création.

Chabot (J. B.). Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale.

Parisot (M.). Le dialecte de Ma'lula.

Féer (L.). Spécimen de la langue lepcha ou rong.

III. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band lii, Heft 3.

Mann (O.). Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Ahmed Sāh Durrānī (1747-1773).

Houtsma (Th.). Eine unbekannte Bearbeitung des Marzbān-nāme.

Mordtmann (J. H.). Die himjarischen Inschriften von Kharibet-Se'oud.

Brockelmann (C.). Zur syrischen Betonungs- und Verslehre.

Böhtlingk (O.). Miscellen.

Brooks (E. W.). Notes on the Syriac Chronicle of 846.

Wolff (M.). Bemerkungen zu der Schrift Ahwāl-al-kijāme.

IV. VIENNA. SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER KAISERLICHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, PHIL.-HIST. KLASSE. Bd. cxxxvi.

Müller (Fr.). Beiträge zur Text-kritik und Erklärung des Kārṇāmak i Artasir i Papakān.

—— Beiträge zur Text-kritik und Erklärung des Andarz i Āturpāt i Maḥraspandān mit einer deutschen Uebersetzung.

—— Die semitischen Elemente der Pahlawisprache.

—— Die Transscription fremder Alphabete.

Bd. cxxxvii.

Bühler (G.). A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā.

Schroeder (L. v.). Die Tübinger Kāṭha-HSS. und ihre Beziehung zum Tāittiriya-Araṇyaka. Herausgegeben mit einem Nachtrag v. G. Bühler.

DEKESCHRIFTEN. Bd. xlv.

Nöldeke (Th.). Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch.

V. ST. PETERSBURG. BULLETIN DE L'ACADÉMIE IMPÉRIALE DES SCIENCES. Série v, Tome viii, No. 1.

Radloff (W.). Eine neue aufgefundenene alt-türkische Inschrift.

VI. MUNICH. SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER K. B. AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, 1898. Heft 3.

Hirth (Fr.). Aus der Ethnographie des Tschau Ju-kun.

Lauffer (B.). Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft der Tibeter.

Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.

Milla (L. H.). On Pahlavi.

Grünwedel (A.). Padmasambhava and Mandārava.

Hopkins (E. W.). Āvarta.

Schreiner (M.). Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islām.

Schwally (Fr.). Nachträge.

Windisch (E.). Zu "The Indian Game of Chess."

III. NOTES AND NEWS.

JEWISH ETHICS.—Professor M. Lazarus has at length published his *System of Jewish Ethics* (*Die Ethik des Judenthums*, T. Kauffmann, Francfort-on-the-Main, 1898), in a large and beautifully got-up volume. As might have been expected from so distinguished a thinker, this work leaves little to be desired, both as regards deepness of thought and clearness, and elegance of diction. Although there is no lack of smaller works on the subject, a systematic representation of the ethical principles as developed in post-Biblical Jewish writings has been a desideratum. Of special interest are the author's arguments against E. v. Hartmann's rejection of ethics which are founded on a theistic basis.

MAGIC AMONG THE HEBREWS.—Readers of the *Journal* will recollect that some months back Dr. Witten Davies read a paper before the Society on "Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and neighbouring peoples." This paper has been expanded and has just appeared under the same title. A notice of it will appear in our next issue.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS.—A Committee, consisting of the President, Sir Raymond West, Professor Sayce, Dr. Thornton, Professor Douglas, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Hewitt, Dr. Gaster, and Dr. Cust, has been appointed to carry out for this country all matters connected with the forthcoming International Congress at Rome in October. The Council hope that as many members of the Society as possibly can will take part in the proceedings.

THE PEPPÉ RELICS.—With reference to our announcement in last *Journal* (p. 868), we have now to add that the King of Siam is sending an envoy to India to receive the relics offered to His Majesty by the Indian Government. The King, who gratefully accepted the offer, has agreed to distribute from Bangkok portions of the relics among the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon.

KĀSMĪR ANTIQUITIES.

The following interesting account, written by Dr. M. A. Stein, is abstracted from the *Times of India*, Nov. 5 :—

A short time ago we published the news that the Kāsmīr Durbār, upon the proposal of Captain S. H. GODFREY, Assistant Resident in Kāsmīr, has resolved to establish a museum at Śrīnagar. The new institution, for which a suitable building is already in course of construction, is to serve for the reception of Kāsmīr antiquities and of characteristic specimens of the arts and industries of the Valley.

There is, perhaps, no part of India which could furnish richer or more interesting materials for a local museum. There is certainly none in which the establishment of such an institution is at present more needed or more significant as a mark of progress. The whole of Kāsmīr might have been described, until not so long ago, as one great museum of local antiquities. There were the ruins of ancient date which still cover so many prominent sites in the Valley. Time-honoured were the products of the artisan, the method of the administration, the ways and thoughts of the people.

Great are the changes which Western influences have produced in Kāsmīr, particularly during the present Mahārāja's reign. They reach deeper than any we can trace in the country's previous history. Much of what modern 'reform' has swept away will not be regretted even by the most ardent lover of old Kāsmīr. But much of what is of high value and interest to the student of Indian history and art, is also now bound to disappear. It is time to collect these remains of antiquity, whether they are in stone and wood, in manuscripts, or in the traditions and thought of the people.

The interest which these remains claim is closely connected with the old history of Kāsmīr. And the latter, again, is rendered curious and attractive by the exceptional advantages we enjoy for its study. Indian literature has

often been blamed, and not without justice, for its want of historical works. Kāśmīr, however, has preserved for us a series of Sanskrit chronicles which in authenticity and value fairly reach the mark of the chronicles of mediæval Europe. Adding to these the Persian records from Akbar's time onwards, Kāśmīr history presents itself to us in reliable accounts extending over more than 1,500 years. Traditions popular in origin, but yet of value, which are recorded in the oldest of these works, Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, carry us back even further to the times of Aśoka and the great Indo-Scythian kings.

It is not alone this wealth of truly historical records which enables us to restore in detail the picture of ancient Kāśmīr. Small as the country is, its contribution to ancient Indian literature has been considerable. Sanskrit works by Kāśmīrian authors are plentifully preserved in the Valley. Kāśmīrians seem always to have had an open eye for the realities of life and for the peculiarities of their country. It is not chance that these old writers give us many a curious glimpse of contemporary Kāśmīr, such as the scholars of India proper rarely vouchsafe to us in regard to their own homes.

Nor are we entirely dependent on these indigenous sources.

It is well known how much valuable information on ancient India has reached us in the accounts of foreign travellers. These do not fail us in Kāśmīr. The favoured "Land of *Śārada*" (Pārvatī) has always been famous for its sacred sites, its holy springs or Nāgas, its mountain Tirthas. A land of such spiritual merits could not be missed by the pious Christian pilgrims who wandered through the breadth and length of India during the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest. The curious and detailed notices which they have left us of the Valley and its inhabitants correspond to the long stay they used to make there. It seems in fact as if these pious men had not been wholly indifferent to the material attractions of the country. Kāśmīr has always had its charm for visitors from northern climes. Now, too, the Hājīs of Yarkand and the regions

beyond readily linger in the Valley before resuming their long journey. Hiuen Tsiang did so before them, and so other less known Buddhist pilgrims who passed through the "*Paradis terrestre des Indes*" (Bernier) to the sacred places of the dusty hot plains.

In the light which we derive from this wealth of records, the tangible remains of old Kāśmīr resume fresh life. The coins of Kāśmīr rulers, which we possess in almost unbroken succession from Indo-Scythian times onwards, are more than a mere framework for dynastic lists. We know often a good deal of the reigns and persons of the kings who issued them. The coins and their legends more than once illustrate in a characteristic fashion incidents of which the Chronicles tell us.

The ruined temples and sculptures, which are far more numerous about the Valley than the guidebooks would show, furnish ample materials for the study of the architecture and art of ancient Kāśmīr. They, too, are not mute records with date and origin doubtful, as is so often the case in India proper. From the Chronicles we learn the deities to which these temples were dedicated, the names of their founders and of the sites which they were intended to adorn. We can often trace the varying fortunes which these structures underwent, and strange indeed they were sometimes.

Many a famous shrine which we still see in its ruins served with the riches it once contained unscrupulous Hindu kings in their financial troubles. The massive quadrangles of others were used at times as fortified places, just as in the Middle Ages did so many monuments of ancient Rome. During the endless rebellions of the later Hindu period they stood more than one siege. Frequently we find popular Muhammadan shrines built with the slabs and columns of ancient Hindu temples, or the latter simply transformed into Zīārats. Muhammadan shrines in most cases can be shown to mark the sites of earlier Hindu worship.

This fact strikingly illustrates that slow and gradual process of conversion which led the great mass of the

Kāsmīr population from their old gods and beliefs into the fold of Islām. In more than one direction this conversion has remained superficial. The qualified student can still easily trace the old Hindu in the customs and superstitions of the Kāsmīr villager.

Islām did not enter Kāsmīr by forcible conquest. Not the valour of its inhabitants—it seems to have been small indeed at all times—but the great mountain barrier to the south had saved the Valley from Muhammadan invasion. The great Mahmūd repeatedly endeavoured to reach Kāsmīr: the bravest of his Hindu opponents in the Panjāb had found there a refuge. But in the narrow defiles which lead to the passes over the Pīr Pantāl, even the resistance of a small stronghold like the ancient *Lohara* was enough to stem the wave that in the plains of India had proved irresistible. Kāsmīr thus escaped that great break which the Muhammadan conquest marks in the historical development of other Indian territories. The subsequent gradual conversion to Islām did not affect materially the marked historical individuality of the country, or the traditions and habits of its population. The ease and accuracy with which we can restore the ancient topography of Kāsmīr serve to illustrate this fact.

If we take for comparison the great Panjāb plain we find there only a few ancient sites and local names standing out as landmarks of the pre-Muhammadan epoch. It is strikingly different in Kāsmīr. We can there trace the ancient towns, pilgrimage places, administrative divisions, etc., far back into Hindu times, with such thoroughness and accuracy as if we stood on the classic soil of Greece or Italy.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that the ancient routes through the mountains have remained unchanged. Until the advent of the British engineer man had little chance to work great changes here. But it still shows the remarkable tenacity of local tradition in Kāsmīr that we can even to the present day follow up the old tracks over the mountains mentioned in our historical records, and locate the watch-stations which guarded the passes. Thus, e.g.,

the site of the stone gate which closed "the western entrance of the kingdom" in Hiuen Tsiang's days, in the gorge below Bārāmūla (*Varāhmūla*), still bears its ancient name. On the heights of the Pir Pantsāl Pass popular tradition still shows the place where cruel King Mihirakula (of the sixth century) was believed to have amused himself by throwing elephants over a precipice.

It is the same in other parts of that geographical microcosm, Kaśmīr. Hundreds of ancient localities mentioned by the Sanskrit chroniclers, from great towns down to modest hamlets, can be identified with certainty. Śrīnagar has retained more than the name of the ancient capital *Śrīnagarī*, "the City of Śrī, i.e. the goddess of fortune." (This is the name which the Kaśmīr capital has borne since the days of Aśoka; though the guidebooks, following a whimsical etymology of that worthy but in historical matters amusingly naïve traveller, Mr. Vigne, will persist in turning it into "the City of the Sun.") The antiquarian can still identify in it the remains of many of the great buildings that once adorned it, the quarters into which it was divided, the canals and main thoroughfares which intersected it. Thus history guides us wherever we move in Kaśmīr, whether in the great flat of the river plain or high up in the alpine side-valleys. Of the ancient irrigation canals we know the makers; even for the artificial changes in the course of the Vitastā (the old Hydaspes, our 'Jhelum') we can give the date.

It is not necessary, however, for us to go back to the sculptures, coins, inscriptions, and other antiquities which the old sites yield, in order to find objects worthy of preservation in a museum. Kaśmīr since the time when Muhammadanism entered the Valley from the north has had its connection with Central Asia and Khorāsān. Many interesting arts were imported from those quarters and developed by the Kaśmīrī with that imitative talent which distinguishes him. Many excellent specimens of this Muhammadan art of Kaśmīr, Persian in its chief features, still survive, but they are rapidly leaving the country.

✓ The Kaśmīrī, like other people, has the defects of his virtues. The same ability with which he reproduced the best elements of Persian art-design in his metal and textile work leads him to imitate only too readily European models, poor as the specimens of Western art mostly are that have hitherto reached him. Collectors know how to appreciate the worth of old Kaśmīr art. Most, perhaps, of what was of value, has already found its way into the public and private collections of Europe. Not much time remains to be lost if Kaśmīr is to retain any of the good products of its old art industries.

It is evident that nothing could help more to guide back the modern workman to the former level of his art than select models of this type. It is equally certain that a museum is the best means for their preservation in the country.

It is gratifying to find the Kaśmīr Durbār alive to the importance of its obligations in regard to the antiquities and the arts of the country. As far as the study of the former is concerned it has already shown its interest by enabling Dr. SREIN to study the archaeology of Kaśmīr in detail, and to prepare an annotated English translation of the oldest of the above-named Chronicles. This is in course of publication through Messrs. A. Constable & Co., London.

The new museum which has been sanctioned, and the building of which is now rapidly advancing, will undoubtedly lead to a far more effective preservation of ancient remains than has hitherto been possible. It may also form the starting-point for a new era in the development of modern Kaśmīr art. For many of the European visitors from the plains who reach the Kaśmīr capital in yearly increasing numbers it is sure to prove an attraction. From whichever point of view the new institution is judged, it does credit alike to the enlightened policy of the Durbār and to Captain GODFREY's timely initiative. It is also satisfactory to think that the funds required for the museum have become available through the improvement in the State's *Revenues*, which has been remarkably steady during the office of the present Resident, Sir ADELBERT TALBOT.

PANJĀB NOTES FOR 1898.

I. Colonel Davidson, after employment on the Afghan frontier, has compiled a collection of 1,600 to 1,800 sentences of the language of the Siah-Posh Kafir, an independent race, neither Hindu nor Mahometan, who dwell in the mountainous district on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Afghanistan as lately demarked. The compiler had peculiar opportunities, and has made good use of them. He is now preparing a Vocabulary: he has not attempted a Grammar. Of this language little or nothing is known. It is important that these collections should be published.

II. Mr. Macauliffe, of H.M. Indian Civil Service on the retired list, has prepared a careful translation of the Sacred Books of the Sikh or Singh Sect, dwelling in the Province of the Panjāb. About forty years ago a German Professor, Dr. Trumpf, was sent out to India by the India Office to learn the language, and make a translation: he succeeded so far, that he published a volume, the *Adi Granth*, which was valued at the time, but something better is now required: a fuller knowledge of the language, and a larger selection of original MSS. And this Mr. Macauliffe, after a residence of a quarter of a century amidst the people, a knowledge of the modern Vernacular, and an acquaintance with learned and intelligent Sikhs, has succeeded in supplying. The difficulty now is to publish it. Specimens of the work have appeared in the pages of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Mr. Macauliffe, though he has taken his pension, still seems to cling to India as a home, and though in England at the present moment, he is returning to Amritsar to give the last finishing touch to his work, and if the funds are forthcoming from the Sikh Chieftains, to carry it through the Press.

III. M. Ujfalvy, of Paris, has published in the French language a most interesting volume on the inhabitants of both the North and South slopes of the Hindu-Kush: he has himself visited the North, or Russian, slope, and brings into notice the Ghalcha tribe. He goes into great detail

with regard to the people of the Southern slope, and is familiar with all the great English authorities, who have in late years written on the subject. The book is a very interesting one to read, and my long acquaintance with the Author, and general knowledge of the region, justify me in pronouncing the work to be trustworthy. Of course the languages and customs of the tribes are fully noticed.

IV. I have received from the Author of a volume, entitled "*Les Ba-Ronga, les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa*," a copy of his very interesting ethnographical study in the French language. I have long been acquainted with M. Junod, and he is a missionary of a Swiss Protestant Mission settled many years in that Province of South Africa, a colony of Portugal on the East Coast. A considerable portion of the work is dedicated to the language, one of the Bantu family, and the religions: the latter has not risen beyond the Animistic Class: our Author states that the two chief features are (1) worship of ancestors, (2) a conception of Heaven.

R. N. CUST.

October, 1898.

A FEW REMARKS ON PICTOGRAPHS, OR ARCHAIC FORMS OF SCRIPT.

A more accurate use of terms is necessary: the word 'Alphabet' in the Oxford English Dictionary applies to Written Characters representing sounds by a symbol, and the oldest existing specimen of such Alphabetic writing is the Moabite Stone, which may roughly be attributed to the eighth century before the Christian era. Yet both in English and French writings we find such use of the word 'Alphabet,' as is quite unjustifiable. It may be the case, that at the time of the Exodus there was a free use of the Egyptian Ideographs, and Assyrian Cuneiform, in the Regions between the Euphrates and the Nile; but neither of these Written Characters were Alphabetic, and the impression therefore is left, that the Alphabetic Writings attributed to Moses in the eighteenth century before the

Christian era could not have been from his hand: he may have written in Ideographs, which at a subsequent date were transliterated into the Phœnician Alphabet.

Before the epoch of Alphabets, came the period of the extensive use of the Egyptian and Assyrian Written Characters: they are too well known to require any additional remarks.

But apparently at a date possibly anterior to these great Scripts, and at any rate more or less independent of them, are certain Pictographs, or Archaic Forms of Writing, the full description of which will be the work of the Twentieth century. Among these are :

- A. Cretan and Aegean in Europe.
- B. Kheta, *alias* Hittite, in Asia.
- C. Tifinág in Africa.

And there are many others, such as Cypriote in the Island of Cyprus, and Orkkan in Siberia: my object is to draw general attention to the subject: care should be taken to keep clear of all local forms of Alphabetic Writing. I limit myself to the three in my list as specimens of the three Continents.

A. *Cretan and Aegean.*

In the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xiv (1894), p. 270, appeared a remarkable communication from the pen of Mr. Arthur Evans on the subject of "Primitive Pictographs, and a Præ-Phœnician Script, from Crete." It made a great impression on me, but I was deep in other subjects, and could only make a note of it.

In the same Journal, vol. xvii, part 1897, p. 327, has appeared from the pen of the same writer a communication on "Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script, with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian Comparisons." The subject is now lifted into the first rank of questions to be solved in the Twentieth century.

The second Essay is divided into three Parts :

Part I. "The Discoveries," subdivided into nine Sections, with 27 Plates.

Part II. "Proto-Egyptian and Libyan Comparisons," subdivided into four Sections.

Part III. "Concluding Observations."

Part I (second Essay). The Author states, that from the evidence of Cretan seals it was demonstrable that there existed a form of *pictographic* writing from its simplest beginnings to a more conventional and abbreviated stage. A variety of data supplied by seals, vases, and inscribed stones showed the further existence of a *linear* system of writing, connected with the other, and presenting striking comparisons with Egyptian Inscriptions on the South, and the syllabic script of Cyprus and Anatolia. In some instances Cretan linear characters displayed a remarkable correspondence with Phœnician and Early Greek letter-forms.

The evidence showed, that the purely pictorial class of Cretan seal went back to the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, or more than 2500 B.C. ; and further evidence has since gone to prove an earlier contact of Crete with Egypt than that date.

They were, however, beyond doubt *indigenous*, the later conventionalized pictographs approaching nearer to the Hittite character than the Egyptian.

The Author then passes under review the different classes :

- (1) Primitive Prism seal with linear characters and figures.
- (2) Early Pictographic Prism seals.
- (3) Later seals with conventionalized Pictographs.
- (4) Signet-shaped stones with conventionalized Pictographs, and other figures.
- (5) Seals and other objects with linear signs.
- (6) Inscribed vase from Cerigo.
- (7) Inscribed Libation Table from the Diktæan Cave.

Part II, Sections 1 and 3. The points of resemblance to the Cretan and Egyptian scripts are here dwelt upon, and there can be no doubt that the populations of Crete

and Egypt were thrown into constant intercourse, and a resemblance of the outcome of their culture and form of religious worship can cause no surprise.

Section 2 opens out the still more interesting consideration, that Crete was the meeting-point of Thraco-Phrygian elements to the North, and Libyan elements to the South.

The Author considers that the intervention of Libyan intermediaries seems necessary to explain the primitive relations between Crete and the Valley of the Nile. At the same time, the remains found in Crete bring it in relation with the Western coastlands of Asia Minor, the mainland of Greece, and even the Danubian Basin. While the influence from the South of Egypt must be admitted, the presence of members of the great Thraco-Phrygian race must also be admitted.

Section 4 deals with the resemblance with the Tifinág Alphabet, which is described separately in this essay.

Part III. The Author admits, that the proved antiquity of the Egyptian Script gives some warrant for inferring, that the Egyptians are not indebted to the populations of the Mediterranean Basin for the ideas of interchange of thought by means of the eye as well as the ear. On the other hand, he concedes, that the ancient relations betwixt Crete and the African littoral of the Mediterranean suggest, that the early Script of the island, if not derived from Egypt, was at least influenced in its development from that quarter. This is as far as we can safely go with our present limited knowledge of the environment.

It is, moreover, evident, that through a wide European area there exist the records of a primitive picture-Script, which, as far back as prehistoric time, showed a tendency to simplify itself into abbreviated linear signs.

The Author concludes with the following remarks, which speak highly for his good sense and freedom from sensational haphazard guesses:

"I have abstained from any attempt to interpret either the linear, or the pictographic, Script. The main object has been to collect materials and institute comparisons."

B. *Kheta or Hittite.*

In Luzac's Oriental List, 1898, I read as follows:—
 "A book has just been published by Colonel Conder entitled
 "'The Hittites and their Language,' in which the author
 "makes an attempt to explain the Hittite symbols, and gives
 "what he calls 'translations' of the 'Hittite' Inscriptions.
 "Colonel Conder bases his system of decipherment on the
 "assumption that the Hittite, Cyprian, and Akkadian forms
 "of writing are interchangeable, and that a superficial
 "resemblance in the form of any two signs is sufficient to
 "prove their identity of value. His 'translations' of the
 "texts are based on the further assumption, that 'Hittite'
 "is Turkish in character. It is needless to point out to our
 "readers, that both these assumptions are entirely without
 "proof or foundation. We could wish that the labour, which
 "it is evident Colonel Conder has expended on his work,
 "had been applied in a direction, where it might have been
 "rewarded with more valuable results."

In *The Athenæum* of August 27, 1898, p. 285, is a very hostile review of Colonel Conder's newly-published book, "The Hittites and their Language" (Blackwood & Son). Allusion is made to Professor Jensen's articles in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society about three years ago, and the decipherment of this language. Professor Jensen has now published a solid work, "Hittites and Armenians." Colonel Conder gives a Hittite Vocabulary, and fifteen plates of Hittite Inscriptions taken from the Marash Lion, various slabs, figures, and seals. No bilingual Inscription has been found. No two authorities agree: Jensen connects the Armenian with it, Conder the Accadian: there is no certainty, that they have any claim to the name of Hittite, for no character has been identified to the satisfaction of all.

C. *Tifinág.*

I quote from my own "Languages of Africa," p. 75, 1883:—

"Of the old Libyan or Numidian form of writing

"specimens are found in Inscriptions brought casually to light, and not yet satisfactorily explained. It is the mother of the existing local written Character, called the Tifinág, the language being called Tamashek, and the tribe using it is the Tiwárik of the Sahára, a sub-division of the Berber Family."

Oudney first noticed them in 1822; Richardson drew attention to them in 1847, and an account by him was published by the Foreign Office. In the highways of the Desert are found blocks of stone entirely covered with this Character. The Arabs were totally ignorant of their meaning. In the houses are similar scribblings on the walls. Attempts have been made, with some success, to translate them. They are read from right to left, and form a syllabary. Hanoteau in his Grammar of the Kabail and Tamashek Languages, Halévy and De Sauley in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Letourneux in the Report of the Florence Oriental Congress, Faulman in his work on Written Characters, have noticed this Character. See also De la Blanchere, "Inscriptions Sahariennes et l'écriture Libyque" (*Bulletin Correspondance Africaine*, vi, p. 354, 1883); Duveyrier, "Explorations de Sahara Inscriptions," p. 396; "Alphabet Libyque" (*Journal de la Société Asiatique*, p. 253, 1884).

I communicated to a Vice-President of this Society, who is a master in this particular department of science, my intention of writing a brief *Memorandum* on this subject. In his reply he remarked: "A hypothesis, or rather a suspicion, has been growing up in my mind of late, that the chief Hieroglyphic systems of the ancient world really had a common origin somewhere in Western Asia: that all the pictorial systems were developed out of this primitive and embryonic Script. Along with this suspicion has been another, that the Neolithic people of primeval Egypt and Northern Africa had a linear system of writing, which has left its traces in the Tifinág and linear Cretan, and signs on Neolithic Egyptian pottery. These signs continued to be used by the non-Phenician

"population of Egypt down to a comparatively late date, and are found not only in pottery but on the rocks."

"However, these are only suspicions, and I must leave it to younger men to find out whether they are justified or not. I am getting too old for pioneering work."

This explains my motive in putting forth this brief paper. I lay the idea, the suspicion, the germ of a conception, before some retired Anglo-Indian official, about fifty years old, who wants a subject, which has been apparently not occupied by another. He can feel carefully, without partiality or prejudice, down the outline of the conception, read up all that has been written, and write a paper for the *Journal of this Society* in the early years of the Twentieth Century. I shall not be there to read it.

R. N. C.

October 25, 1898.

NOTE ON JAMES FRASER, AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF NADIR SHAH" (1742).

James Fraser is the author of the first book in English on Nādir Shāh, "that very costive Sophy," as Byron calls him, known in the East as قهر الہی, or the Scourge of God. Fraser's work is a first-hand contribution to the history of the period, important not only by reason of its early date, but because of the number of original documents it has preserved, documents not to be found elsewhere.¹ In addition to his claim as an author, he is entitled to some brief record as an early, if not the very first, collector of manuscripts in India; and thus indirectly a prominent contributor to the valuable Oriental collections of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. On the strength of the above achievements he was, I should have thought, entitled to

¹ Lowndes (ed. 1858, p. 834) gives the "History of Nadir Shah" as published in 1732. This is an impossible date, Nādir Shāh's invasion of India, with which the book is chiefly concerned, not having occurred until 1737-8. The date must surely be a mistake for 1742. All the copies I have seen are of the second edition and dated 1742. Apparently the first edition appeared in January of the same year (*Gent. Mag.* for 1742, p. 56).

a modest place in the "Dictionary of National Biography"; and though passed over there, it is stranger still that his name is not to be found in the "Book of Eminent Scotsmen" of Joseph Irving (1881); but this neglect may yet be rectified by Dr. Ethé in the second volume of his Bodleian Catalogue of Persian MSS., as announced (now, alas! nearly nine years ago) in the preface to his first volume.

As a small contribution to Fraser's biography, I have transcribed some manuscript notes from a copy of the "Nadir Shah" lately acquired by me. The book belonged in 1754 to Samuel Smalbroke, son of Dr. R. Smalbroke, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry mentioned by Fraser in his preface, p. vi (at the top). The notes referred to are without doubt by S. Smalbroke himself.

[On the flyleaf.] "January 21st, 1754, Novo Stylo—Died Mr. James Fraser at his own house at Rylick near Inverness in Scotland: he went out Writer to ye Factory at Suratt, then after Returning to England and publishing this Book, carried his new-married Wife . . . with him to ye Indies, whither he went as Supercargo. Return'd ye 2^d time (after 6 years stay) into England, December 1749, where I saw them in London in ye Beginning of 1750. He then intended to send his MSS. & goods by Sea to Scotland. He complain'd of his want of Latin, and intended to compleat an Antient-Persick Lexicon out of several imperfect ones y^t he possess'd and to Translate the Zund of Zerdusht from y^e original, as he had promis'd to Bp. Smalbroke & like wise to Translate the Væd of the Brahmins.

"Mr. Fraser show'd me the Væd (or Bæd = Beth in Bernier) in ye original characters (a little and beautifully written and adorn'd MS. in broad-twelves) & some chapters of allegorical writings (ethical) of some of the Brahmins w^{ch} he had Translated into English & redd to me. They contain'd a Fiction of Gyants or Peris fighting in Battle & a conversation of some of them taken up into their war-chariot concerning the soul, an emblem perhaps first borrow'd from Plato's Wings & Chariot of y^e soul, for y^e

Greeks Books were carried into Indostan by y^e Traders of Persia & Egypt after y^e Macedonian conquests, if not before."

[On title-page.] "Merchant" added to author's name.

[Preface, p. vi, line 2.] "Dr. R. Smalbroke, at whose request Mr. Fraser studied the Old Persick (in order to Publish Zerdusht Book) [and] afterwards brought many Fine MSS. at his return in 1749 (Dec. vii), seen by me S. Smalbroke in his custody. Since Mr. Fraser's death in Scotland bought (at my intimation to Oxford) for y^e University."

[id., line 17.] "I studied [Arabic] under"

[id., line 21.] "Three hours each day [in Sanskerit = 'pure tongue': see Bernier]."

[p. 17, note †.] As to Geronimo Xavier's knowledge of the Persian language: "But he seems never to have learn'd it well, for he wrote his Spurious Gospel (published by De Dieu) in Portuguese & got it turned into Persick by Molana Ben Kassem at Lahor, or at least corrected." See, for this Xavier and his doings, E. D. MacLagan, "Jesuit Missions," *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxvi (1896), p. 110.

[p. 69, third line from foot.] After the words "treacherous correspondence," "if at all true." This remark does great credit to Mr. S. Smalbroke's acumen, for the sending of any letter by Nizām-ul-Mulk to Nādir Shāh is very doubtful indeed.

[p. 131, note, on custom of having two governors, one to command a city and the other its castle] "in imitation of Cyrus's method in Persia."

[p. 227, after "Nādir Shah," in line 2 of the heading] "by some Missionaire."

[p. 231, as to Nadir's answer to his mother] "exactly the answer of Oliver Cromwell to L^d Broghill."

CATALOGUE OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[p. 19, under "Ayar Danish."] "It seems at least (to me) to have been originally y^e invention of Perzuia, or Buzurj rather, in Persick about A.D. 550 (tho he fathered [it] on y^e Brahmins), and immediately translated into Greek."

[On margin.] "A copy (finely wrote) of this in y^e original tongue Mr. Fraser brought home in 1749, w^h I saw."

[p. 20, at end of the para.] "There are two Greek Versions of it, one a verbal one, and seems very old, printed by [blank] at Hamburgh under y^e title of 'Sapientia Indorum.' Y^e other is a Loose Paraphrase printed with Portallas's Latin version in 'Histor: Byzant:.' There is a French translation of these Fables & an English one from it lately, 12^o. The English is called 'Pilpay's Fables' for Bidpai, y^e supposed Narrator of them to an Indian Prince."

[p. 29, Farhang Jahanguiri.] "M^r Fraser brought a 2nd copy of the Appendix, 1749 (tho imperfect too); both are now in y^e Bodley Lib."

[p. 40, added at end.] "See many more MSS. particularly of the Zand in Old-Persick & several Lexicons (tho' all imperfect) of y^t tongue, but wh. he intended to compleat & publish & the whole Væd of y^e Indians in the Bramins character wh. M^r Fraser showed to me S. S. in 1749 in London, wh. now I hear are safely deposited in y^e Bodley Library, having been bought of his Widow by D^r Radclif's executors & given to the University of Oxford at y^e instigation of D^r Owen, who heard of them from M^r James Brunker, to whom I related as above.

"(Signed) SAM^l SMALBROKE."

The place of James Fraser's death, "Rylick near Inverness," seemed to point to a connection with the family owning the estate so named (also spelt Reelick, Relick, Relig). It lies in the parish of Kirkhill, a few miles south-west of the town of Inverness, and had in 1845, after great

drainage improvements, a rental of £640 a year ("New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xiv, p. 460). The family, according to John Anderson ("Historical Account of the family of Frisel or Fraser," 1825, pp. 71-6, 195), was founded early in the sixteenth century by Hutcheon Bain, an illegitimate son of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat (d. 21st October, 1524). On referring to Burke's "Landed Gentry," ed. 1894, vol. i, p. 709, I find that James Fraser (1713-1755) was descended in the seventh generation from this progenitor; he was the second but eldest surviving son of Alexander Fraser (d. 1733). James married in London, Mary, only daughter of Edward Satchell, of Warwickshire; she died 18th June, 1795. Their only son, Edward Satchell Fraser (1751-1835), was the father of John Baillie Fraser (1783-1856), the author of several books of travel in India and Persia (see "Dictionary of National Biography," and "Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th edition). Another son was William Fraser, Commissioner of Dehli, who was shot there in 1835 (W. H. Sleeman, "Rambles and Recollections," 1844, vol. ii, pp. 215-231; R. Bosworth Smith, "Life of Lord Lawrence," 1883, vol. i, pp. 75-78). Other grandsons of James Fraser were connected with the East, viz., Edward S., who died at St. Helena, 25th April, 1813; Alexander Charles, who died in India, 4th June, 1816, aged 27; and George John, 1st Bengal Cavalry, who died at Aurangabad, 27th August, 1842, aged 42. Burke's date, 1755, for James Fraser's death, must, if we follow S. Smalbrooke's notes, be altered to 1754.

The Court Books of the East India Company from 1728 to 1750, which I have been permitted to consult at the India Office, furnish no confirmation of Mr. Smalbrooke's statement that James Fraser went out the first time to India as a Writer. Very probably that was the case, though I have not traced the appointment. But I find that, on his second visit to that country, he went as the Company's servant, having been appointed on the 12th November, 1742, a Factor on the Bombay establishment to reside at Surat. His bondsmen in £1,000 each were Hugh Ross and George

Fryer, of London, merchants. On the same date he was posted as an agent to Mocha in the Red Sea, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. commission, other $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. being apportioned between his two colleagues, Captain Freeman and Mr. Parker. On the 29th December, 1742, Fraser's wife and a little girl, a relative of his, were allowed to proceed to Bombay on one of the Company's ships. On the 14th September, 1748, a letter was received from James Fraser at Surat, dated the 10th, 22nd, and 24th November, 1747; and he must have left India soon afterwards, for on the 12th January, 1749, he presented a Memorial for an inquiry into some official dispute or quarrel. He is there described as "late of Council at Surat." I have not pursued my inquiries further, the above being sufficient to confirm the assertion that he was in the Honourable Company's service.

Anquetil Duperron ("Zendavesta," vol. I, Discours préliminaire, cccclviii, cccclix) heard of Fraser at Surat from the Pārsī, Dastūr Shāpur, and it was to inspect Fraser's Zand MSS. in the Bodleian that in 1762 he (A. D.) visited Oxford, when brought a prisoner of war to England. James Darmsteter ("Annales du Musée Guimet, Zandavesta," I, Introduction, xi) does not seem to have known much about Fraser, nor is what he does say very accurate. "Quelques années plus tard" [i.e. after 1720, when Bouchier sent home to Oxford a Zand manuscript] "l'Écossais Frazer, conseiller à Bombay, se rendit à Surat pour étudier auprès des Parsis; ils lui vendaient deux manuscrits et lui refusèrent leurs leçons." Here we may note (1) that Fraser was of the *Surat*, not of the *Bombay* Council; (2) that he had already lived at Surat ten years, 1730-1740; (3) that he procured many more than two Zand manuscripts; (4) that, as p. vi of his Preface to "Nadir Shah" shows, he had no difficulty in obtaining Pārsī teachers; (5) that, as Mr. Smalbrooke's annotations prove, Fraser had a working knowledge of the Zand tongue. Fraser's death at the

comparatively early age of forty-one years goes a long way to account for his doing nothing further with the materials that he had so assiduously accumulated.

WM. IRVINE.

IV. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

The Fauna of British India. 13 vols.

8vo. London, 1889-97.

Pearse (Major Hugh). Memoirs of Alexander Gardner.

8vo. London, 1898.

Presented by the Senate of the Calcutta University.

Mitra Sūradā Charan. Land-Law of Bengal. (Tajore Law Lectures, 1895.)

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. VIII.—*Extracts from the Tamil "Purra-poruḷ Venbā-Mālai," and the "Purra-nānnūrru."* By the Rev. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D.

THE *Purra-poruḷ Venbā-Mālai* is a very ancient work, professing to be founded upon a still older composition called "The Twelve Chapters," by one of the twelve disciples of *Agastiyar*.¹ This points to a mythic origin, but we cannot historically go further than its Tamil author, or compiler, as he would represent himself. It is quite essential for a Tamil writer who would become a classic to cite his original, or the authoritative 'first-work' from which he draws (or professes to draw) his materials. (See *Nannūl*, 4-10, and Pope's *3rd Grammar*, p. 142.) Where there is no such 'first-work' (முதலுரை, *Muthanūl*), he or his commentators must suppose or invent one, and ascribe it to some venerable personage. The real author here is *AIYANĀR-ITHAN*, of whom nothing is known but that he is said to have been a descendant of the old *Qēra* kings, and the compiler of this very interesting composition. It can hardly be less than ten centuries old. It has recently been for the first time printed under the editorship of

¹ In the commentary on the *Tol-Kāppiyam* by *Nacchīnārkkiniyār*, *Poruḷ-athī*, ix, 94 (Cl. Vai Tāmotharam Piḷḷai's edition, p. 207, Madras, 1886), reference is made to this statement.

Vē. Qāmināthaiyar of Uttamatāna-puram, the very learned and worthy Tamil Head-Pandit of the Kumbakōṇam College; and has probably never been seen by any European till now, though the late Sir Walter Elliot (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) obtained and caused to be translated some fragments of it. These were edited for private circulation by R. Sewell, Esq., M.C.S. Some were also printed in the Asiatic Quarterly.

Mālai means 'garland.' *Veṇbā* (see Pope's *Kurraḷ*, Int. xxv, and *Nālaḍi*, Int. xxvi) is the name of the metre—very artistic quatrains like those in the *Nālaḍiyār*.

Poruḷ is a subdivision both of grammar and of treatises in general, and signifies 'substance, reality, subject.' This *Poruḷ* is divided in the most ancient grammar, the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, into *Agam* ('inner') and *Purram* ('outer'). Of these, *Agam* ('the subjective') treats of love, its various emotions, incidents, and accidents. *Purram* ('the objective') relates to all 'other things'—life in general, and especially war, and the affairs of kingdoms. This work, though professing to treat of practical subjects in general (*Purram*), has portions, as will be seen, which belong to the other division (*Agam*)—emotional and passionate. The ideas and even the phraseology of these verses are cited and used by all commentators upon the other classics, as being of absolute authority.

It is divided into twelve chapters (*Paḍalam*: Skr. पटलं), or as they are generally termed, *Tinai* (தின்னையர்),¹ containing 360 quatrains.

It seems probable that the work itself is more ancient than the *Kurraḷ*, and suggested many of its couplets. It is closely allied in subject and in tone to the *Purra-nānnūrru*

¹ *Tinai*. This much used Tamil word-of-all-work really signifies 'genus,' and is applied to the main divisions of any subject. These are divided into sections (*turrai* = துறை). This latter is equal to 'species,' and is used for the subdivisions of a subject. Here, each chapter is preceded by a small summary; and every quatrain has a curious little couplet giving the pith of the quatrain. This couplet is called *Koḷu* (= 'substance, contents': from கொள்),

(P.N.N.), with which and the *Tol-Kāppyam* it must be studied, though it is more recent than the *text* of these works.

It will be necessary to give some account of the Purra-nānnūrru, or “Four Hundred Lyrics of Life.” This anthology has been lately printed for the first time, though it has been in existence for upwards of a thousand years, and contains ballads which in substance must have been sung in the early centuries of our era. We owe it also to Qāmināthaiyar, the learned and indefatigable Professor of Tamil in the Kumbakōṇam Government College, that it is now carefully edited and put forth with all necessary apparatus in such a way that it may find an entrance into the house of every Tamil scholar. This is the fifth large work issued by the same editor. The industry and learning which have been employed in the editing of these books would have gained for Qāmināthaiyar a very high place among scholars in Europe, if the subject had been one which the scholars of the West were disposed to value. But, although the very ancient, copious, and refined Tamil language is inferior to none, it is regarded by most people as the (probably barbarous) vernacular of a people living somewhere in a remote district of Great Britain’s imperial possessions. Neither does our Indian Government nor do our Universities fully recognize the value of Tamil literature; and those who spend their lives in the study of the great South Indian classics must resemble men seeking for pearls under water. Our editor’s compatriots, however, will not be slow to recognize the benefit that his studies are conferring upon his people. Nor is it too much to hope that his labours may be so far recognized as to procure for him such pecuniary assistance as may save him from absolute loss. Tamil scholarship is a direct road to poverty!

To return from this digression. This work consists of 400 Lyrics, varying in length from six lines to fifty, being for the most part songs sung by Court minstrels and wandering bards in honour of the kings of the South, including not only the Pāṇḍiyan, the Qōran, and the Qēran kings, but about 120 of the petty Rājas and

chieftains who then divided the South, and were more or less independent, having their fortresses on every hill and coign of vantage throughout the southern land. Of those ancient rulers and heroes scarcely anything is known but what these, and a few similar works, enable us to conjecture. Their names have not yet been found or recognized in inscriptions or on coins, and it is very doubtful whether we shall ever be able to recover many authentic details of their history. Still, the glimpses of ancient manners, thought, and conditions of life afforded by these poems are exceedingly interesting. The ancient bards, about 150 in number, fragments of whose songs have thus been rescued, were of very unequal powers; but some of them display, if I am not mistaken, very great poetical genius, and some of the fragments are veritable gems.

It is worthy of note, also, that of these poems, except the introductory invocation (which is of much later date, by Perum Devanār,¹ the translator of the Mahā-Bāratham), none make any decided allusion to Çiva worship. Demons are constantly referred to, and various charms and ceremonies for driving them away from the battlefield, where it was their delight to hold their eery festivals, are mentioned. Throughout all the petty kingdoms of the Tamil lands there seems then to have been a system of demon-worship much like what now prevails in the extreme south.

Feasts and dances in honour of Murugan (from T. 'murugu,' a fragrant wood: *Agallochum*) are often alluded to. He was evidently the tutelary god of the aborigines of the South, and is now promoted to be the younger son of Çivan.

I shall reserve a more minute account of these poems, their heroes and their bards, for another occasion, and return at once to the *Purra-poru! Veṇḇā-Malai*.

¹ He seems to have edited a series of works for the Madura literati.

PADALAM I.

Vedchi, OR THE CATTLE-RAIDERS.

The first *tiṇai* is called *Vedchi*, and the following seven divisions have titles of a similar import. They are taken from the garlands worn by warriors in the contests in which the tribes of South India in those times seem to have been incessantly engaged. The Tamil rhetoricians enumerate eight species of distinctive garlands worn by kings and warriors when going forth on various expeditions, the garland being supposed to indicate the character of the undertakings, and the feelings of those engaged in them.¹

This is to us a novel form of the ‘language of flowers.’

The *Vedchi* (வெட்சி) is the *Leora coccinea*, which is commonly called ‘Flame of the Forest,’ or sometimes ‘the country geranium.’ It bears a profusion of flowers, sometimes of quite dazzling brightness, and of a deep scarlet hue. These garlands were intended to strike terror into the eyes of the opposing hosts, and to some extent supplied the place of military uniform. The armies of Europe have never been unmindful of the moral effect of the soldier’s headdress; though it would be a novel experience if our troops went forth to war like a marching garden of flaming and fragrant flowers! The warriors who wore the *vedchi* were cattle-raiders. It would seem that this constituted no small part of the duty—and duty was delight—of the ancient South Indian soldier.

This *Padalam*, or chapter, contains twenty verses, and illustrates with exceeding clearness several phases of the thoughts and habits of the people in those ‘good old times’! A translation is given of the more important verses, and a summary of the remainder.

§ 1. *The King’s Call to the Cattle-raid.*

VERSE 1. THE KING SUMMONING HIS PEOPLE.

“Youthful warrior, who bearest the wondrous three-pronged dart, go forth, seize and bring home the herds of cattle with

¹ They were not infrequently artificial, composed of gold and gems.

the bulls their leaders! See your foes bending their bows, as though they would cut down whole forests and set them on fire, and inspecting their arrows as they fit them to the string. Put their ranks to flight!"

§ 2. *The Toddy-booth.*

This introduces the idea, which is always coming to the front in these poems, of the 'toddy-jar.' [§ 15.] The ruid begins and ends with the *canteen*!

VERSE 2.

"Forget not, O thou with the loving large eyes, the clear sweet boiled palm-juice in the standing jar of toddy, never empty. The warrior on whose feet are the heroes' anklets, who is fierce of eye, endures not debt. To-morrow's morn shall see the foeman's herds thronging thy wide-extended gates."

It would seem that these champions cleared off their scores with the nymph of the palm-wine jar by means of the plunder they brought home. [§ 16.]

All classes except Brāhmans, even the ladies, are represented as indulging freely in the use of toddy. The same thing is illustrated in the *Kambar-Rāmāyaṇam*, where the whole Court—king, queens, princes, counsellors, and warriors—are represented as indulging in a most unedifying debauch of many days' duration. [*Bāla-Khāṇḍam*, xviii: 'The Canto of the Festivities.']

§ 3. *Eager for the fray.*

VERSE 3.

"The raven's hoarse cry arises in the jungles of our foes who own the beauteous herd—omen of ill to them; while beating their drums our warriors armed with long spears put on the *vedchī* flower and go forth upon the well-nigh impervious paths, where the raven croaks."¹

¹ Cf. P.N.N., 280.

§ 4. *Omens.*

This speaks of *omens* which are continually referred to here.

VERSE 4.

"In the little town encircled with barriers, at eventide, while our people stand around with clasped hands, she [the wise woman of the village] speaks, and would say, 'Bring forth toddy from the jar in the stand'; but really says, 'Bring the large-eyed cow from the shed.' Therefore, O thou who bear'st the bent bow in thy mighty hand, the victory is ours."¹

§ 5. *They go forth.*

The raiders armed with bows, and so styled in Tamil, 'Ploughmen of the Bow' (cf. *Kurraḷ*, 872), go forth through the stony wilderness to the hill fortress of those whose cattle they are bent on carrying off.

VERSE 5.

"Like death's satellites, bearing the curved bow in their left hands,
followed by flocks of vultures they go forward!
Their minds fixed on the station where the herds of cattle
are found,
they make for the hill whereon the long *bambūs* wave."

§ 6. *The Scouts.*

The raiders send forward trusty spies to ascertain the precise position of the bell-bearing herds, and the number of the warriors to whom these belong.

¹ Here *செரடி* = 'stand,' or 'cowshed'; *குடக்கண்ணீர்* = 'toddy from the jar,' or 'large-eyed'; and for *பு* they heard *கூ* = 'cow': so she seemed to say, 'Bring the large-eyed cow from the fold.' The sybil seemed involuntarily, by the mistake of a letter (*k* for *i*), to urge them to the raid.

VERSE 6.

"Our friends have gone forth in the deep darkness to ascertain the place of the herds, and their number, and the hosts of the bowmen who defend them, O eagle-eyed warrior king, with honey-dripping wreath, and hero's jewelled anklet deckt!"

The raiders lie hidden in the dense jungle at the foot of the hill, while the scouts make their way through the darkness up the gorge, to spy out the dwelling-places of those against whom the foray is made.

§ 7. *The Fort Surrounded.*

The raiders surround their enemies' fortified dwelling on the crest of the hill, and set guards to prevent egress on every side; and this is done in the silence of the night unknown to the unsuspecting objects of the attack.

VERSE 7.

"None from hence shall 'scape! Like fires of the day of doom the enemy came forth at dawn. Their power is spent. The stealthy marauders have surrounded every part: none of the beleaguered ones shall issue forth."

After a short but fiery contest the attacked have retired within their stronghold, which is straitly besieged.

§ 8. *The Storming of the Hill-fort.*

The raiders, urging on their swift-footed horses and bearing aloft their bent bows, storm the fort, which is soon enveloped in flames.

VERSE 8.

"Hate lends them help; while fierce fire rages they shout; they rush on regarding no obstacle! In the broad daylight those fall that living never knew defeat! With jewelled anklets' sound and deadly bows the raiders storm the mountain fort."

§ 9. *The Seizure of the Cattle.*

Having overcome and taken the stronghold, the victorious heroes seize the whole herd—bulls and cows and calves.

VERSE 9.

“Like a congregation of spotted tigers, in the town
in midmost of the *bambū*-encircled upland plain
they take possession of the assembled herds, and round about
stand steadfast to repel all who would set them free.”

§ 10. *The Fight around the Herds.*

Now muster on all sides the clansmen of the attacked people wearing wreaths of *Karanthai* (கரந்தை, a species of *Basil*, bearing a dark purple flower). This wreath is worn by the bands that come forth to rescue the stolen cattle and repel the raiders. The whole subject is more fully treated in the second *Paṇḍalam*.

VERSE 10.

“Those, who came to retake the herds from the raiding host,
have fallen;
the vultures have swooped down upon the corpses of the
slain;
their dark clouds are like those of the arrows reeking with
blood,
that the foemen, fearful as those of the cruel bowman death,
have sent forth.”

§ 11. *The Cattle driven off over the Wolds.*

The raiders, to elude pursuit, drive off the herd quietly through wild unfrequented paths.

VERSE 11.

“‘Let the cattle graze, and rest awhile in quiet companionship’:
thus spake the bow-bearing, jewel-ankleted hero, though
he saw
the rescuing host rushing after, like water from a lofty hill;
and so they paused under the shadow of the mighty crags.”

§ 12. *The Raiders' Return.*

The relatives of the raiders rejoice at the return of their hero with the spoils.

VERSE 12.

"First come the cows with their hanging dewlaps;
then come the bulls with their black masses of hair.
The warlike drums sound out, and the woodland maids
who feared for their loved ones hail the signs that show
them safe."

§ 13. *The Spoils brought home.*

While the drums sound out, and the whole town is in a state of eager expectation, the raided herds enter the village enclosure.

VERSE 13.

"The Warrior's spouse, with shining rows of teeth and rare beauty,
sees her hero crowned with wreaths midst which the beetles hum!
Her heart swells with gladness as she beholds the herds
with tinkling bells filling the open spaces of the village."

This is sung of in P.N.N., 262:—

"Bring out the buried *toddy*; slay the rams;
in *pandāl* thatched with green leaves, with slender (*bambū*)
posts,
lavishly strew fine sand from river-bed!
My Lord, who first led the charge against the foeman's van,
comes home in rear guarding the captured herds;
his faithful comrades march, more wearied than himself."

This is a song of Madura. Did even the Pāṇḍi kings indulge in these sports? See also P.N.N., 297.

§ 14. *Division of the Spoils.*

The raided herds of cattle are distributed among the successful soldiers according to each one's deserts.

VERSE 14.

“To those who overcame with their glittering swords,—
to those who sought out as spies, and brought back the tale,—
to the skilful ones that interpreted the favouring omens,—
they divide the herds of cattle in the little town.”

§ 15. *The Feast.*

The warriors with jewelled anklets, that tinkle as they walk, drink ‘toddy,’ and dance rejoicing.

VERSE 15.

“The aspect of the maidens, sweet of speech and fair as
Lakshmi,
fills with pleasing pains the warrior's soul!
The gladness of the intoxicating draught departs, as does
the anger against his foes from out his soul.”
Love is lord of all!

§ 16. *Gifts.*

The spoils acquired in the raid are lavishly bestowed on all that ask.

VERSE 16.

“The wealth brought back from the battlefield by the warriors
that flinched not in the strife, but bent their bows,
has become the price paid for the fiery drink
by musicians, drummers, singers, and singing women.”

§ 17. *Extra Rewards.*

To those who as scouts explored beforehand the scene of the fierce strife they give more honour than they take unto themselves.

VERSE 17.

"To those who feared not death, but night and day
 explored the battlefield, spied out, and brought us news,
 some gifts beyond those given to others surely is due,
 O warrior wielding the keen dart, that slays the fiery foe!"

§ 18. *The Favourable Prognosticators.*

Some reward is given to those who faithfully expounded
 the lucky signs.

VERSE 18.

"When we went forth with minds intent upon our foemen's
 herds,
 these made plain the favouring signs, and sounds that gave
 us heart;
 think not of what is strictly due as their share; to each give
 four cows, with udders large, distended with milk!"

§ 19. *The Drummer.*

The virtues of the old man who beats the drum, according
 to ancestral custom, for the jewel-ankleted warriors, are
 celebrated.

VERSE 19.

"For my grandsire's grandsire his grandsire's grandsire
 beat the drum! For my father his father did the same;
 so he for me. From duties of his clan he has not swerved:
 Pour forth for him one other cup of palm-tree's purest
 sweetest wine!"

The following song (P.N.N., 290) illustrating this section
 is attributed to the ancient poetess Arvaiyār:—

"O king, whose chariot drawn by angry elephants
 is foremost in the fray, pour out for him the palm-wine.
 His father's father, in fierce fight, when spears flew thick,
 died tenacious as the workman's pincers,
 defending the king, thy father's father!"

He, too, with valour filled, instinct with glory of his race,
shall, like palm-leaves that screen from sun's fierce rays,
hide thy head from the spear hurled at it."¹

§ 20. *The Demoness Kottavai.*

Here they celebrate the never-failing grace of her who
protects the warlike host, whose glory never grows dim.

VERSE 20.

"Her beauteous banner bears the lion's form. Her hand
the golden parrot grasps and bounding stag.
A countless host of demons round her press—great *Kottavai*!
When we designed the attack on the foeman's fort,
she went before our host, and made foes flee!"

§ 21. *The Devil-Dance.*

The damsels, with flawless jewels decked, dance the mystic
dance with *Vēlan*,² now the deed is done. This is called the
Vallai Dance.

VERSE 21.

"Did the black-throated One³ behold, he would rejoice;
it is the dance performed for the dart-hurling *Murugan*
by warrior and by jewel-bearing lovely maid,
with fragrant garlands dight."

The following (P.N.N., 257) gives a portrait of the leader
of the cattle-raid. It is somewhat confused, but belongs to
the VEDCHI Paḍalam :—

CALL THE MILKMAIDS!

"Softly he treads as though pebbles were in his sandals;
huge his paunch and broad his chest,
bright his eye, and beard bristly as the mountain-side,
his cheeks hang down like dewlaps!

¹ "He will cover thy head in the day of battle."

² *Vēlan* = spearman.

³ *Qivan*.

Who is this that thus cometh with his bow? A fearful sight!

Look close, he doth not come from far;
he is not one whose fort is in the wilderness.

At early dawn he watched the course of the foeman's herds,

pointed them out with his hand, numbered them,
and with his bow drove off the would-be rescuers!

The herd is large, but what the gain
if those who milk with white large-mouthed vessels,
and who churn, are not at hand."

These twenty-one verses form the whole *Paḍalam* commemorating the incidents of the cattle-raid.

PADALAM II.

THE *Karanthai* WREATH, OR THE RESCUERS.

This is a wreath of *basil* or *tulaṇi*, a sacred plant of several species having dark purple flowers, contrasting with the bright crimson of the *Vedchi* of the former *Paḍalam*. This *Karanthai* wreath was worn by those who went forth to oppose the raiders and rescue the herds. In P.N.N. there are eleven lyrics referred to this *Tiṇai*.

§ 1. *The Karanthai.*

Here the owners of the herds with their chaplets of dark purple flowers rush forth to the rescue.

VERSE 22.

"The crowding warriors crown their heads with garlands of *karanthai*,

and go forth to rescue the herds the foeman drives away;
as though one should bring back the souls of dwellers on earth
begirt by the sounding sea, after death has devoured them."

§ 2. *The Summons.*

The people whose herds are being driven away are bidden to relinquish their occupations and haste to the rescue.

VERSE 23.

“The jewel-ankleted heroes, the fierce bowmen,
they who wield the spear, men terrible to sight, who fear not
death in their fierce anger,—all hear the sound of the drum,
and go to rescue the flocks which the Vedchi-chapleted have
carried off.”

§ 3. *The Rescuers on the Track.*

Only those unfit for war remain in the town; the rest,
boiling with fierce wrath, follow the track of the raiders.

VERSE 24.

“The conch-shell sounds, with the mighty horn, and instru-
ments of music;
adorned with peacock feathers, and roused by the roll of the
loud drum,
the *Rescuers* arise, and over the fiery desert make their way,
following the tracks of the cattle,—spears glistening like
the sun.”

§ 25. *The Doubtful Fight.*

They draw near the raiders, surround them, attack them
with fearful energy, and a battle with many changeful
fortunes is fought.

VERSE 25.

“Like a multitude of tigers or lions or warrior-elephants,
full of power and wrath and honourable shame and glorious
resolve
they shout, and hasten on, as they hear
the raiders' defiant cry;—and so the battle rages.”

The following sections of this chapter speak of the glory of the individual heroes on either side. They fall fighting to the last full of enthusiasm. But we shall henceforth content ourselves with a few specimen verses.

§ 13. *The Glory of the King.*

The praise is sung of the *Marravan* king, a valiant swordsman.

VERSE 34.

* * * * *

"They *truly live* who yield their lives fighting against the foe in the fierce battle amid the flash of swords and the whirling of the spear!"

§ 14. *The Heroic Race.*

The praises of the heroes of tried valour and of ancient race.

VERSE 35.

"The men of ancient race that appear foremost in the fight wielding their swords; who stand as, in the universal deluge, some mountain-top rises firm amid the flood;— what wonder if their glory lives when all falsehoods have passed away!"

Thus ends the chapter of the *Rescue*.

We have seen that many of the lyrics in the *Purāṇānnūrru* seem to have been composed from the hints given in these verses; or it may be that from those lyrics this more systematized work has arisen. Certain it is that they are closely connected, and must be studied together. Thus P.N.N., 259, evidently refers to an incident in the attempted rescue. The rescuers are in sight of the raided flocks, but the raiders themselves are not seen; the bard cries out to the angry pursuers:—

"See'st not the ambushed *Marravars* with well-strung bows,
hid in the jungle vast amid the leafy trees,
who while the raided cattle move, move not with them!"

Stay, stay, all honour to thy glorious soul! O thou whose foot the hero's jewelled anklet wears, by whose side glistens the sword resplendent, whose steeds, quivering with eagerness, shake like the priestess' frame before the demon shrine, when *Murugan* inspires her soul!"

Here we have an instructive glimpse of the current demon worship, with the agitated priestess dancing wildly before the image of the hill-god. This may be seen daily even yet in the South.

Cattle-lifting is a chief topic in all these poems. It was the beginning of warfare: the *Raid* was followed by the *Rescue*, and these by the organized *Invasion* of the enemy's country (for which another wreath was assumed). This led to the systematic *defence*, and the defenders assumed a different wreath. The siege and protection of forts each demanded its appropriate garland. Then came *war in general*, and for that another wreath was borne. And finally, the victors who had gained *supremacy* had another wreath, which they wore as the proud token of their victory. Thus our work relates to the expeditions in which these eight different chaplets were worn by the combatants. Some interesting chapters follow in which kings and their attributes, and miscellaneous matters connected with the life of the people, are illustrated. It is from these, as has been said, that the authors of the *Kurraḷ*, the *Nāḷaḍiyār*, and other, lesser poets drew much of their material. It must be evident, therefore, that in many respects the work we are now concerned with is an introduction to almost the whole of the genuine poetry of the Tamil language.

The thorough exposition of these chapters, which reveal to us the South Indian primitive tribes making war with one another from their hill fortresses, would require a volume. It must be remembered that in those days there were three great kingdoms of the South—the Pāṇḍiyan, with Madurai as its capital; the Čēra, with Karūr as its centre; and the Čōra, with Urraiyūr as its chief town. (See my

Nālaḍiyār, p. 414; and here, verses 240-3.) But besides these, almost every little hill had its chieftain, who sometimes considered himself subject to one or other of the great powers, but generally was independent, and sometimes even fought against them. These petty chieftains were for the most part of lower caste, if indeed caste distinctions were really recognized among them. In the greater kingdoms Brāhmanical influence was predominant, and was gradually leavening the whole South.

The chief tribe of what we may call the aborigines were the Marravar, or 'men of violence,' as the name signifies. They often fought as mercenaries in the armies of the greater kings. They still form a very great part of the population of the extreme South, and have no small share of the rude qualities of their ancestors.

The Demoness whom they worship was called *Kottavai* [§20], 'the Victorious One' [in Malayālim, *Koṭṭi*]. She was evidently the object of worship among the oldest peoples of the South, and is the great Demoness whose worship is performed under many names in the Devil temples which are still found in every southern village. The Brāhmins have transferred her attributes to *Uṁā*, the wife of *Çivan*, and call her *Durgā*, with whom she is now quite confounded.¹ There was also a divinity, the Hill-god of all the South, who is represented as being the son of *Kottavai*. His name is *Murugan*, 'the Fragrant One.' And he has been received into the Hindu Pantheon and invested with the attributes of *Kārttikēyan*, the warrior son of *Çivan*, and is so regarded by nearly all the rural tribes. Originally it seems quite certain that he had nothing to do with the Brāhmanical deities. The student who would form an independent opinion on these subjects must read these verses in the original, comparing them with the *Purra-nānnūrru*, and with the *Tol-Kāppiyam* (*Poru*l, 56-60), and with chapter 1 of the *Pattu-pāṭṭu* ('ten lyrics'). Good editions of all these have been issued by

¹ The whole history of the myths connected with *Durgā* and many kindred subjects should be studied in Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv, with references to the very complete index.

Çamināthaiyar, and Tāmotharam Pillai, veteran scholars, whose learning and industry are worthy of all praise. Of these works it is hoped that some account may hereafter be given. The dances in honour of these divinities, and especially of *Murugan*, are many, and are still performed. The late lamented *Sundaram Pillai*, in an article published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, March, 1891, has given an exceedingly interesting account of the *Pattu-pāṭṭu*, and he says: “It seems not altogether impossible that *Murugan* was originally a Drāvidian deity; and that in the course of time, when Āryan civilization found it expedient to adopt the cult of the independent nations over which it came to exercise its influence, a place in the Purāṇic mythology was found for the war god of the Tamils, as transformed and embellished by Āryan genius, just as in more recent times Buddhistic institutions and even Buddha himself, under the name of *Sasta*, came to be absorbed into Brāhmanism.”

Perhaps one of the most remarkable ‘developments’ that can be found anywhere is that of the idea of this Devil-dance as seen to this day in the South, into the really beautiful idea of Çivan’s mystic dance giving life and blessing to the whole created universe. This, most undoubtedly, is the origin of the dance in Tillai. [See *Nat.*, 16.]

PADALAM III.

THE *Vaṅji* WREATH, OR INVASION OF THE ENEMY’S TERRITORIES.

Raids such as have been described naturally lead to systematic invasions of the territories of those who have proved themselves such troublesome and treacherous neighbours. The injured king now declares war, or makes war without declaring it; while he and his warriors, binding the *Vaṅji* wreaths upon their brows, go forth with their fourfold full

array of elephants, chariots, horses, and infantry. The *Vañji* is the general name for any creeping plant, such as is found on all the mountain slopes. This particular wreath is represented as composed of flowers of a yellow colour, and the plant is one whose leaves are green all the year round. It is the symbol of a race the fire of whose valour is never extinguished. It is curious that *Vañji* has become the poetical name of *Karūr*, the *Çēra* capital, and it would seem that the *Çēra* kings, of whom twelve are celebrated in the P.N.N., were remarkable for the frequency of their invasions of neighbouring territories. Being for the most part mountaineers, their energy was resistless, and we may add that their wrath was implacable. Thus in P.N.N., 4, the great poet *Paraṇar* sings of one of these expeditions, and his song is a specimen of very many in the same work. He celebrates the sword, the jewelled anklet, the capacious shield, the fiery charger, the resistless elephant, and the towering banner-crowned chariot of a king; and thus concludes:—

“Like the ruddy sun arising over the dark sea,
art thou in thy beauty, O king!
And therefore, the land of them that provoked thy wrath
shall ceaseless mourn, foodless, and helpless,
like the tender infant forsaken by its mother!”

§ 1. *The Invasion.*

The king puts on the unfading *Vañji* wreath, and contemplates the subjugation of the enemy's land.

[The invasion and complete subjugation of the whole southern seaboard by the famous Pāṇḍyan *Neḍum Çeriyān* is related in P. Pāṭṭu, vi, 149, etc.]

VERSA 36.

“Like young bulls red-eyed
the youthful warriors bend their bows,
with glistening eyes, longing for the battle-feast; and so
put on the *Vañji* wreath, to subdue the unsubdued.”

§ 2. *The Invading Hosts.*

The heroes arise in their wrath, brandishing their bright swords, amid the trumpeting of the elephant-hosts.

VERSE 37.

"The drums sound out like the roaring of the angry sea!
Wreathed with the *Vañji* the valiant bands rush on.
In the midst of the glittering bands, like the eternal fires,
the elephants madly rush like black clouds in the rainy sky."

The following verses speak of the uplifting of the banner, and the unsheathing of the sword. *Kottavai* is again introduced as putting to flight the enemy's forces.

§ 6. *The Model Hero.*

VERSE 41.

"You ask how the hero distinguishes himself:
foremost mid his kinsmen's hosts, he emulates the
prowess of the bravest. Like fire he penetrates the
foeman's ranks: these are the deeds of the jewel-ankleted
hero."

§ 8. *Woe to the Conquered.*

The soldiers commiserate the sufferings of the land they overrun.

VERSE 43.

"The lotus-like eyes of the warrior, whose breast bears
the warlike wreath, are wet with tears,
as he exclaims: 'They perish, a fearful spectacle to all
beholders,—
they who erewhile rode forth with garlands gay,
with glistening eyes, and sound of warriors' cars.'"

§ 9. *The Rewards.*

As they come to distribute the spoil, the question arises,—
who of the foe shall be spared?

VERSE 44.

"Touch not the temples, where sacrifices are offered;
 spare the dwellings of the holy ascetics;
 enter not the houses of the sacred Vedic Brāhmans.
 Let all the rest be abandoned to our warriors as their guerdon."

[So P.N.N., 9.]

The vanquished enemy now submits and pays tribute.
 The prowess of the heroes is again celebrated.

§ 14. *The Wasted Land.*

The devastation of the ravaged land, and the deserted homes, described. [Cf. P.N.N., 6.]

VERSE 50.

Spoils.

"Gather the slaves, the heaped-up jewels, pearls,
 red gold, the plunder from the stately homes,
 and give them to the warriors; while subjects
 of the hostile king make loud laments!"

The inhabitants of the invaded land flee on every side;
 the country is ravaged with fire; and the invaders build
 their fortresses.

§ 22. *The Warriors' Feast.*

VERSE 58.

"The instruments of music sound out. The heroes like
 tigers rush upon the field and reap the crops and feast,
 while they explore the resources of the vanquished lands."

§ 23. *Glory to the Conquering Invaders.*

Triumph and pity mingle in the final song.

VERSE 60.

“Where palaces like mountains reared their heads, the roar of the consuming fire is heard. Wild jungle plants grow among the ruins. The conqueror rides glorious on his lofty car, round which triumphing hosts flow like a mighty sea!”

These desolating wars account for the multitudes of deserted strongholds whose ruins are yet to be seen, and for the comparative sparseness of the population at the period when authentic history begins. In P.N.N. twelve lyrics refer to this chapter. In all the poems there is a note of an oft-times savage ferocity. These old Dravidians were great and most implacable warriors!

Whatever faults may be found with the government under the *Pax Britannica* by peevish and restless partisans, we see that the idea of a *Pax Tamuliensis* is a myth.

PADALAM IV.

THE KĀŪJI PADALAM, OR THE DEFENCE OF THE KINGDOM.

The Kāūji is the *Ulmus integrifolia*, or elm-tree, and its foliage was dark. Its flowers and leaves formed the wreaths worn by the defenders of an invaded country, and were supposed to be indicative of a stubborn resolve to conquer, or die. This most generally ended in the death of the king and the overthrow of his kingdom, and hence the same word (Kāūji) is used for the wreath of a minstrel who inculcates moral precepts, and more especially dwells on the instability of worldly things. The word Kāūji has thus become a synonym for ‘sober counsel,’ and some of the verses under this heading have nothing particular to do with

war. The great example of this is the Madura-Kāñji, an account of which will be given in the life of the Pāṇḍīyan, Talai-Ālangānatta Çeruvendra Neḍum Çeṛīyan.

§ 1. *The Kāñji Wreath.*

The inhabitants of the invaded country put on wreaths of the *Kāñji*, and retire to make a last stand in their mountain fortresses.

VERSE 61.

“ ‘ Since there is no longer any band to withstand the foe upon the plain,
at least we can die on the heights of our native hills ! ’
So saying, intent upon the defence of their little mountain homes,
the warriors assume the *Kāñji* wreath.”

The following verses in the chapter illustrate the fierceness of the final struggle. Marvels of bravery are related. The heroes fall; their wives perish with them; the warrior rips open his wounds and dies on the plain; demons and demonesses brood over the gory battlefields, sometimes helping and sometimes destroying the dying men; much toddy is consumed, libations to the great demoness are poured out, and a universal wail is heard.

§ 19. *The Elegy.*

Praise and pity mingle in the song as the heroes ascend to the paradise of the valiant.

VERSE 60.

“ He was the raft on which his people sailed over the sea of battle ! He was a pillar amongst the mighty ! He was the life of his town, and of the world ! The door of charitable deeds has been closed by the spear that tore open our leader’s breast ! ”

In P.N.N. there are forty-one lyrics, of which this gives the keynote.

Other topics are introduced, but the chapter ends with the 'crushing defeat' and, it would seem, the extermination of the conquered people.

PADALAM V.

THE DEFENCE OF THE FORT.

THE *Nochi* WREATH.

The next chapter speaks of the defence of hill-forts. When hostile kings besieged a fort its defenders were accustomed to assume a wreath of the leaves and flowers of a wild creeper called the *Nochi*, or 'Vitex Nirguṇḍi.' There are many species of the *Vitex*, which is often called the 'five-leaved chaste tree' (see Ainslie's "Materia Medica," vol. ii, p. 252). The flowers are of a pure, pale-bluish colour, and have a pleasant fragrance. This flower is very celebrated in Tamil songs. The poet Mōṇi-ṇāṭṭanār has sung of it very sweetly (P.N.N., 271, 272):

"Like linkèd gems are *Nochi*'s curling ringlets blue!
Mid all the flowering trees is none whose tender hue
So fills the soul with love as thine, whose blooming wreath
Men see the youthful maiden's slender form ensheathe,
In the wide guarded city,—sight beloved of all.
And when fierce enemies attack the moated wall,
The warriors on their brows thy flowers defiant show,
As sign they shield their virgin fort from every foe."

It was the symbol of chastity, and those that wore these wreaths were pledged to keep their fort inviolate. The virgin fortress guarded by warriors so adorned, laughed at its foes. Much of romance mingled with the ferocity of those ancient days!

§ I. *The Nochi.*

The heroes go forth to guard their turret-crowned battlements, whence archers shoot forth their deadly arrows.

VERSE 86.

"Like the host of the *Asuṇar*, whose triple fort
the god with serpent crowned, and fiery form would take,
these warriors crowned with *Nochi* wreaths
guard their strongholds, wielding the sharp-pointed dart."

This is one of the commonplaces of Hindu verse, here borrowed from the *Mahā-Bhārata*. The story of the destruction of the three forts of the *Asurar* (or *Asuṇar*) is most celebrated (see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, pp. 203, 225).

There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold, which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra (afterwards known as Īvan) as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: "Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds." He, being thus addressed, said, "So be it"; and making Viṣṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vēdas his bow, and the excellent Savitri (the Gāyatri) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer, he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. [Cf. *Tiruvāṇḍam*, xiv.]¹

One of the most famous historic (?) defences of a fort is referred to in P.N.N., 21. The fort was called Gana-pēreyil, and its king bore the epithet of *Vēṇḡai-mārban* (he whose breast wore a *Kīno* garland). It was besieged by the

¹ Now printing at the Oxford University Press.

famous king of Madura, *Ukkira-peru-Varuthi*, of whom something will be said in the analysis of the P.N.N. The poet *Mūlam-kiṇṇar* of *Aiyūr* enumerates the parts of the fortification: "There was, first of all, a moat so deep that it reached down to the abodes of the demons; next, there was a wall that rose up to the heavens; this was crowned with turrets from which the archers shot forth their arrows; there was an impervious wood that surrounded all; and there were numerous small forts at every angle."

The chapter contains the usual praises of the king and his warriors, relates how they fell fighting to the last: "they desired not, these lions in the fight, to guard their bodies or their lives." There is also a hint that these sieges were often the result of a refusal on the part of the king to give his daughter in marriage to the leader of the besieging army.

PADALAM VI.

THE BESIEGERS: ATTACKING ENEMIES' STRONGHOLDS.

THE *Urrinai* WREATH. [Venbā, 95-126.]

When an army marched to besiege a fort they wore a wreath of the *Urrinai* (*Oerua lanatar*), a species of cotton-plant, which is mentioned in P.N.N., 50, where it is said to have 'golden shoots,' and to belong to the 'Western Country.' This seems to have been worn by our heroes in derision, implying the worthlessness and weakness of the fort they went to seize. There is little remarkable in this chapter. We are told in it that sheep were offered in sacrifice by the combatants; the exploits of Vishṇu, who stormed a fort called *Viraṇṇu*, are celebrated; as also those of Çivan (as above). The encircling wood is cut down; the besiegers make rafts on which they pass the moat; scaling ladders are applied to the wall; the besiegers leap down into the area; tremendous fights take place; and the fort is taken.

§ 23. *Utterly waste.*

This relates how the conquerors, yoking asses, plough up the foundations of the fort, and sow worthless jungle plants upon the spot.

VERSE 120.

"The beautiful homes with pictured walls are levelled with the dust;

asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears;
while worthless plants are sown on the foundations.
Thus rages the conquering king!"

Other verses tell how there is a solemn washing of their blood-stained swords in sacred waters, and their presentation as offerings. The conqueror is solemnly wedded to the newly-acquired country; neighbouring kings bring tribute; and the chapter ends with universal submission: "They make a desert and they call it peace."

This subject is formally discussed in *Tol-Kāppiyam*, Poru], 66-68, pp. 135-146. An admirable illustration of it is found in P. Pāṭṭa, vi, 149, etc.

PAḌALAM VII.

WAR IN GENERAL.

THE *Tumbai* WREATH.

When a king contemplated an offensive war he assumed a wreath of the especial war-flower, the *tumbai* (*Plomia Indica*). This is celebrated in Sanskrit as the *droṇa*.

§ 1. *The Wreath.*

VERSE 127.

"The king, whose war-drum sounds like unceasing thunder from the stormy clouds,
contemplates war that shall bedew the battlefields with blood. He has put on the warlike *tumbai* wreath, and leads forth his hosts eager for the glorious strife."

To these old kings the excitement of war was a necessity of life; it was only thus that the monotony of existence could be relieved. Yet the horrors of war are much dwelt upon in these verses, and the king is represented as hesitating, and only deciding upon battle when its necessity was apparent. The twenty-five verses of the chapter present, without any attempt at arrangement, many of the striking incidents of ancient war.

§ 2. *Presents to the Troops.*

The king heaps upon his chosen warriors gifts so that they go forth joyously under his banner.

VERSE 128.

"Badges of victory, lands, precious treasure, farms,
murderous elephants, and horses,—the king distributes.
His enemies, tho' strong in horses and chariots, tremble when
they hear of the movements of the jewel-bearing king."

§ 3. *Can the fight not be prevented?*

Both armies are brave: might it not be well to avoid a struggle?

VERSE 129.

"Should these warriors meet on the demon-haunted battle-ground
and with their polished spears begin the fight,
't will prove the saying false, that 'glory of the king
is guardianship of human lives.'"

Praises are now sung of the elephants, the horses, the gallant heroes, and the war chariots.

§ 9. *The Bard's Eulogy.*

The battle has been fought, and the bards on the battle-field burn or bury the dead with appropriate songs of praise.

VERSE 137.

"The tender spouse, the mother, the children know not this!
Upon the battle plain the fiery piles are lit, the death songs
sung!

Heroes who fell beneath the elephants they slew
have gone to banquet with the heroes' gods!"

While demon shapes like fantastic shadows dance before,
behind, and around, the bodies of some of the slain heroes
are carried home.

§ 23. *Joy mingled with weiling.*

The wife, seeing the body of her husband covered with
glorious wounds, and still grasping the sword, weeps with
proud joy.

VERSE 151.

"Even death is abashed, for here is valour greater than his
own!

The wife takes the sword from the hand of her dead warrior;
and, watching his calm triumphant repose, is glad as she
bedews his breast with tears."

This ends up with her voluntary death.

§ 25. *All died gloriously.*

They perish not; their renown is established for ever,
though they lie strewn over the battlefield.

VERSE 154.

"They urged a stubborn fight alone; the two kings fell,
grasping still their spears; the earth is desolate!
Swiftly their wives uprose, and threw themselves into the
flames.

Behold, even fierce death himself is satisfied."

This last verse seems to be a reminiscence of the history
referred to in P.N.N., 62, 63. There the kings were the
Çēran prince Kadakkō-Neḍum-Çēralāthan, and his rival

the Çōran Peruvirral Kilī, who fell on the same battlefield. Their deaths were sung by the poets *Karāttalaiyār* and *Paraṇar*.

There is power and pathos in the following dirge, by the former of these :—

P.N.N., 62.

“What has become of the defiant valour of these rival kings?

Demon-Furies probe deep the wounds of the fallen heroes,
while with bloody hands they besmear their dishevelled
locks,

and hovering round display their blood-stained forms.

With sullen sound the death-drums moan, while demons
dance.

The kings themselves raging with heroic wrath are fallen,
and lie amid the vultures that devour the slain.

The victory-vaunting kingly canopies are low, the drums
that erewhile announced the leaders' glory and their sway,
lie broken there.

*O'er the field, where myriads fought, a fearsome stillness
broods.*

The heroes' wives on dainties feast no more, nor bathe
in perfumed waters, but lie dead on the bosoms of their
lords.

They have gone to feast in the world of the gods,
who wear unfading wreaths from the tree of Immortality,—
whose eyes slumber not,—who eat ambrosial food.

Let the glory of the heroes live for aye ! ”

The site of this famous battle is unknown, but it is often
referred to in old Tamil verse.

PADALAM VIII.

THE CONQUEROR.

THE *Vāgai* WREATH.

The leaves and flowers of the *vāgai* (*Mimosa fleetuosa*), which are white, were worn by victorious kings, or any who won prizes in a competition. This chapter contains thirty-four verses, and appears at first sight to be entirely without plan or purpose; but it indicates the course of conduct which entitles anyone, of any caste or class, to the praise of his fellow-men. It is probably of later introduction. There are more conquests than men are apt to imagine. Peace has its victories, more worthy of the *Vāgai* than those of war. A few of these verses, more artificial than the preceding, throw light upon the feelings and habits of the people, and these I have given.

Much of this is from *Manu* (or similar works), and is the introduction of the *Brāhman* code into the South. We have here the four castes, *Kshattriyas*, *Brāhmanas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Qūdras*.

§ 2. *The King's Vāgai. Triumphant War. The Kshattriya.*

The king, returning from conquest, puts on the white *vāgai* garland, with the dark jewelled anklets, and girds himself with a purple cincture.

VERSE 156.

"These were the glorious wounds I received on the battlefield;
of them and sorrows we will think no more!
Bid my heroes who have overcome the fiery foe put on
the victor's anklets, stainless wreath, and girdle's purple
folds."

Eight more verses similar to those in the foregoing chapters celebrate the kingly warriors' triumph.

§ 9. *The Brāhmans' Vāgai: Sacred Rites.*

The learned Brāhmans celebrate their victory by offering the *yāgam* sacrifices.

VERSE 163.

“On the land bordered by the sea, on whose borders the surges
rise,
he who has seen the Vētham's farthest shore, sits an *ascetic*
king.
He, mid the praises of all, lights his sacrificial fires,
himself the shining light of men.”

§ 10. *The Merchants' Vāgai: Practical Life.*

This speaks of the sixfold deeds of the merchant king,
free from all evil.

VERSE 164.

“He ploughs and reaps the harvest; guards the lowing kine;
sells piles of precious wares; learns lessons of sacred lore;
performs his daily rites with the three fires;
scatters his gifts, nor looks for recompense:
he is the *merchant king*.”¹

These are the *Vaiśyas*. They are the capitalists, proprietors;
and the *Vellālar* are their servants.

§ 11. *The Vellālar-Vāgai: Faithful Toil.*

The Qūdras, or fourth caste, are those who cultivate the
soil under the direction of the higher castes. Their
‘triumph’ (*Vāgai*) is to do the will of their lords.

VERSE 165.

“They flourish, in obedience to the three higher ranks;
according to the orders of these they act, and refuse no
command;
they live according to the ‘ethic’ rules prescribed;
they plough the fields, where the beetles hum;
they are the *life* of all that live on the earth.”

¹ He had a wreath, too, of the *Strychnos* flower.

§ 12. *The Chieftain's Vāgai : Conciliation.*

Here is a warning to the chief. He must never be tempted, contemplating his own fame and greatness, to treat others contemptuously; but must learn to honour all men.

VERSE 166.

"Glorying in thy hosts, like the billows of the sea,
despise not thy foes! Those who rightly judge
touch not with their hands the fire that smoulders still,
'neath ashes white; but wait till it utterly dies out."

The power of vanquished enemies may yet revive; even
in their ashes "live their wonted fires."

§ 13. *The Wise Man's Vāgai : Truth.*

VERSE 167.

"The sun sheds light and scatters darkness in three worlds,
earth, hell, and heaven.
The wise man knows three times,—the past, present, and
future belong to man.
Though sun, and worlds, and times should change and pass,
though milk become sour,
and light darkness,—the good man's word of truth fails not."

§ 22. *The Glory of the Heroic Race : its Vāgai.*

The hero's mother speaks:

VERSE 176.

"My father lives in stone, a hero's effigy; my husband fell in
battle slain.
My brothers died, resisting the foe to the last. When all the
host had perished,
My son, like a porcupine, pierced by innumerable darts, fell
fighting against the foeman's king."

§ 23. *The Town of the Heroes : its Vāgai.*

VERSE 177.

"Once in the *village* courtyard children fitted their arrows to their bows,
to shoot the hares that gathered there. Its heroes now ward off the strokes of hostile kings, from the mighty breasts of their own leaders : such is the *city* now ! "

§ 30. *Excellence is Victory. The Vāgai of the Good.*

VERSE 185.

"They change not as in the sky the changing moon.
Though they obtain wealth brought in ships from over the ocean,
will their excellence change, whose hearts are pure
as the white conch-shell found on that ocean's shore ! "

§ 33. *Grace in Life and Death. The final Vāgai.*

This chapter, concerned with the conqueror's wreath, contains many verses that hardly seem to belong to the subject, and seem to be of later origin ; but it ends with the following quatrain, which is meant to teach that *there is no real victory but that which overcomes the world*. There is an aroma of the Bhagavat Gītā here.

VERSE 188.

"Before the body perishes, that long with many pains
has afflicted us and bound us fast, let us escape from the net,
with many meshes, of the world, which is full of fear and confusion,
and gain the right path ! *This alone is strength and victory.*"

Thus ends the eighth chapter ; the eight wreaths of the warrior have been sung in order.

PADALAM IX.

ROYALTY.

This chapter, in fifty-one quatrains, is supposed to treat of the duties and glories of the king and kingdom. The *Kurraḷ*, ch. xxxix, contains the substance. It is entirely miscellaneous, and its topics will better be studied in connection with the *Parra-nānnūrra* (cf. P.N.N., 6).

A few verses illustrating the lives of these old chieftains are interesting. In P.N.N., 239, is given a picture of what to them was a 'perfect life.'

THE PARAGON.

"He wedded one with armlets decked, one fair to see;
 He put on chaplets in the pleasant flowery park;
 He smeared himself with fragrant *sandal* paste;
 He slew his foes with all their kindred race;
 He friends extolled and magnified;
 Homage to none he paid as mightier than himself;
 Triumphed o'er none as weaker than himself.
 He ne'er sought aid of others as a suppliant;
 To none that asked did he refuse his aid.
 He shone with glory in the councils of the state;
 He stood a bulwark 'gainst the vanguard of the foe;
 He followed up relentlessly their fleeing host.
 He urged his charger swiftly o'er the plain;
 Round the long course he drove the lofty car;
 He rode aloft on mighty elephant of state;
 He quaffed from golden bowl the sweet palm-wine;
 He made the hearts of minstrels glad with feasts;
 His lucid word made clear the darkest theme:
 And thus, all that a man may do he did!
 Take ye the head of this all-glorious one,
 Cut off with sword, or burn, or let it lie
 Where'er you will; his glory is *secure*."

The king was *Nambi Neḍum Cēṇṇiyan*, evidently a king of Madura in very ancient days. He is mentioned nowhere else. The minstrel was *Murrucalar* ('the laughing one') of *Pēreṇṇil* (see notes on v. 36), and this is his only remaining song.

The following beautiful verse (P.N.N., 245) is by *Ma-Kothai*, the *Āṇan* king, on the death of his queen:—

“My sorrow swelling knows no bounds, but hath not strength to free me from this loathed life! I bore her forth to burning ground, where *Kaḷli*¹ spreads; there on the fire I saw the fuel heaped; I laid her on her couch of rising flame! The innocent in soul hath died, and left me here! What charm hath life henceforth for me?”

These kings not unfrequently renounced their kingdoms and became ascetics. This is referred to in the two following songs. (P.N.N., 251, 252.)

THE KING HAS RENOUNCED HIS KINGDOM AND BECOME AN ASCETIC.

“We saw erewhile the king within his pictured home weaving gay garlands for the happy mountain maids; but now, upon the mountains in the *bambū* brake amid the waterfalls, he dwells, and lights his fire with wood² the elephants have brought and dries his tangled hair.”

“Amid the roaring cataracts he makes his way; his hue is changed; his locks are brown as *Tillai* buds. He plucks the creepers’ sacred flowers.³ But erst he wove the net of courtly words that took the simple hearts of the fair maidens in his stately palace-home.”

The following lyric (P.N.N., 243), which strikes a chord that will vibrate in many hearts, was *Todī-talai Viṅu-Taṇḍinār*, one of the bards of the ancient Madura College.

“I muse of YOUTH! the tender sadness still returns! In sport I moulded shapes of river sand, plucked flowers to wreath around the mimic forms: in the cool tank I bathed, hand linked in hand, with little maidens, dancing as they danced!

¹ A kind of *Euphorbia*, abundant in desolate places.

² Wild elephants serve the holy ascetic.

³ The *Tāḷi*, a convolvulus, sacred to Īṇan. (See *Tiruvāṇḍam*, xix, 36.)

A band of innocents, we knew no guile.
 I plunged beneath th' o'erspreading myrtle's shade,
 where trees that wafted fragrance lined the shore ;
 then climbed the branch that overhung the stream,
 while those upon the bank stood wondering ;
 I threw the waters round, and headlong plunged,
 dived deep aneath the stream, and rose,
 my hands filled with the sand that lay beneath !
 Such was my youth unlesson'd 'Tis too sad !
 Those days of youth, ah ! whither have they fled ?
 I now with trembling hands, grasping my staff,
 panting for breath, gasp few and feeble words.
 And I am worn and OLD !"

[Of. Nālaḍiyār, ch. ii.]

The young prince to whom this was sung was *Perum* *Çāttanār* of *Olli-ūr*, whose dirge (P.N.N., 242) was sung by *Nallāthanār*. It is as follows :—

"The youths wear garlands bright no more ;
 the damsels gather flowers no more ;
 the bard puts wreaths around his lyre no more ;
 the songstress gay adorns herself no more !
Çāttan is dead, who with his mighty spear
 O'ercame and slew great heroes, triumphed so !
 O jasmine, dost thou flourish still in land of *Olli-ūr* ?"

PADALAM X, XI, XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

These three chapters form a kind of appendix, into which much has been thrown that belongs properly to the other great division of *Aga-poruḷ*. There are, however, a few verses that throw light upon the ancient history of the South. We have seen the warriors crowned with eight different wreaths. There are three flowers worn only by kings.

§ 1. *The Palmyra Wreath of the Çēran.*

The Çēra king, when he went forth to war, assumed a wreath of the flowers of the palmyra-tree,¹ which flourished most in the lands over which he then held sway.

VERSE 240.

"By the gushing waters of the hill of Kolli,²
where the Kānthai³ spreads its leaves like a canopy,
the Vānavan⁴ crowns his brows with the cool blue lotus;
when he goes forth to war his wreath is the palmyra-flower."

§ 2. *The Margosa Wreath of the Pāṇḍiyan. Vēmbu.*

The Pāṇḍiyan wears the Margosa⁵ wreath when he goes forth to battle.

VERSE 241.

"The great Vaṛuthi,⁶ the guardian just, the horseman swift,
who leads forth a valiant host of stout warriors crowned with
Tumbai,
when he goes out to fight, with bannered chariot dreaded by
his foes,
crowns himself with the Vēmbu wreath, praised by all."

§ 3. *The Ātti⁷ Wreath of the Çēran.*

The Ātti is the wreath worn in war by the 'Çembiyan.'

VERSE 242.

"The garland of the king of the land of Kāvēri's rushing flood,
where heroes go forth on elephants, wielding the murderous
sword,
decked with the jewelled anklets, and brandishing their
spears, is the Ātti."

¹ *Borassus flabelliformis*.

² A range of hills in the Salem district, belonging to the Çēra kingdom.

³ *Gloriosa superba*.

⁴ The 'heavenly': an epithet of Çēra kings.

⁵ The *Nim*, *Vēmbu*: *Melia Azadirachta* (Lin.). In Portuguese 'Amargosa' and corrupted into Margosa. See my *Nāḷaḍiyār Lex.* (*in loc.*).

⁶ An epithet of the Pāṇḍiyans = 'shining'?

⁷ *Ātti* (*Bauhinia racemosa*), called also *Ār*. It is worn by Çivan.

In Dr. Hultzsch's "Epigraphia Indica," vol. iv, Nos. 22, 23, 52, are given three Tamil inscriptions found at Kīl-Muttugūr (கீழ்முத்துக்குற்றம்), in North Arcot, of which one records the death of a hero who fell while rescuing some cattle that had been lifted (தொடும் கொள்ள மீட்டுப்பட்டான்). The stone bears the effigy of the hero in relief. Some of these fallen warriors have offerings by their side. So in P.N.N., 232, ascribed to Avvai, it is said:—

"Let change of morn and eve for ever cease,
and all my days of earthly life be done! For, ah!
the stone stands there with feathers bright.
Will he accept libations poured—he wont to give
to all that asked—who now receives no gift bestowed?"

There are many songs in P.N.N. bearing upon the same subject, and the photographs we possess of those recovered stones would be the most appropriate illustration of these verses.

In chapter x there are several verses which speak of the honour due to departed heroes. Surviving comrades seek far and wide for a suitable stone to place over the hero's ashes; this stone is brought to the spot with great processions; it is then washed and consecrated; and finally inscribed with the hero's name and exploits.

§ 10. *The Setting up of the Stone.*

VERSES 251.

"While garlands wave, jewels tinkling sound, and fragrant
smoke goes up,

they pour forth libations of toddy, crown the stone with
peacock feathers, and inscribe it with their hero's name,
adding:

'This is the memorial of him who thirsted for the fight,
full of valour, amid the hurling of the spears.'

In some cases shrines were built, where the departed heroes were honoured. It would appear that while many

widows died with their husbands, this was generally a kind of suicide, and not a formal *çatī*. The *çatī* was, however, frequent, and in the P.N.N. Brāhmanas are spoken of as striving to hinder it, but in no case as prompting it. The life of the widow as depicted here is one of absolute asceticism, and to escape this many sought death.

We read (P.N.N., 246) of the *Suttee* (ÇATI), and this is hinted at in many of the verses.

The word *Çatī* (सती)¹ is Sanskrit, and means a *virtuous woman*; but has been specialized to denote one who burns on the funeral pyre with her deceased husband. There is no word in Tamil equivalent to it, nor is the custom at all consonant to the feelings of the Tamil people. It was purely a Brāhmanical idea. Yet there are evidences in the old Tamil poetry that the widow felt herself a poor miserable outcast, and often sought relief in suicide. Many beautiful stanzas give utterance to this feeling. The tenderest affections of the human heart have often been perverted, and in this case the awful scenes of what in English we call the *suttee* had such an origin. Yet we must believe that in most cases the immolation was purely voluntary on the part of the victim—the result of over-exalted feeling. In the following verse the Brāhmanas and kindred of the despairing woman had attempted to dissuade her from the sacrifice; she replies to their urgent expostulations:—

P.N.N., 246.

“O ye of wisdom full! O ye of wisdom full!
 Ye bid us not go forth to death; ye would restrain;
 O ye of wisdom full, but evil is your counsel here!
 We’re not of those content to live forlorn,
 and feed on bitter herbs, where once they feasted royally.
 We lie not on rough stones, who slept erewhile on
 sumptuous couch.

¹ The Skt. word *Çakti* (in Tamil *Çatti*) is the name of Çivan’s ‘energy’ (see note 8 to life of Māgikka Vāçagar), or bride, Umai, who is also called *Çati*, and hence the words are often confounded.

The pyre's black logs heaped up in burning ground
to you indeed seem terrible; to us,
because our mighty spouse is dead,
the waters of the pleasant lake where spreads
the lotus-flower, and the fierce fires are one!"

The queen supposed to utter these words was called *Perum Gōpenḍu* (= great queen), and her husband was the renowned *Būtha-Pāṇḍiyan* of Madura.

In P.N.N., 255, the widow has found her husband's body amid the slain on the now lonely battlefield:—

"If I should cry aloud for help I fear the tiger.

If I strive to bear him off, my strength fails me to lift his
stalwart form.

May tremblings like my own afflict thee, pitiless death!

Were it not easy for thee to grasp my hand, and lead me
to the shades?"

In P.N.N., 256, she appeals for burial with her lord:—

"O Potter, shaper of the urn!

like the little white lizard that sits

in the garland on the axle of the chariot,

over many a desert plain I've come with him.

Make the funeral urn large enough for me, too,

maker of the urns for the old town's burning-ground!"

In a quatrain (P.N.N., 248) the widow thus utters her lament:—

"'Tis sad! when we were young, the little white water-lily
as wreath we wore;

but now our spouse, who lived in wealth and power,

is dead, and we drag on our painful days

eating the bitter grain from that same lily flower."¹

In P.N.N., 249, is a picture of the surviving widow. The poor widow remembers the time—which seems but yesterday—when her royal spouse feasted many guests with rich

¹ The white water-lily yields a kind of bitter grain, which in times of mourning is eaten instead of rice.

dainties, and she enumerates especially the various kinds of rare fish taken from the royal ponds, for the banquet which she was wont to arrange; but now,

“The lady pure of heart, of radiant brow,
since HE has gone—entered the heavenly home—
sweeps a little spot free from ashes,
and washes it with thickly falling tears!”

She is placing in the burial-ground the offerings of food (Piṇḍam) prescribed for the departed ones.

‘The Sepulchral Urn’ is the title of a chapter in Dr. Caldwell’s “History of Tinnevely,” pp. 279–282. The subject of South Indian sepulchral urns is there discussed as far as the facts were then known. The learned author gives the Tamil word for ‘urn’ as Tāli. It is so pronounced by rustics in Tinnevely, but the real word is Tāṛi (தாரி). He thinks that these, as found in various parts of the country, are relics possibly of an antiquity higher than the Christian Era; and he states that “No relic, trace, or tradition of such a mode of sepulture has survived to the present day.” But in the Purra-nānnūrru (p. 228), and in other places, these urns are mentioned as used in the burial of heroes and kings at a period certainly not earlier than the eighth century A.D.

A lyric addressed to the Çōra king, Kīlṭi-Vaḷuvān, by Mudavanār of Aiyūr (“the lame bard of Aiyūr”), is as follows:—

“O potter-chief! ¹ maker of vessels!
Thou whose furnace sends up thick clouds
of smoke veiling the outspread heavens,
who makest vessels for the wide extended ancient town!
Thou art to be pitied! What toil hath befallen thee!
The descendant of Çōra kings,
whose armies spread themselves to earth’s utmost verge,—
whom minstrels praise,—the truly glorious one,—
whose glory shines afar,
as in the heavens the sun with resplendent ray,—

¹ It is curious that the title Ko = ‘king, chief,’ belongs also to potters.

VALAVAN, the great, on the brows
 of whose warrior elephants bright banners wave,—
hath gained the world of gods. And so
 'Tis thine to shape an urn, so vast
 That it shall cover the remains of such an one.
 But if thou wouldest mould the needful urn,
 the vast earth must be thy wheel,
 and mighty Mēru sufficeth not for earth to mould its
 form!"

The Bishop says that at the time when these urns were used cremation must have been unknown, and burial the universal practice; but the two customs have ever existed side by side. The ancient inhabitants generally buried their dead, as will be seen by a careful study of *Purra-Poruḷ-Venbū*; but Brāhmanical and Āivite usages were found side by side, from very early times, throughout the South. It will be seen also by a reference to these two works (which are a mine of information regarding the ancient manners and customs of the southern lands), and from passages scattered through the other Tamil classics, that when heroes fell in battle they were often buried on the spot, and their effigies in stone placed over the grave. The same was often done when kings and other great men retired into some lonely region (generally specified as the 'North'), and died there. This is exemplified in the very touching histories of the king *Kō-perum-çōṛan* and his devoted friends *Pottiyār* and *Piçirōn*. This illustrates also *Kurraḷ*, ch. lxxviii, 1.

"Ye foes! stand not before my lord! for many a one
 Who did my lord withstand now stands in stone!"

Here the learned commentator, *Parimēlaṛagar*, remarks that when heroes died on the field of battle, it was the custom to place their effigies on the spot where they fell. These heroes often became tutelary divinities, or demons, and were worshipped with offerings of food and flowers.

In Purra-nānnūrru, song 218, the subject of worthy friendship is beautifully illustrated in connection with this topic. The renowned Kō-perum-çōṛan, who reigned in Urraiyūr, renounced his kingdom, went ‘to the north’ (the banks of the Ganges?), and died there. His most intimate friends, Pottiyār and Piçirānthaiyār, who were not his subjects, shared his hermit cell, and all three after death were commemorated by stones placed side by side over their urns. The poet Kaṇṇaganār, visiting the spot, sang as follows:—

“Red gold, and coral, pearls, and rare
Gems the mighty mountains bare,—
Remote their homes in sea or mine;—
If once the precious things combine,
And men in costly shapes entwine,
Henceforth in blended beauty one they shine.
So worthy men with worthy side by side
Remain; the worthless with the worthless bide.”

The history of these three, as traced in P.N.N., is the favourite Tamil illustration of faithful friendship. (See Pope’s *Kurraḷ*, ch. lxxix.) In Nālaḍi also, chs. xxi–xxiv, many exquisite thoughts on friendship are to be found.

We hope to give more of these ballads at another time.

ART. IX.—*The Initiative of the Avesta.* By the Rev.
Professor MILLS, D.D.

I HAVE announced as my subject in these introductory lectures¹ the general relation of the Avesta to other systems of theology and philosophy. And I have especially mentioned its interest for Biblical criticism, because a relation, or a supposed relation, between the Avesta and Exilic and post-Exilic books of the Old Testament has been notorious for half a century.

We cannot, however, so well judge of the relation between the Scriptures and the Avesta until we know to some further extent what each of them is in its relation to other creeds; and, as is usual in similar cases, our knowledge as to each grows with our knowledge of the other, the stones on one side of the arch supporting those opposite. We do not yet know the Avesta in all its analogies until we know more of the Bible, and we can hardly be said to be fit to expound the Bible with ultimate opinions, until we can answer conscientiously the question as to how closely it may have been connected with the lore of the Avesta, or with some older system, out of which certain features in both the Avesta and the Exilic scriptures sprang.

If this supposed original faith were the only subject under discussion its examination would be very desirable indeed; how much more worthy of investigation that sister lore of

¹ This article was read as curtailed on October 20th last, at the Indian Institute in Oxford, as an inaugural to the Professorship of Zend Philology in the University. This lecture was also delivered as curtailed on December 13, 1898, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

the Avesta becomes when strong reasons exist which point to an immediate and historical connection.

But in order to approach this part of the entire theme, it is naturally necessary to examine beforehand what it really is as regards those particulars where its connection with other systems becomes of special interest.

I proceed to state the items in a synoptic manner,¹ quite unadorned, pausing only to say that a relation between the Avesta and any other literature may consist in an inherent parallelism without any immediate historical connection; or, again, it may be an analogy which has resulted from an actual external influence; and the first is quite as important as the last, and in some respects more so.

The most striking feature in the lore of the ancient Avesta is the advanced intellectual tone of much of its terminology. We take up the documents which originated, as we believe, in ancient Bactria, or slightly to the north-west of it, and some 700 (?) to 1,200 years B.C.² We open the texts, and what do we find in a book originating from such a place and at such a time? The locality had long been settled indeed, but we naturally suppose it to have been rough in its social and political features. At the very beginning of the Gāthas, however, we see expressions which may be fairly said to be technical in a philosophical-religious sense: they are such as "the bodily life and the mental"; and "in thought, in word, and in deed" as the lines for the analyses of character, "the laws by which at the first this world into being entered," etc.

This terminology, if recurring only rarely in these especial forms, is yet of very great exegetical importance, for it controls the exegesis of the Gāthas as to some capital particulars; it shows that we should expect the more subtle and less realistic idea in various places throughout

¹ And I would remind the reader that this present writing is merely a popular delineation.

² It being universally difficult to fix more closely the dates of such documents; compare the differences in opinion as to the age of Homer, of the Rīg Veda, etc.

them, whereas we should be in doubt as to the existence of these ideas in very many passages were it not for these remarkable, if somewhat widely separated, occurrences. And they are, of course, important to a history of intellectual development, as showing a capacity to define conceptions in this refined manner at a time prior to other attempts, and in a place and under circumstances amidst which one might least expect to find such a state of things. Where in all the then extant literature of which we have any certain knowledge can such penetrating distinctions be found?

It is generally conceded that Zarathushtra antedated the earliest of the speculative Greeks who philosophised at all on his lines;¹ and if ancient Iran was not as bereft of intellectual culture as we naturally suppose it to have been, the possibility that it was not thus untutored is only shown by this very terminology and the other related characteristics. Here, then, is a hegemony in intellect as to this particular, so far as I can see.

If there were not a mechanical historical priority, so to speak, in the actual dates of the enunciation of these distinctions and all that they implied, then there was indeed a rational priority, if not an actual isolation, in the appearance of such an advanced development as arising out of such apparently unpromising antecedents, and maintaining itself in despite of the still persisting concomitant circumstances. Unless we deny that the Rig Veda is closely related to the Avesta (so that they belong almost together in such a discussion as this), where do we find such a refined system arising out of an unknown abyss, and where in the early Rk itself do we find such astonishing discriminations? Also, the altogether remarkable grouping of those abstract names which afterwards became the Ameshaspends, although loosely traceable in the Rig Veda, is a proof of the advanced development. Imagine a people almost in Middle Asia, whose gods were Benevolence,

¹ Putting the death of Heraclitus at 470-478 B.C.

Justice, Government, Devotion, Healthful Weal, and Deathless Long-life;—the words speak for themselves—what a public there must have been in early Iran to make such terms possible. And if these distinctions marked an epoch in the history of thought, how much more do they mark an epoch in the history of religious, or philosophical-religious, thought. Take their chief feature, dualism.

Whether they were anterior, posterior, or contemporaneous with certain parts of the Rig Veda, they show a startling advance upon the state of theological opinion as to this subject which prevails in those richly poetical productions. The mixed elements in the recognized characters of deities have all been sifted out. Nothing at all corresponding either to an Indian Indra or a Greek Hercules (or Zeus for the matter of that) is any longer visible in the Gāthas.

Ahura Mazda is a spiritual God (in the Gāthas) even more bereft of anthropomorphic paganism than the early Jewish Yahveh in some of His manifestations. All conceivable good is gathered and centred in Him (the Good God), Ahura, and all conceivable evil is gathered in Angra Mainyu; a polarity of thought becomes pronounced; and the most marked theological dualism which has ever been formulated presents itself: the Good God could not prevent the evolution of evil characteristics in the beings whom He created, nor could the evil force prevent the evolution of what is good.

Surely this was no trivial phenomenon. It seems to me to have been eminently important and decidedly hard-headed. It gathered up all those elements of dualism which had been recognized in all religions previously, and which have been recognized in other religions ever since. Even our Christianity must acknowledge that the possibility of evil inheres in the possibility of good, it being inconceivable that God Himself could have made a world without it; it is the most commonplace of questions. But no one had at any previous period of time pretended to state its chief condition so bluntly as Zarathushtra. Instead of saying, with a contradiction in terminology, "there is an

Almighty God who was powerless to create a universe without sin," he simply cut the matter short; there was no such being (so he thought) in such a sense almighty that He could have undone the fundamental laws of morals and of anterior logic (in the Hegelian sense). If a supreme God could have avoided the toleration of misery in the existing universe, it is difficult to see how He could have been good if He had not in fact so avoided it.

There was a 'limit' in the very nature of things which made unmixed prosperity an impossibility¹ as well as unalterable holiness. The texts do not go into the details which I have mentioned, but there were two great limited forces, and they are described naturally enough (after the fashion of the time) as personal: "There were two original spirits."²

"Thus are the spirits primeval who as twain by their deeds
are famèd;

In thought, in word, and in deed, a better they two and
an evil.

Of these let the wise choose aright; choose ye not as the
evil-minded!

"Then those spirits, created as first they two came together,
Life and non-life, decreeing how all at the last shall be,
ordered;

The worst life, at last, of the wicked, but to the righteous
the better mind."

Then cf. Y., xlv, 1:

"Thus forth I announcing speak this life's first two spirits,
Of whom the more bounteous thus the evil accosted:

'Never our thoughts, nor creeds, nor understandings;

Never our beliefs, nor words, nor yet our actions,

Nor can our souls, or faiths, ever be one!' "³

¹ It could not be defined and so 'perceived.'

² Cf. Y., xxx, 3.

³ A repudiation *par eminence*.

The 'mixture' was abhorrent to their keen logic, and the word became later a term of derision. Whether true or false, and as much so if true as if false, the doctrine was important. Somebody had to propose it, and no-one at that period had ever dreamed of stating it so boldly, nor has any analogous suggestion been put in clearer light. But the speculative interest is surpassed by the moral. If we could trust ourselves to a literal translation of the Gāthas, we should be quite astounded at the singular depth of their tone, considering their age, or, we might almost say, without any particular consideration either as to their age or circumstances.

The literal words express almost the enthusiasm of a religious brotherhood, and they have been considered the most marked productions of antiquity in this respect aside from our Semitic scriptures.¹ Those who from want of knowledge care less for them have betrayed their own sense of their extraordinary moral elevation by finding fault with its recurring expression; yet this is exactly that which we should recognise as a priceless quality, even if it were produced at the total sacrifice of rhetorical animation. It is, however, true that this vivacity cannot be given up, and for a curious reason. Strange as it may appear, in one light fortunately and in another unfortunately, we are not always permitted to accept the plain recurring words in their first and obvious sense. If we were we should be well content to accept even a far larger measure of iteration than that which some superficial observers object to in these hymns, for we should have the words 'holiness,' 'benevolence,' 'ruling power,' and 'devotion' recurring at every turn with a resulting effect so remarkable as to recoup us for the surrender of every claim to rhetorical point and life; but unhappily (or happily) we cannot lay claim to the right to render the words always exactly in their natural meaning. Facts show that the clear terms may sometimes be taken in a realistic sense, as referring to persons or to the community, although their literal meaning includes no

¹ See the *Critical Review*, Jan., 1896.

such idea; and it is our ungrateful task to try to break down their supreme morality, gaining therefore more historical detail. We must do all that it is possible for us to do to show that the terms do not always convey an actual meaning which corresponds to their literal force; and just in so far as we can give them an application to the scenes of the contemporaneous experience, just in so far we gain brightness of colour to our picture, while we sacrifice to a corresponding degree the depth of the thought. And we can indeed make out that the composer was at times talking of men when we had thought that he was talking of principles, of the State when we had thought that he was talking of holiness. But our victory is very far from being complete; for believe as we may that he often used the name of a principle, such as the 'good mind,' 'righteousness,' 'devotion,' or 'rule,' to designate certain good men, holy communities, devoted partisans, or government officials, we can yet never get rid of the deep sentiment which pervades the whole; for the good 'men' were only alluded to as constituent members of a sanctified community, dear to Zoroaster as holy church is to a Catholic, and the enthusiasm for a holy race was a passion deep as the Jewish, because it could save the soul.

To illustrate for a moment. If he spoke of holiness and meant by it the church, it was of course only the church as an 'embodied holiness' (which, wonderful to say, was one of his own expressions). If he spoke of the 'good mind' and meant by it the 'good man,' it was because the individual member of a beneficent community was, after all, the only object in which a sane benevolence became real; if he spoke of the 'ruling power' and meant by it (as we indeed often do) the administration, or the army, it was because he viewed authority as the inexorable condition of prosperity, national or individual, spiritual, moral, and material, and because it was only made actual in the executive of his religious nation; and so of the other sometimes personified ideas. After all our iconoclasm these concepts remain what they have been declared to be, and

that is pre-eminent in the history of the moral sense, so far as we know of that history up to their approximately estimated date.

As the embodiment of the great moral ideas in different representative classes or individuals among the community by no means eliminates the moral force from them, neither does their full supranatural personification in sub-gods or archangelic beings extinguish the vitality of the principle, though hypostatisation in my opinion introduces a lower stage.

And as a technical phenomenon, this personification of the main ideas of Zoroastrianism seems also to mark an era in religious mental development, and I might indeed have touched upon it while dwelling upon the speculative interest, but its place is on the whole here, as it involves a strong moral element. Of course, a quasi-personification of similar abstracts appears often in the Rk of the Veda, and we may safely admit (or indeed claim) that wherever the mental habit became set toward the poetical personification of religious principles, an analogous development took place; but where do we find it so clearly defined as in the Avesta? Ahura addresses Asha, the 'personified holiness of the law,' and "Asha to Him makes answer." The saint prays, "O Asha, when shall I see thee?" and the same of the Good Mind. Aramaiti, the ready mind of devoted zeal, is likewise addressed in the vocative, and she is termed Ahura's daughter, while all the leading four are bidden to listen and to come:

"Ye, the most bounteous Mazda Ahura, and Piety with Him,
And Asha the settlement furth'ring, thou Good Mind,
and thou the Dominion,
Hear ye me, all, and have mercy for all deeds which I do
whatsoever."

In the later Avesta the personification of these powers or attributes becomes quite the predominant usage, issuing in one passage of a truly sublime type, where the souls of the seven 'Immortals' are represented as being of the "same

thought and word and deed, seeing each other thinking of good thoughts and words and deeds; having one father and commander, Ahura Mazda."¹ To be sure, a deterioration becomes apparent later on, and it is indeed foreshadowed in the earlier parts of the later Avesta, if not possibly in the Gāthas themselves, but this does not alter the curious interest of the circumstance. The thoughts, words, and deeds of the supreme good God are naturally qualified by adverbs; He speaks with His truth, acts with His benevolence, and rules with His authority; but how interesting it is in the light of technical philosophical history to see this truth, this benevolence, this authority treated as personal subjects subordinate to Him and yet closely related to Him. The fact that this hypostatisation does not totally emasculate the virility of the ideas, I have already asserted on the same authority which supports us in defending their application to the human individual and to functions among the people. If the Zoroastrian felt that Asha, the holiness of the law, was more actual as holiness when he thought of it as alive within a community who were striving to live up to it, with what emotion must he have adored an archangelic Being whom he thought existed, and for the purpose of making his holiest ideals real. Surely it must have helped him to love the law better when he believed that there was a mighty spirit close in the presence of Ahura, whose separate function it was to watch and help on the universe in obeying that law, and who to this end especially furthered its proclamation and confirmed its influence in populations and within the moral sense of individual men. And so of the Benevolence, Government, and Devoted-zeal. All these noble concepts were the thoughts of God, but as such alone they might have been impaired by confusion in their effect upon our limited receptivity, and each might be lost in the other; the Archangels embodying each of them severally kept them apart for us. They remind us at once of the Greek

¹ Yasht, xiii, 83.

logos with the *daimones* of Plato and the Stoics, and they recall the *dynameis* of Philo and the *aeons* of the Gnostics; but the Zoroastrian development was vastly earlier, for it was closely allied to the Vedic, as I have already hinted. Surely this hypostatisation is a feature of signal value.

The personification of mental abstracts appeared in rough Bactria hundreds, or decades at least, of years before an analogous development took place in the most favoured land of the ancient West.

We cannot say that the Ameshaspenta were distinctly termed 'emanations' from the Deity; nor can they be said in more theological terminology to 'proceed' from either a Father or a Son, but that 'truth' with which God speaks 'proceeds' from Him, and when at the next step this truth is called a 'person,' to establish a more obvious means of communication with the Almighty, the resulting ideas constitute something which is indistinguishable in its effect, but *not in its motive*¹ from the Platonic, Stoic, and Philonian *analogia*.

As to the practical virtues in social life, it is hardly necessary to particularize. That justice was urged needs not to be asserted, while vindictive retribution is perhaps too emphatically insisted upon. Benevolence has been already mentioned; either the love of God is expressed or His delighted good wish for us; and it was, of course, to be imitated. Mercy toward enemies cannot be traced, but the Avesta seems to afford the earliest examples of charity to the poor in an organized shape.

"Your rule, what is it? Your riches? how I may be Your own in my actions,
Through Righteousness and Thy Good Mind, to nourish
Your poor in their sufferings;
Foremost of all we declare You, before Demons and demonised men."

Yasna, xxxiv, 9.

¹ The *motive* of the Platonic emanation was the impurity of matter which God could not touch without an intermediary, an idea radically opposed to Zoroastrianism.

"Thine is the Kingdom whence to poor and right-living
Thou givest, Lord, better."

Yasna, liii, 8.

And in Vendīdād, xxi, which deals in supranatural imagery, we read of a spiritual heavenly home, which seems especially to exist for the purpose of combating diseases; and the idea may have been new to literature.

Among domestic virtues, respect to parents stood high, for the question is asked at *Yasna*, xliv, 3, "Who hath made dutiful the son to the father?"

The bestowal of significant names came into vogue in a manner which reminds of Puritan England or New England. Pouruchista, 'the much taught one,' shows how the generation affected pious training; it reminds us also, of course, of uses which were subsequent to original Zoroastrianism, but which as regards us were still early Orientalism.

The virtues of home life are beautifully touched upon in the bridal song in *Yasna*, liii,¹ and in correspondence with these moral features in temporal life there was a judgment in store for those who failed in attaining them.

"Thus I'll conceive thee, bounteous, Ahura Mazda,
As in creation's birth I foremost saw Thee,
When deeds, most just, rewarding, and words Thou givest
Ill to the evil, pure blessing to the good.
By Thy great virtue in this world's last change !

In which last changing Thou a spirit bounteous
Comest with Thy Good Mind and Thy Kingdom, Mazda,
By deeds of whom the settlements in Right are furthered
Laws unto these to teach Armaiti striveth,
Laws of Thy holy Realm which none deceives."

Yasna, xliii.

¹ "Let each one the other devotedly cherish; so the home shall be happy."

"Who e'er to me, be he or man or woman,
 Our tribe's gift gives which Thou as best perceivest,
 Prize for the holy gives with good men's ruling,
 Whom praising You I urge as comrade leading,
 Forth to the Judge's Bridge with all I go."

Yasna, xlv, 10.

So in *Yasna*, xlix, 3—

"These give I safest, Lord, in Thy protection,
 Men living yet, and souls of saints on high ; "

and again of the evil—

"Then evil rulers, evil doers, speakers,
 Those believing ill and spirits evil minded,
 With poisoned food the souls to meet are coming,
 In Falsehood's home at last their bodies lie."

And as quite an astonishing fact these rewards and punishments are subjective; the retribution is in the soul's own self; compare *Yasna*, xxxi, 21, where it is said, "This be your world, O ye foul; by your deeds your own souls will bring it."

"Cursed by their souls and selves,
 Their being nature, ever in
 Demon's home their dwelling is."

Yasna, xlvi, 11.

And to show the continuity of the doctrine, the external particulars, which, though scattered, were yet so plainly marked in the *Gāthas*, are preserved and restored in the later but still genuine *Avesta*. There lost souls come to meet the condemned man as well with poisoned food and reviling words; pleasing features are, however, first detailed. In a passage which has been greatly admired, the man's own conscience comes to meet his soul under the form of a beatified being. The saint is bewildered, and asks, "Who art thou?"; and she answers, "I am thyself; thy good thoughts and words and deeds." The soul, incredulous, like the one in the Gospels, inquires, "Who hath desired thee

hither with his love?" She answers, "Thou hast called me hither," and she recites his good deeds, one of which is, curiously enough, exactly the same as in St. Matthew: "Thou didst care for the stranger coming from near and from afar."¹

Fancy such expressions occurring in remote Iran some centuries before Christ (if only a few), and, as proved from the passages cited, evidently repeating details which had been formulated still earlier! The matter is more fully traced out in the *Vendidād*,² where the evil are dragged to Hell, and where Vohu Manuh, the Archangel of Benevolence, arises like Christ from his golden throne to meet the saved man, who passes on to endless bliss. We may have had adumbrations of the like, as I suppose, in other ancient religious systems, but to no degree like this; it was a realistic picture frescoed upon the religious imagination.

Whether it was (together with other highly coloured delineations as to resurrection, etc.; see below) the original of Daniel's Judgment scene, depicted in what might be called a Jewish-Persian book, or whether they both proceeded from an earlier original, are propositions which can never be definitively proved nor refuted.

The golden thrones of the Ameshaspentas recall the thrones of the apostles in the Apocalypse, and in view of the 'consummation' the saints strive with holy emulation to bring on Frashakard, which was the 'restitution of' all things.³

Those features in eschatology which have less of the moral point in them are also represented, and perhaps in a manner even more advanced than they are in the New Testament; the righteous dead arise, and enter upon a life

¹ "When saw I thee a stranger," etc., the soul asks; and the answer is, "Inasmuch as ye did it," etc.—Matt., xxv, 38, 40.

² Fargard, xix.

³ "Yea, may be like those who bring on this world's perfection,
As the Aburas of the Lord bearing gifts with Asha's grace,
For there are our thoughts abiding where wisdom dwells in her home."

Yasna, xxi, 9.

unaging, without disease, deformity, death, or the evil passions; they eat imperishable food, etc.¹

A question in ethnology of the utmost moment presses itself upon our attention. No one doubts, as I suppose, that the Indian Aryans, the people who spoke early Sanskrit, once lived with the people who spoke Zend, for the Aryans went down into India through territory named in the Avesta, or reported by the Greeks, as being deeply coloured with Zoroastrian associations.

It is indeed safest to suppose that the people who worshipped God under the old name of *Daevas*, and who are so prominent in an evil sense in the Avesta, were only the lingering remnant of the tribesmen whose vanguard had already long since gone south.² If they were, indeed, no more than a last shred of them, yet the conjunction of circumstances is of rare interest. It is seldom that we see two distinguished ancient peoples, later separated by hundreds of miles, in close connection, even if one of them is but a feeble residue; yet it is undoubted, while a possibility comes into view which might be almost regarded as of overpowering moment in such questions. Were these *Daeva*-worshippers who were so fiercely fought in the *Gāthas* not a forgotten shred of a people, the masses of whom had long previously migrated to India?; but were they actually the vanguard of those masses themselves, whose descendants only afterwards reached the Indus, and became the Aryan *Hindoos*, so that they were not merely their distant cousins lingering at a later day in the north?

Their gods were largely the same as those in the Avesta, with the peculiarity that some of the chief ones among them have exchanged their characteristics, being devils in one lore and deities in the other; the languages also in which these details were written were closely cognate. The question arises—were, then, those tribes on the frontier of Iran when the *Gāthas* were first sung, against whom the

¹ *Yasht*, xix, 89, and elsewhere.

² Centuries earlier. That they were closely connected by ties of kindred with these early emigrants is absolutely certain.

bloody border wars, which are everywhere so apparent in the Avesta, were directed, actually the fathers of the future Indians?

If they were—and no one can say that they certainly were not—we have in the Avesta documents of such importance for ethnology that it is impossible to exaggerate their value in this connection to attest a profoundly impressive episode in the history of races; and the possibility of the fact must for ever hang over the subject.

To proceed: apart from ethnology itself, we have an actual history in the Gāthas. If my venerated friend Prof. Oppert could give as a title to an exposition of one of the columns of the Behistun Inscriptions "The People and the Language of the Medes," how much more appropriately might something like that be the title of the Gāthas, with 'Iranians' for 'Medes'! They are as personal as the Psalms, if not, indeed, more so; everything being 'I' and 'Thou,' and the figures of the four chiefs stand out in bold relief. They exhort and pray; now furious at the Daevas-men and anxious over their progress, now in suspense before the encounters, now heart-broken at defeat or jubilant in victory; while all ends in a political marriage fragment of a characteristic description. I can only repeat what I have said before:¹ in the Gāthas all is sober and real. Grehma and Bendva, the Karpans, the Kavis, the Usiks are no mythical monsters; no dragon threatens the settlements, and no fabulous beings defend them. Zarathushtra, Jamaspa, Frashaoshtra, Maidyōmah, the Spitamas, the Hvogvas, the Haechataspas are as real as any other characters in history, and they are mentioned with a simplicity which is as unconscionable. Except a possible claim to inspiration there are no miracles; all the action is made up of the exertions and passions of living and suffering men. Let the Zendist study the Gāthas well, and then let him turn to the Yashts and the Vendidad; he will go from the land of reality to the land of fable. He leaves in one a toiling prophet to meet in the other a phantastic demigod.¹

¹ See SBE., xxi, Introd., p. xxi.

There are few documents extant which afford indirectly a more genuine portrayal of events. While all annals which make so-called historical assertions are liable to the strongest suspicion (one might almost say that they by their very affirmations make a supposed fact more improbable at once), indications which are both indirect and unconscious are, on the contrary, the sole source of sound conclusions as to the reality of supposed past events.

We know from the Gāthas that a little nation in mid-Asia were impassioned in their religious convictions, and as refined as the Greeks in their modes of religious thought; that they possessed an organization which aimed at the regulation of agricultural and other forms of industrial civil life; that they were of our Aryan blood; that they were closely related to the Indian Aryans; that they struggled through border wars with tribes whom they deemed half pagan; that they ultimately founded a branch at least of the great Medo-Persian nation, and spread their religion over vast territories among millions of inhabitants through successive generations; and the most memorable figure among them bore the name of Zarathushtra.

Data in the history of politics are involved in this, and we have in the Gāthas, I believe, for the first time in the Aryan world, a union of Church and State. A contribution to the history of logic is involved in what has been already said at the outset. A history of rhetoric, if one existed, would gain a memorable particular. That such a state of mental culture should have prevailed as could make possible such expressions as "This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me," is truly astonishing when we clearly see that they were used with no slightest approach to a foolish belief that God would either physically hear or vocally answer.

"This ask I Thee, aright, Ahura, tell me:

Who ever earth and sky from falling guarded;

Who hath save Thee brought forth forests and rivers;

Who with the winds hath yoked storm-clouds to racers;

Who of the good man's grace ever was source?

This ask I Thee; aright, Ahura, tell me :
 Who with skilled hand the lights | made, who the darkness;
 Who with wise deed hath giv'n sleep, or our waking;
 Who hath auroras spread, noontides and midnights,
 Warning discerning man, duty's true guides?"¹

It might have been written yesterday. It is simply certain that the interrogatives are those of rhetoric, though this seems incredible for the period. The uses of such terms as 'son of Ahura,' 'daughter of Ahura' were more to be expected.

Coming to more technical matter, we have an almost equally interesting item in the matter of metre. I fear we hardly realise the very exceptional nature of this circumstance. The metres of the Rîg Veda have been sacred and studied for (say) at least two thousand years; some of them are mentioned in the Veda itself, but one of the oldest and most valued of them was found in the Zend Avesta some forty years ago.²

Zend philology has the reputation of being the most difficult of Oriental subjects in an Aryan tongue, as it requires a serious knowledge of several ancient languages. The Pahlavi in which the ancient native commentaries are chiefly written is the most inscrutable of all characters which have been preserved in manuscripts. The Sanskrit of the Yasna translation is also of a peculiar cast, disturbed in the sequence of its words by the fact that it is a rendering of a rendering, while the Parsi-Persian is as irregular as it is indispensable. No man living has ever yet sounded these ancient expositions to their depths in all parts of their extent, though Spiegel has given us enormous help.³

¹ Yasna, xlv, 3 et seq.

² Some of the most precious parts of the Gâthas are written in *trishup*, and others in *trishup* with the simple addition of a line.

³ Since Spiegel's pioneer attempt no second edition of the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna has appeared outside of the Gâthas. Spiegel did the great foundation work here as from the beginning, but most valuable as his contribution was, having been based upon a single manuscript, it was as of course just in so far limited as a means of permanent assistance, and it is now well-nigh half a century old. So also his very valuable text and partial rendering of Neryôsang: it is now, of course, to some degree antiquated, while the exceedingly precious

Very few indeed have ever made the shadow of an attempt to explore these regions, and from among the *excessively*¹ small number of scholars who pretend to be independent experts some of the most prominent have advanced to the highest enterprises of Zend philology with the open statement that they have left these original translations unmastered.²

But lest I should be misunderstood, let me hasten to say that the lore of the Avesta is by no means alone as to this particular.

As a simple matter of fact, the human family has not been in a position in which it has been able to support a sufficiently large class of persons fitted and willing to grapple with these nearly endless and too often thankless tasks, and the report which those who have sacrificed themselves sometimes bring in is enough to repel many who might otherwise be both competent and ready. But we must not despair. Slowly and little by little the pioneers are clearing the forests, and the miners are extracting the ore; while the very mass of the work still left undone offers an opportunity to enterprising minds, and enough has been discovered to whet the flagging appetite. We need first of all a thoroughly critical edition and explanation of the Asiatic commentaries, and we need translations made only after they have been thoroughly studied.

And here I suppose that it is proper for me on this occasion³ to give some general idea of the plan of my own

Parsi-Persian rendering, often the key to the Pahlavi, has not been at all reproduced, except in the Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas. Nor does any full and modern explanation of the Pahlavi of the Vendidad exist, while partial translations are often silent when we wish them most to speak; and so of the Parsi-Persian version of the Vendidad. Justi's masterly dictionary, of which Roth could write as the "*musterhaft eingerichtete zweckmässiges Handbuch*," is, of course, now to some degree too old; it was published in 1863, and needs to be supplemented by the labours of scholars *who understand all parts of their business*. This is only a part of what needs to be done on the texts of the Avesta itself, not to speak of the Pahlavi literature.

¹ Who can name more than a very few units?

² Writing to others to decipher their texts for them, and, as too often in similar cases, with difficulty forgiving their benefactors for doing them the favour.

³ Let it be kindly remembered on what occasion this paper was first read.

well-meant labours, and of those which I propose for my pupils. Spiegel's bahnbrechend texts, translations, and commentaries were, indeed, a foundation on which any man might be proud to build, though criticised by men who did not know the chief alphabet involved. But my objects were different in kind: Spiegel's work was necessarily spread over an enormous territory; my object was to take a single field and explain every part of it in all its details. So vast had been the lack of labour since Spiegel's main works in this respect, that editors and translators had been, and have been even till to-day, forced to furnish provisional editions and renderings which must for ever bear the mark of limited preparation.

I saw, as others did, the astounding gap many years ago. The particular work, as attempted in the only manner in which it ought to have been attempted, had at that date been attempted by nobody living, and nobody was willing to undertake it. It being left wholly unattended to in the manner desired, I set out as an autodact to do what I could toward an exhaustive rendering of the Gāthas, with the Asiatic commentaries edited with the collation of all the MSS., and interpreted by that well-nigh endless translation and re-translation which their peculiar circumstances required.¹

¹ See the "Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas," Introduction, p. xiv et seq. I am far from underrating the very useful suggestions which have been made by the pupils of Roth (for I am of their number). On the contrary, that very great interpreter did an inestimable service (strange to say) in attempting to read the Gāthas (at first only) with a practical disregard of the Asiatic commentaries, even being, as he told me more than once, without "any experience" of their chief language (later, however, even writing upon it, in Z.D.M.G.; Zend was with him, let it be remembered, only a secondary study). It was an indispensable service for some scholar of supreme authority to read the Gāthas as pure Sanskrit (so to speak), giving us all the courage to say that the Pahlavi commentaries are by no means slavishly to be followed, and great is my own personal indebtedness to him. I understood from him that Haug was his pupil also on the Zend; and at the date of Haug's great work on the Gāthas he, too, evidently had no knowledge of the Pahlavi language, affording, nevertheless, the most valuable preliminary results; but such provisional and tentative expositions should be followed by others attempted only with a mind prepared by exhausting the materials. (I need hardly remind many of my readers that Haug became later a high authority on Pahlavi, giving us discoveries and hints of inestimable value. Roth also, as I have said, later conceded its importance.)

It was for this reason that Professor Darmesteter so urgently¹ requested me to take his place in writing the then still needed translation of the Yasna (which contains the Gāthas) in the thirty-first volume of the "Sacred Books of the East."

¹ "In the hope of a favourable answer." The remaining parts of this note are in answer to erroneous statements which are carelessly contradictory to my own printed remarks (see below); these errors have also been given a wide circulation in a publication of an importance of its kind second to none. I gladly take this opportunity to correct them.

In the preface to the thirty-first volume of the "Sacred Books of the East," p. 5, I had said: "My work on the Gāthas had been for some time in his [Professor Darmesteter's] hands, and he requested me as a friend to write the still needed volume of the translation. . . . Although deeply appreciating the undesirableness of following one whose scholarship is only surpassed by his genius, I found myself unable to refuse." Yet there appeared so long afterward as 1895 actually in the *Annuaire* of the University of Paris the extraordinary remark—"Avec cet oubli de soi (!) qui caractérise le vrai mérite . . . il ceda à M. Milla l'honneur d'achever la publication," and distinctively gave the impression in some other words that I suggested (!) the arrangement. The exclamation points are my own. This very singular version of the facts lingers in Paris to contradict me till this day.

The renderings afterwards published in my Gāthas (let me repeat once for all) were in Professor Darmesteter's possession in an unfinished condition, though provisionally printed, and he wrote pointedly asking me to repeat them in the book which he was urging me to write as his continuator: "Vous n'avez qu'à détacher de votre travail [the Gāthas] la traduction rythmique avec quelques notes explicatives et le mot-à-mot [Latin] quand vous en écartez trop. Cela vous prendrait infiniment peu de temps, puisque de travail est déjà fait . . . dans l'espoir d'une réponse favorable." (Nov. 5, 1883, some sixteen years ago.) I was also so fortunate as to be of service to other distinguished persons; and a somewhat similar occurrence forces me to allude to it to explain to students of Zend who may be using certain books and may wonder why they do not see my name in them. This time it was gentlemen on the other side of the Rhine whom I was able to help. But, unlike my great colleague, these beneficiaries, to whom I had extended assistance immeasurably greater than acts of decipherment, resorted to the strange policy of total silence, combining together to omit all mention of my name in some books bearing on this subject (a course which is considered among scholars one of the most aggravated forms of indignity which it is possible to devise). Darmesteter could speak in noble terms of thankfulness with Pischel and Justi, and that not in private communications but in leading publications; see the *Gött. gelehr. Anz.* of May 13, 1893; *Revue Critique* of Sept. 18, 1893; *Z.D.M.G.*, July, 1896; etc., etc.

But what will an honourable public say of professed old friends, who had received the closest form of personal teaching by long previously advanced copies of an unpublished pioneer work, put often at their own request gratuitously into their hands, and then combining to boycott the scholar who had taught them their rudiments. And this is the explanation of a fact noticed as curious by a very distinguished friend of all Zendists in the London *Daily Telegraph* of August 10, 1894.

Fortunately the circumstance has been as harmless as it was contemptible. My sole offence, I need hardly say, consisted in the original treatment of things hitherto unattempted, and the very strong expressions of recognition which followed them. Though I was warned by Darmesteter of the fate of all pioneers, and though the actual result has been favourable beyond measure, yet one cannot forget the sting of a degraded ingratitude.

And if life be spared I must continue on with precisely this same plan so long since adopted, and produce an exhaustive treatment of the rest of the Avesta. As Professor Pischel was so kind as to say, my procedure (after a work of 650 pages) includes a dictionary.¹ A large fraction of this is at this moment in type, and I hope soon to offer the University a first section of it, to be followed by others without interruption, save such as may temporarily take place from the pressure of inevitable duties. Side by side with this effort I hope to progress with a preliminary treatment of the Pahlavi Sanskrit and Persian texts of other parts of the Yasna and Vendidad on the plan mentioned. I should also report that I seem to have secured a serious adhesion in reference to some reforming suggestions as to the decipherment of the Zend alphabet itself as distinguished from that of the Pahlavi. A somewhat full article which appeared in the last (October) Heft of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society engaged the acquiescent sympathy of certain distinguished scholars who saw it in manuscript before its publication, and this I regard as important in view of the new matter suggested.

If but one-half of what specialists report as to the elements of interest involved in the study of it be in fact the truth, many who have no time to enter into the professional details of this laborious speciality will greatly desire to acquire a general view of it based upon the solid results already attained. For the benefit of such persons let me say what indeed will seem to them somewhat unaccountable: it is that the extraordinary difficulties of the Gāthas have reference largely to technical detail. Just that which makes them most difficult to advanced experts, viz., their sparse expression, makes them to a certain degree all the more accessible to one who values them chiefly for

¹ Mills' "Werk, das ergebniss langjähriger Mühe und entzagungsvoller Arbeit, vereinigt bis auf ein Wörterbuch das in Aussicht gestellt wird, alles was für die Erklärung der Gāthas nothwendig ist . . . Immer wird es die Grundlage bilden auf der sich Vede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss. Mills hat mit ihm der Avesta forschung einen hervorragenden Dienst geleistet."—Professor Pischel, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Heft ii, 1896).

their high moral tone. Incredible as it may appear to a novice, some of the most difficult strophes in the Gāthas (that is to say, some of the most difficult to those who exact an absolute certainty as to the precise literary point of the detailed sentences) are made up of words of the simplest description, so that the translation of the actual terms of the greater part of the strophes into the cognate Sanskrit possesses no difficulty at all ;¹ and even word-for-word imitations in Latin can often vary from each other only in the *choice of synonyms*. An acquisition of a knowledge of the consecutive terms is, with the exception of inscrutable forms here and there, by no means a very intricate undertaking, and these literal terms convey what Biblical students most admire, viz., the depth of the moral sentiment and the height of its fervour. We might even leave all the more difficult words untranslated, indicating the spaces which their rendering would occupy by blanks, and very much of great importance would be left; indeed, it would not be too much to say that the most of what we value them for would still be preserved. One reason for this state of things has been already stated: great difficulties may occur on a part of a strophe which bears on ideas of a secondary or qualifying importance (to the general theme). But these differences in opinion as to exegesis are also robbed of their fatal severity by that cause to which I have already alluded, but which I will now state again in a new form, and draw from it a vitally important conclusion. It was this, as expanded (see above on p. 277) : one of two, three, or even four slightly or flagrantly differing renderings, as is usual in similar cases, may be the correct one; but, what is seldom indeed the case, not one of the two, three, or four varying views, grossly as they may differ, can possibly avoid expressing what we most value in our researches.

If the 'good mind' when meaning the 'good man' has that sense only with a full inclusion of all that the good

¹ See Roth's "Festgrüss," p. 192.

mind meant in the Gāthas (see above)—if Asha never meant the 'church' in them without a solemn reference to the 'law' which the church embodied, etc. (see above on page 277)—why, then, the terminology absolutely shuts out the purely commonplace sense (almost, if not quite, totally) everywhere, and it shuts in the expression of moral and religious depth.¹

I am the first Professor who has taught on Zend philology in Oxford since Thomas Hyde expounded such parts of it as had been then discovered in the year 1700.² That the subject should have been so long neglected is, indeed, to be regretted; and it is to be hoped that we may pursue it now with vigour.

As is implied in what I have already said, the first duty of an accredited specialist on such a subject is to contribute toward its completion as a legitimate branch of science, and this can only be done by printed books.

Knowledge which is locked up in a single memory has but a precarious tenure; and becomes also exaggerated in public estimation. It must, moreover, perish with the life of its possessor. Every specialist on such a subject as Zend philology is, or should be, well-nigh overwhelmed with labour, all of which must ultimately come to press. I offer, of course, no exception to this rule, and I cheerfully give the rest of my life under the providence of God to this duty.

I will close by citing the remark of a respected writer in the *Critical Review* of January, 1896: "The Gāthas, or

¹ Surely to many of us it is (for instance) of inferior importance whether a sentence means 'finding the way to God' or 'finding His throne'; the 'way' must lead to the 'throne,' and 'the throne' is found by 'the way'; and yet this uncertainty occurs in a passage of the utmost difficulty, where a positive decision is almost impossible.

² It was in this year that he published his "*Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*." He was one of the most distinguished Orientalists of his time (born 1636, came to Oxford 1658, made Reader of Hebrew 1659, Keeper of the Bodleian in the same year, in 1665 was appointed Librarian-in-chief, 1673 Archdeacon of Gloucester, 1691 Laudian Professor of Arabic, 1697 Regius Professor of Hebrew, Eastern interpreter at the Court under Charles II, James II, and William III, died in Oxford 1703).

Hymns, of Zoroaster are by far the most precious relic which we possess of Oriental religion; the only sacred literature which in dignity, profoundness, in purity of thought, and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine, could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew scriptures."

ART. X.—*Notes on the Origin of the 'Lunar' and 'Solar' Aryan Tribes, and on the 'Rājput' Clans.* By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

By way of explanation, I may be permitted to say that having been for some time engaged on an inquiry into the history of the various kinds of Indian *landlord* tenure,¹ not as a matter of theory, but on the basis of local facts, it became necessary to consider the origin and distribution of the tribes or clans to which the landlord classes most commonly belong. A number of notes were thus accumulated; and I thought it might be useful to put them together, much more in the hope of receiving correction, and of thus gaining information, than with the design of imparting it. It at once appears, as regards Northern India, that of the superior proprietor class when 'Hindu,' or at least originally Hindu, a large proportion belongs to the tribes known as 'Rājput.' Some of the higher families, however, now resent being so designated, and call themselves 'Kshatriya.'² The latter name, again, is usually understood to have reference to the military and ruling caste of ancient times,

¹ Which I hope eventually to publish in continuation of my study of the Indian *village* communities and their tenures.

² Or in the spoken form *Khatri*. This, in fact, is the equivalent of 'Kshatriya,' and not the word *Khatri*, which is also in use but indicates quite another caste. The latter has no real connection with the old military order, though sometimes attempts are made to assert such a connection. The objection to be called 'Rājput' is quite modern, the reason being that 'Rājput' now applies to a large group of caste-men who have become agricultural, and have even taken to cultivating with their own hands (saving only the touch of the *plough*—not that!). The higher families therefore desire some distinguishing name, and naturally assert that of the twice-born caste of old. Yet when the name *Rājput* was first used, it certainly was in a laudatory sense, meaning the royal or ruling race.

and to have been comprised in two great groups known as 'Solar' and 'Lunar' respectively. It was almost inevitable to inquire whether anything could be ascertained about the (probable) real birthplace and connection of the so-called 'Rājput' races. So much is clear, that the names of the various clans and septs are not names which occur in any early literature; and they can but rarely be connected, even by any tradition that will stand the slightest analysis, with the Kshatriya races of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. The term 'Rājput' seems rather to have been invented expressly to meet the case of conquering or ruling clans and houses whose origin did not, in general, enable them to be linked with the established 'Solar' or 'Lunar' genealogies.

I am informed that the term 'rāja-putra' often occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of 'prince' or 'king's son,' but is not used as the designation of a caste or tribe before the eleventh century. The question, however, deserves further investigation. The term certainly is much connected with the idea of the "thirty-six royal houses," and the latter seems to have originated with the mediæval bards. Some of the largest Rājput clans are professedly *not* connected with the Solar and Lunar races. When such a connection *is* asserted, it is rarely due to any other cause than to the natural desire of bards and genealogists to find an 'orthodox' origin for their princes whose clan had become famous in the land and whose dignity was acknowledged. In most cases, customs, history, and birthplace are all against such an origin. But here I refer to a connection with the earlier races of the most familiar centre—the Ganges Valley and the old states of Indraprastha, Kāśī, and Magadha, or the 'Solar' kingdom of Ayodhya. For there *is* a more tangible connection, in some cases, with the Aryan stock, in the fact that some Rājputs are derived from, or mixed up with, the great YĀDAVA tribe or group of tribes. Now since uniform tradition represents Yadu (the ancestor) as a brother of Puru, the progenitor of the 'Lunar' tribes

(their common father being Yayāti), it follows that the Yādavas are, in a sense, 'Lunar.' But it is noteworthy that with Yayāti (or perhaps with *his* father, Nahuṣa) all knowledge of ancestry ceases, and the earlier names in the table are of mythical persons—the moon, the earth, the planet Mercury (Budha), etc. I shall therefore take the liberty of confining the term 'Lunar' to the Ganges Valley group—the reputed descendants of Puru, and better known as the Kuru-Pañcāla families. To make 'Lunar' apply to both, would be to render undistinguishable two totally distinct groups. For, assuming the entry of the Aryan confederate tribes at the north-west corner of India, all literature and tradition point to a wide and early separation between the Yādava tribes who took the Indus Valley line, and the other tribes who went eastward—crossing the Panjāb and gradually occupying the whole of the Ganges plain as far as the sea. These two groups I shall distinguish as the 'Western' and 'Eastern' (or Ganges Valley) Aryans. Once separated they always remained apart; distinct in dialect, in social character, and, for a long time, in religion. They were separated in the north by the intervening Panjāb plains, and in the south by the line of the Narbada and the Vindhyan Hills. The two groups were only brought in contact in after times (1) by the curious formation and movement (*viā* the Chambal Valley) of the Śūrasena branch, of whom came Krishna,¹ who entered into an alliance with the Pāṇḍava; and (2) by the vague contact of the Haihaya king Sahasra-arjuna with the (Brahman) Bhṛgu tribe (Paraśurāma), and, some generations later, of the Tālajaṅgha branch of the same with a king of Ikshwāku descent. Owing to the peculiarity of the Sun-worshipping or Solar tribes, there is a thread of connection in that line, which, however, does not necessarily attach to *the* (Brahmanic) Solar group of Oudh. I take the opportunity of noting that I keep the 'Solar' history entirely distinct, putting what has to be said about it in a separate section.

¹ I permit myself to use the familiar form, for simplicity of printing, instead of the more accurate Kṛṣṇa.

Notwithstanding that the Rājputs are largely foreign and post-Aryan, it is impossible to deal with their history without considering the general facts about the 'Lunar' and 'Solar' genealogies. In doing this, literary and traditional statements have been taken as they stand, and for what they are worth; their continuity, and even probability, are sometimes attested by coins and inscriptions. It is, of course, open to anyone to attribute them all to fancy, or to explain them allegorically. On the other hand, among a people so retentive of genealogical reminiscences—as far as human or natural progenitors are concerned—it seems to me unlikely that the lists of kings and their forefathers are wholly imaginary. It is quite possible that a genealogy may be genuine up to a certain point, and that where further knowledge failed recourse was had to mythical or supernatural ancestors; the *whole* is not thereby rendered suspicious.¹ Moreover, different genealogies contain variations, whether by change or addition. These very variations tend to show that there is a real basis. Whether this is so or not, it is worth while seeing what the literary references, traditions, and 'gotrāchārya' really do assert or imply.

It is not beyond the memory of living persons that the generally received opinion regarding the 'Aryan' races represented the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans as forming the chief, if not the only, important element in the population of all ranks throughout India.² The Aryans, so it was believed, in the course of their general advance into India, met with some barbarous, snub-nosed, black tribes of little importance; these they put to flight, driving them to refuge, either in the outer Himalayan ranges in the north, or to the Vindhyan Hills of the centre, or to places still further south. Aryans then filled the land, as far as it was adapted for immediate occupation. They it was who

¹ Moreover, where some mythic story is introduced, impossible to connect with real persons, it is very likely to be an allegorical way of representing some real occurrence, which could not be explained.

² Excluding, that is, the originally Moslem tribes and those non-Aryans who are conventionally called 'aboriginal.'

introduced agriculture, and practised it in 'village communities' by their Vaiśya caste, aided by the Śūdra or servile, fourth, caste; and the whole country was ruled over by Kshatriya kings, with the help of Brahman councillors. The Brahmanic caste and religion were assumed as everywhere dominant. Little attention was paid to the indications that there were other tribes of importance who appear to have entered India about the same time as the Aryans, or perhaps before them; and that these were not always disposed to yield submission to the Brahmanic yoke. Little attention also was paid to the subsequent irruptions, or to the great changes that must have taken place locally, when successions of Śakā, Kuṣāṇ, Gurjara, and Hūṇa tribes came to India. Nor was allowance made for the important influence of some of these tribes, whose language must have already had affinities with the Sanskrit, and to which we owe the Pāli element in language and the Kharoṣṭhi character. These Northern races sooner or later abandoned their original worship of the Sun and the Serpent (or both?) and adopted Jainism, or, still more widely, Buddhism. The great body of Jaina or Buddhist tribes were not converts (or perverts) from orthodox Brahmanism, in whatever stage of development. I am not aware of any evidence of wholesale conversions (I do not say individual cases) of tribes from Brahmanism to Jainism or Buddhism. Rather those separate faiths were adopted by clans who were either far removed from contact with Brahmanical developments, or who never accepted them until long after Epic and Puranic history closes.

In the absence of such corrective considerations, the Brahmanic stories reported indiscriminatingly by Tod and others were accepted; and it was taken, as a matter demanding no further inquiry, that the 'Rājputs' were of 'Solar' or 'Lunar' origin, as the case might be; and that, in fact, they continued, unbroken, the line of the old military caste. This general acquiescence in a prominently Aryan, Brahmanic, or 'Sanskrit' origin for everything was, however, not unnatural, seeing that, as a fact, 'Hindu'

dialects, as well as caste and religious observances, *have* spread widely and coloured the greater part of Indian social life to a surprising extent, although the result was reached in a way other than that commonly supposed. And to this day we are perhaps too much inclined to 'Sanskritize' everything.¹

If we look to the actual extension of Aryan speech, and note the regions where Sanskrit is substantially the basis of popular language, both north of the Narbada and in the west and centre of India, it is evident that Aryan influence must have had its source partly in the actual early settlement of Aryan clans and partly in later changes effected by Brahmanic missionaries. If we imagine a map of India, coloured *red* where Aryan speech mostly prevails and *blue* where the Dravidian and Kolarian, etc., were but slightly affected; and if we draw a double line across the continent, following the double line of the Vindhyan ranges, north and south of the Narbada, we observe that the country north of the upper line is *red*, and most purely so in the Madhyadeśa or central region of the Ganges. In the further regions of the south the *blue* would be almost unchanged, since the Telugu, Tamil, and other local languages have only received additions from the Sanskrit, but the basis of

¹ In a quite recent authority I have seen it objected that the Hūna must be referred, not to the Huns of the fifth century, but to some other 'Kshatriya' race, because they appear in a text of Manu or in the Purāṇa, etc. But is there sufficient reason to believe that these texts, whether by origin or later recension, are earlier than the first few centuries of our era? So, too, when strange names in Hebrew appear for articles of commerce imported by King Solomon (1000 B.C.) from India, we immediately set about discovering Sanskrit origins for the words. What Sanskrit-speaking people had by that time so prevailed as to have made their speech the common language of commerce on the West Coast of India? What possible Sanskrit name (to take a single example) could there be for 'sandalwood,' when the tree does not grow in or near any country in which a Sanskrit-speaking people had established themselves? Maisur, the home of *Santalum album*, was not an Aryan country, and only became 'Hinduized' at a late date, when it acquired a Brahmanic dynasty. As a matter of fact we find the old *Dravidian* name of the product adopted into Sanskrit (as well as into every Indian dialect and even into Burmese) when the wood became an article of commerce throughout India. I do not say that the 'almug' or 'algun' of Scripture can be directly traced to a Dravidian name, as most of the other words can. We must make allowance also for the uncertainty of the kind of wood intended, and for the possibility of a name being transmuted (or substituted) by trading intermediaries from the coast of Arabia or Africa. But certainly there is no Sanskrit original.

the language is not Sanskritic. But the upper part of the country below the lower line would be less easily distinguished. A sharp division as to colour would not be possible. The Narbada Valley itself would be chiefly *red*. As to the country beyond it, at the western end an extensive and well-marked suffusion of *red* would cover Gujarāt, the Western Dakhan, and the Upper West Coast; at the eastern end, a smaller suffusion would cover (but not entirely) Orissa. At the eastern end, too, of the Vindhyan hill country there would be some Aryan element, owing to intercourse between Bāghelkhand and the region of Magadha beyond; while in the middle the present much 'Hinduized' dialect of the Central Provinces is due to later events.¹

But it is not enough merely to distinguish areas in which the speech was more or less affected by a dominant Sanskritic element. The subject is one regarding which I have no pretensions to be able to speak; but so much seems correct to say, that within the large area coloured *red* on our imaginary map, the Sanskrit grammarians (I believe not before the fifth century) distinguish *three* principal variations—which were doubtless intended, each, to include several subordinate varieties. The *western* area was characterized by the MAHĀRĀṢṬRĪ, the *central* by the ŚŪRASENĪ, while Upper India had an *eastern* portion distinguished by the MAGADHĪ. This is exclusive of the Southern dialects, which cannot properly be treated as 'Prakrits,' though naturally they were so imagined by Brahman writers. It may be reasonably supposed that these writers, living perhaps near Ujjain or Kanauj or some other orthodox centre, regarded the general Aryanized speech of Central Upper India or Madhyadeśa, as the standard; so that the three named are the prominent variants *from that standard*. These authors were perhaps too centrally situated to know of the *ancient* Aryan element in distant Kāśmīr, or of the

¹ See Gazetteer Cent. Prov., Introd., p. cxvii. It was not till after the reign of Akbar that any considerable Hindi-speaking population extended beyond the Narbada districts.

Sindhi with its archaic traces, or of the Sanskrit basis of Panjāb speech. Now the Mahārāṣṭrī region (including, I suppose, the minor variants of Kaçch, Gujarāt, or Marwār) does really show a region where special causes for a change can be assigned; and so in the case of the (Śūrasenī) area of the Chambal Valley. The same is true of the Magadha country about Patna and Gāyā, and perhaps including the Bhojpuri dialect of part of Bihār. It is impossible to suppose that these marked variations arose among pure Aryan settlers, merely differentiated by time and locality. It is true the Aryan tribes themselves did differ, as they came to rule over different regions in the course of their separate progress; but the variations are much more due to admixture, not with a few scattered local families, but with numerous and not uncivilized non-Aryan races, either preceding or accompanying them. Largely also they may have been developed by a subsequent addition of foreign races—notably so in the case of Magadha, Central Rajputāna, and Western India.

Now it is curious that both the geographical conditions and the traditional evidence, combine to explain, in each case, what the general cause of the local difference was, even though details may often remain obscure. For example, the 'Śūrasenī' centre: tradition tells us of a branch of the Aryans who came, not at all with the Lunar Aryans to the Ganges plain, but separately, by the western line, to a home in the Narbada Valley. It was a subdivision of *this* group that extended northwards up the Chambal Valley. As their ultimate centres were at the further part of the valley, with Mathurā and Bindraban on the Yamunā for their capitals, they were thus brought into a certain contact with the Eastern Aryans. And as Krishna was born in this family, and was afterwards worshipped (with Mathurā as a centre of the cult), the whole *locale* became famous. The development of this cult, its immense popularity, and the connection established between its centre and the western peninsula of Gujarāt, are among the most curious features of Indian history. Then, again, Magadha

was notoriously a special or distinct centre,¹ not only because of the early Kolarian races in it, but also because of foreign (Turanian) rulers, the Śeśnāga and the Maurya, whose capital (Pāṭaliputra) was in the region. And we have an even more complete explanation of how Western India came to be differentiated.

As it is the West that calls for special attention in connection with the Rājput clans, I may just remind readers of the distinctive character of the now Hindu population of the West, with its Mahrātha chiefs, its superior mercantile caste, and its energetic 'Kunbi' tribes, all-important as regards number and agricultural supremacy. And it is notorious that these people are different both from the people of North India as from those of Madras.² This

¹ I must not go into details about this curious country: but I may say in a footnote that the earliest (epic) legend places the kingdom in the hands of a tribe who are (in the R̥gveda) closely connected with the Bharata, who take as their leader the (Kusika) Viśvāmitra. But before long we find the dynasty of Jarāsandha (always belonging to the Lunar genealogy, but in reality indicating some fusion of the Kusika race with the Lunar Aryans) not only ruling Magadha, with its largely Kolarian population, but extending his power all round, overthrowing the Solar princes to the north-west of his dominion, and threatening Mathurā. Then in the course of time—perhaps owing to a general destruction of Lunar princes in the Great War—we find the Aryan dynasty replaced by one whose designation, Śeśnāga (or Śiśunāga), indicates a Turanian, serpent-worshipping, origin, and probably a connection with the Nāgaśāsi houses which, at an undetermined date, established dominion over the Kolarian inhabitants of Chudiyā Nāgpur and Eastern Central Provinces. The advent of these non-Aryan rulers, whether as a new importation or a revival of a power already in India, seems to synchronize with the 'prophecy' of the Vishnu-Purāṇa that pure Kshatriyā kings would cease, and the Yavana, Tuzāra, etc., reign in their stead. At the end of the Śeśnāg times, the Maurya appear; and whether we accept the improbable Buddhist account (Max Müller, *Hist. S. Lit.*, p. 283 ff.) or the Hindu, the originator was certainly a foreigner. He is found in connection with Taxila in the north; and that, in Alexander's time, was the capital, if not of the Takā, still of a serpent-worshipping king. It is apparently from Magadha that the foreign Andhra (*Gens Andara* of Pliny) originate, though they are known chiefly as dominating the northern Telugu country. Being Buddhists, Manu speaks of them with contempt (i, 36), as he does of the Licchavi (i, 22), though the latter were of great power and dignity (Corp. Ins., iii, 135). Not only was there this strong influx of foreign rulers, but there must have been a large Kolarian (Magh) element in the population. Zimmer mentions that in the Atharvanveda Magadha is alluded to as a 'mixed' race. (*Altind. Leb.*, p. 216; see also p. 35.)

² Mahārāstra probably began to receive an Aryan (Yādava) element almost as soon as the Ganges Valley, if not before it. I cannot readily adopt the derivation of the name from *mahā* = 'magna regio.' More probable is the origin from Mahār, the name of a once important Dravidian people whose relics still exist. The country is not mentioned by *this name* in the Mahābhārata (?), but much later in the Mahāvamso, in connection with the sending of Buddhist

Western Aryan influence is traceable southwards as far as the upper part of the North Kānara District.¹ It received a gradual expansion eastward up to and after the seventh century; but it was evidently very ancient in the Upper Western districts—in the Dakhan highland, and along the Narbada Valley as far as the Ādi country to the north-east of the present Central Provinces.

If we look to the Vedas as our earliest sources of information, we do not expect to find the means of making a complete list of Aryan and allied tribes, or of tracing the order of their movements. But what indications there are, fit in with what is said in the Epics and Purāṇas. The most important point has been alluded to already, viz., that when the tribes—such of them as did not remain in Kāśmīr, Gandhāra, etc.—reached the plains, one group, and that a powerful body, occupied the Indus Valley, and (naturally) also the country immediately adjacent on the east (such as the Śauvīra land, so often mentioned along with Sindhu); and there is evidence that in remote times they extended as far as the Indus mouths. From such a position the group of tribes, as they multiplied or were joined by cognate (or other) tribes of later date from the Western passes, must have been attracted by the wealth and sea trade of Gujarāt, and have extended in that direction, and thence up the Narbada and Tapti Valleys and over Upper Western India in general. But another group of Aryan tribes and allies extended in the other direction, viz., away from the Indus towards the Jamna and Ganges. The evidence does not show any considerable or permanent early Aryan domination of the central plains of the Panjāb. The reason can only be conjectured: it was partly because other tribes were already in possession, and still more because, in the absence

missions after the third synod, apparently in Asoka's time (Lassen, ii, 246). Varāha Mihira calls the people by this name. When the Mughals conquered the country (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) they corrupted or changed the name of the people (Mahrāṭha) into Marhāṭṭa, which means 'robber.' Hwen Tsang speaks of the country as having a large capital, which perhaps means the seat of the West Chalukya dynasty.

¹ North Kanara District Manual, vol. ii, 25.

of irrigation (in such early times), settlement would not have been invited by the nature of the country, except in the immediate vicinity of the rivers.¹ In any case the bulk of the tribes crossed the Panjāb plains, and went eastward to and beyond the Jamna. We are not surprised to find that in after times the people and kings of the Sindh country and the adjoining West and South Panjāb, are regarded almost as foreigners (along with the frontier Śaka, Yavana, etc.), and intercourse with them was less frequent. But there seems to have been some special determining cause for this continued separation, beyond the mere accidents of tribal movement. The Mahābhārata seems to point to some schism or quarrel; for the Panjāb is declared to be impure, and unfit for decent Aryans to live in even for two days; and that, because the people would not obey Brahmanic ordinances, "na hi brahmaçaryam çaranti." And in the time of Pāṇinī the distinction is also to some extent accentuated; these people, says the grammarian, are without kingly government and religious ordinances.² From this we may infer that all the Brahman families of any importance led, or accompanied, the eastward-going tribes; any that remained were regarded as 'degraded,' and would not have shared in the development of religion, law, philosophy, and literature that was destined to take place in the Ganges Valley.

¹ Such a fertile region as Jālandhar (Trigarta) might (e.g.) have early been inhabited, either at once or by an early expansion, from the Ganges Valley settlement. I refer only to permanent settlements; the early Aryans, being largely pastoral, may have formed temporary encampments on the banks of the rivers.

² No doubt in the course of time this idea of impurity would fade away. Adventurous princes seeking new settlements would soon disregard it, and in any case, could have found domains like those of the 'Porns' of Alexander's time, where they were not in contact with impure races. Later on the M. represents the Pāṇḍava princes as making alliance with the Bāhikā, Madra, etc., of the Panjāb. Brahmins, too, would be tempted to return in order to extend the sphere of their influence, just as they penetrated into other 'uncivilized' regions. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, ii, 181; Muir, A.S.T., ii, 482.) The *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. i, p. 13, note) refers to a similar impurity, except in the case of pilgrimages, attaching to the more distant countries of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, and Saurāṣṭra: (this last addition is very curious, since in the Rāmāyana, Saurāṣṭra is an Aryan land). In Manu's time it would seem that the Panjāb was reckoned as an 'Aryan country,' since (ii, 19) 'Āryāvarta' takes in the whole land between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, as far as the ocean, both east and west.

I may pause for a moment to remark how the geographical features of the country assisted in keeping separate the two groups, so that their later movement and expansion continued to take them farther and farther apart. For the Panjāb plains being a barrier westward, the Indus Valley group would expand downwards to Western India, as already stated. In that course of movement, the barrier of the Vindhyan Hills would keep them separate from the Ganges Valley Aryans. And let me add that not only did the hill ranges themselves form an obstacle, but the whole belt of country between the Jamna-Ganges on the north and the Narbada—where the first Vindhyan ranges are reached, must have been for a long time something in the nature of a 'neutral ground.' It was only locally and sparsely inhabited: in part it was barren, hilly, and inhospitable; in part it was forest-clad, and inhabited chiefly by 'Niṣāda.' The earliest indications suggest only the rich plateau of Avanti (near the Narbada Valley) as dominated by Aryan kings; while at the eastern end were the Çedi, perhaps identical with the Vatsya people of the further Madhyadeśa above. Rājputāna and Northern Central India were not colonized till long afterwards, when the Yādava began to be driven from the Indus and Panjāb, and when the general movement began which is noticeable about the sixth and seventh centuries.

But turning to the Vindhyan barrier itself: had the line (or rather lines) extended right across the continent to the extreme West Coast, not only would the Aryans of the Ganges have been kept (as they were) out of Southern India, but the 'Western' group would have been unable to extend as they did; and the whole course of subsequent historic conquests would have been changed. Neither Yādava,¹ and their allies, nor Greeks, nor Indo-Scythian 'satraps,' nor the Gurjara, nor the Arabs, nor, lastly,

¹ I cannot say I believe in the Yādava approaching Gujarāt, etc., by sea. Why should they? It is not, however, impossible that they sent trading vessels from the Indus mouths to the West Coast. But no other tribes came by sea. As to the formidable nature of the obstacle presented by the Vindhyan Hills, now much modified by road and railway, see my "Ind. Village Community," p. 45.

Mahmūd of Ghaznī and the later emigrant Kāthi tribes, would have reached Kaçch, Gujarāt, and the West, however much attracted by the prospect of desirable possessions. But the barrier does not so continue. At some considerable distance from the mouth of the Narbada the upper line of hills stops short and turns northward. The whole of Gujarāt from Kaçch to the Narbada is thus directly open towards the Indus Valley on the north-west. Nothing but a desert tract intervenes, and that would present but little difficulty to lightly equipped armies and tribal groups of early times—at any rate, during some seasons of the year. Moreover, the desert could in some cases be skirted round.¹ Once in the level country of Eastern Gujarāt, the West Coast districts were directly accessible; the whole Narbada Valley lay open up to Jabalpur; the lower (parallel) valley of the Tapti opened in to Berār (very early known as Vidarbha) and Kānhdēś, till the eastern central hills and jungles rendered further progress difficult. Nor would the country of the Mahrāṭha highlands—Ahmadnagar, etc.—be inaccessible; and it would offer many advantageous strongholds.

It should not be forgotten that this configuration also directed the movement of the earliest Turanian or Dravidian tribes who colonized the South, and who seem to have come through the Western passes (where they left a local trace in the Brahūi tribe). These tribes may have been nearly contemporaneous with the Yādava in their movement. Aryan tribes coming by this line would bring in their national and linguistic influence, without coming in contact with the Eastern Aryans; the two might have remained more entirely apart than they actually did but for the Chambal Valley settlement, to which allusion has

¹ We know as a matter of history how in the eleventh century Mahmūd, coming through the Western passes beyond the Indus, crossed the river at Uçch, skirted round the desert, touching Ajmer and the Abu country, and thence moved directly on the plain towards the north of Gujarāt and came to Anhilpur, whence he crossed the peninsula to attack Somnāth. A similar route must have suggested itself to many other earlier adventurers. Others would, at possible seasons, have crossed the open desert and the 'Iripa' or Ruin.

been made. It seems also that before very long the route from Gujarāt to Mālwa, and thence to Ajmer (*vid* Dohād, Ratlam, and Mandasor), became known and used. Further east there would in time be communication from the country above the Upper Narbada and Bāghelkhand: but the far-Eastern people there met with would be hardly more advanced or Brahmanical than the tribes of the Narbada itself.

We may now return to the Vedic and Epic notices of tribal movement. In the R̥gveda a number of tribes are mentioned by name—some clearly Aryan or confederate, others hostile or alien.¹ The 'Aryavarna' are naturally the central object. Two points directly concern us. One is that not the least notice is taken of any descendants of Ikshwāku (reputed ancestor of the Solar race) going eastward towards Ayodhya, or joining the Aryan host in the eastward march. Possibly, therefore, such a move may have taken place before the times represented by the Vedic hymns. On the other hand, there is mention of the Ikshwāku house or family as ruling in the Indus Valley at or near Pātāla. This shows an 'Indus' or 'western' location of 'Solar' races, and illustrates the rather curious assignment (in the Vishnu-Purāṇa) of another Solar *locale* to Saurāṣṭra. The second point is that the 'aryavarna' is principally represented by the 'pañcakṛtaya,' or five races who are descended from, or named after, Anu, Druhyu, Turvaṣa, Yadu, and Puru.² But four other important tribes, in close relation to them, are named. (1) The Tṛtsu under the king Divodasa and his son Sudās are apparently orthodox Aryans, under the guidance of Vasiṣṭha and

¹ It is not necessary for my purpose to take any note of the several names that are doubtful or disputed. The 'dasyu' or enemies are, I suppose, certain tribes in the Northern hills; for the Niṣāda or Bhīl tribes would hardly have been met with so far north of the Jamna forest region (see Zimmer as to the Parṇaka, *Altind. Leb.*, p. 38). The R̥gveda does not represent a stage of progress beyond the Ganges—I might say the Sutlej-Jamna. But already there were 'Abi' or snake-worshipping tribes, as there were in the Panjāb, centuries later, in Alexander's time.

² Zimmer, p. 122, collects the places of this mention: R̥g., i, 103. 3; viii, 19. 5, etc.

specially helped by Indra.¹ As enemies of Sudās, (2) the Matsya people are once mentioned.² The Tṛtsu are at one time in conflict with the 'five' and afterwards are opposed by the Bharata, and ultimately cross the Jamna and settle there, apparently near the upper part opposite the Sutej. They are heard of no more, and are never mentioned in the Epics or Purāṇas. But the Matsya reappear, closely allied with their neighbours the Pañcāla in the great war, and are settled on the west bank of the Jamna, somewhere north of the place of the disappearance of the Saraswati, and apparently close to where the Tṛtsu once were.³ The others are (3) the Bharata and (4) Kuśika tribes, mentioned together. The Bharata (called puny, arbhakūsaḥ) are driven back across the Bīās and Sutej, apparently to a settlement further east.⁴ There is no further mention of them in the R̥gveda; but they appear as an exceedingly numerous people in Epic times, and were certainly settled in the country east of the Jamna. Further remark about them is, however, made under the head of the 'Solar' tribes. The Aryans frequently quarrel among themselves, as ever afterwards. But the whole of the allusions point to the tribes being not alone, or merely meeting with locally settled enemies who are overthrown; they are accompanied or surrounded by other tribes, many of them not Aryan; this general remark is true whatever difference of opinion may exist as to whether this or that tribe named is or is not meant to be 'Aryan.'

As regards the 'five tribes' themselves, Puru is supposed by Zimmer to have come from an earlier settlement on the

¹ The Tṛtsu are called the sacrifice-loving 'Kshatriya sons of Sudās' (R̥g., iii, 20. 7). As to their help from Indra and crossing the Jamna, see Zimmer, p. 126.

² R̥g., vii, 8. 16.

³ This appears from the Rāmāyana, ii, 71, v. 5, 6 (Lassen). And Zimmer, p. 127, refers to the Mahābhārata for the same. The place assigned in Lassen's map (in vol. ii) is quite opposed to this, and many, many miles too far east. But it is explained that the Matsya (also called Kirāta) afterwards extended further east to the neighbourhood of the Qedi.

⁴ R̥g., iii, 33; but it is desirable that this should be cleared up.

Indas.¹ Anu may be intended to appear as first settled on the banks of the Paruṣṇi or Rāvi.² Nothing is said about Drubhyu or Turvaśa; but Yada and Turvaśa are mentioned together, and this may suggest a remoter, north-western or western home, in union, of their tribes. Drubhyu and Anu are also mentioned together; and both names are afterwards (in the Epics) associated with the 'derelict' tribes in the Panjāb and those beyond Peshāwar. Turvaśa is mentioned also with Śrñjaya³; this name afterwards appears in the Epic genealogy as that of one of the five Pañcāla brothers. And when the 'five tribes' are opposed by the Tṛtsu, they are aided by a people with a name in dual form—the Vaikarna. Zimmer has given good reason for concluding that this name represents the Kuru-Kṛvi people who are afterwards so prominent east of the Jamna.⁴ The Veda suggests no blood affinity between the 'five' and these Kuru-Pañcāla; it remains for the Epics and Purāṇas to assert it.

The Mahābhārata of course represents, in general, a much later stage of settlement and a greatly extended geographical knowledge.⁵ The real theatre of action is the country of the Eastern Aryans, though the Yādava and their offshoots,

¹ The 'Saraswati' is so interpreted: Rg., vii, 96. 2.

² Rg., viii, 74. 15.

³ Zimmer, p. 124.

⁴ The name Kuru does not occur in the Veda, but there are references to the Kauravya people: the Kṛvi are actually named; and we learn from the Satapatha Br. that Kṛvi was the ancient name of the Pañcāla people.

⁵ It is not of much use to enumerate the tribes and countries noticed, because it is so uncertain what is the date of each portion of the poem—whether any mention is in the original or of later interpolation. Taking the text as we have it, we find that the Panjāb and Sindh tribes are regarded rather as foreigners, though sons of the Aryan Yada, Anu, etc. The Aryan home is the Madhyadesa. The Upper Doāb (on both sides of the Jamna) has become the site of the kingdoms of Indraprastha and Hastinapura. The Southern Doāb is Pañcāla, Benares (Kāśī) and the Matsya country are long settled. So is the Chambal (Carmanvatī) region, and part at least of what was afterwards called Mālwa. The Narbada Valley is occupied. East of that is the Cedi country and Mahākosa (Raipur and the Chattisgarh plain), also Berār (Vidarbha), and perhaps Kāñhdel. So is the Tapti Valley, the Upper Dakhan (Dakshinapatha), and Saurāstra. Little notice is taken of Ayodhya or Kosala; vague reference is made to the Southern as also to the Eastern and North-Eastern Kingdoms, and even to Sīnāhala or Ceylon. The serpent-worshipping tribes are in full possession, and make the subject of many legends. The Aryans have gained ground quite as much by marriages and alliances as by force of arms.

Haihaya, Tālajaṅgha, Śūrasena, and also Bhoja, as well as the Magadha kings, are all spoken of. Puru now appears as chief, although younger than Yadu; for he acquires the place of honour as "having given his youth to restore his father (Yayāti's) strength." The other sons fall into the background: Anu, Druhyu, and Turvaśa are all connected with the more distant kingdoms, with which the poet has little concern. Anu is the father of the abandoned Panjāb tribes—Madra, Bāhikā, etc.,¹ also called Aratṭa, and settled near the Yādava of the Indus region. Turvaśa is generally represented as the progenitor of the Yavana, a term used for the 'Greeks'—when they were in evidence—but more generally applied to a group of cognate tribes on the west and north-west frontiers of India.² He is also the father of the Angā, generally placed in N.E. Bengal at the other end of Upper India; this is curious because of a thread of connection often appearing between foreign ruling clans in Magadha, and the *North-West* frontier. Naturally, perhaps, the sound of 'Anga' makes some authors refer to 'Anu.' Druhyu is sometimes the ancestor of the (N.W.) Gandhāra people, and sometimes of the Bhoja. This variation reflects the uncertainty which hangs over the much-wandering Bhoja, who, apparently of Yādava connection, may very well belong to an earlier home in the North-West. The fact is quite clear, that all these remoter kingdoms on the North, North-West, East, and North-East, are regarded as rather out of the pale; and authors are in some doubt about their exact origin.

¹ As to Anu's connection with Anarttā, part of Saurāstra, there is a difference. The V.P. associates it and the city Kuśasthali with a son of one of Ikshvāku's brothers, from whom came Revata, whose daughter married Balarāma, brother of Kṛishna (Wilson, p. 354). But Trga, a descendant of Anu, gives rise to the (historic) Yaudheya tribe of the Lower Sutlej Valley, who were attacked by Rudradāman, the 'Western Satrap,' about 150 A.D. In R.'s inscription (at Gīrnār) they are placed along with the Panjāb Mālava (Mallī) and Madra (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 885 ff.). The M. represents Yudhiṣṭhira as having a son called Yaudheya by a daughter of the king of the Sibi (Lassen, i, 792).

² This is stated, in so many words, in the V.P. (Wilson, pp. 175 and 177), which first mentions 'Yavana,' and a little further explains that the term includes the Sindhu, Sauvīra, Hūpa, Śālva people, those of Śākala, Madra, Ambasthā, etc.

The more purely 'Aryan' settlers of Upper India are all derived from a common ancestor, *PURU*, who has (as I have said) gained pre-eminence over his brethren. But the secondary progenitor, *KURU*, soon becomes more prominent; and the designation 'Paurava,' if used at all, is only retained by one branch. The whole Aryavarta up to Bihār and Magadha is marked by the territories of these tribes. But, as I have observed, they are by no means the sole occupants, or even dominators, of the entire area. I cannot discover who are intended to be the special settlers of that sacred portion of soil between the Saraswati and the Dr̥ṣadvati, west of the Jamna.¹ But west of the Jamna are placed the Matsya; they are not called blood relations of the five brothers of Pañcāla, nor are they of the Kurus, but they are their close allies; and the kingdoms of Hastinapura and Indraprastha (connected with Pāṇḍu) adjoin their territory. Beyond, comes a kingdom at Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāg, near Allāhābād) and Kāśī or Varanasi, east of which is the domain of Mithila or Videha, of Magadha, and (to the north-west) Kosala; none of these latter belong to the 'Lunar' chiefs, though Magadha comes under their sway in the course of time.

It is noteworthy that the Epic and Puranic record does not point, as we might expect, to the settlements at Hastinapura, Indraprastha, or any place on the west side of the Jamna (e.g. about Thanēśvar), as the earliest established cities. The earliest capitals are not founded at or near the first-reached frontier of Eastern settlement. We are to understand that in some way, the great ancestors established themselves in the heart of the country, *Puru* himself (e.g.) becoming king of Pratiṣṭhāna or Prayāg; the city and kingdom of Kāśī (or Benares) are understood to be founded contemporaneously with *Puru* himself; though some authorities make this line of kings only collateral to *Puru*, being descendants of *Puru*'s uncle (brother of Yayāti). Moreover, 'Bharata' becomes king of 'Antarveda'

¹ Cf. *Manu*, II, 19.

before even Hastinapura is founded. This looks as if the country nearer the frontier was in the occupation of other tribes, and that the Matsya-Kuru-Pañçāla only slowly and gradually made their way. The Pañçāla afterwards build Ahichhatra, Mākandī, and Kampilya, and the Matsya build Vrikasthala and Upaplāvya (which I cannot trace). It has also to be borne in mind that even the complete series of kingdoms never covered the entire area of the country. We cannot look on ancient Madhyadeśa as we do now at the N.W. Provinces, where we pass the boundary of one district or division only to enter upon the next, in an unbroken series. The early kingdoms were often separated by great stretches of waste land and dense forest.

With regard to the intervening settlements held by other tribes, we must understand the allusions in the M. to mean that the Matsya-Kuru-Pañçāla had to contend with serpent races—the ‘Nāgas,’ who were born of the mythic Kasyapa and his serpent wife Kadru, and who were named Vāsukī, Śeśa, Takshaka, Karkotaka, etc. When the Kuru need to build another city besides Hastinapura, and proceed to clear a site (by burning the forest) for Indraprastha, the ‘snakes’ are driven away with great slaughter. Their king Takshaka escapes at the time; and afterwards more friendly relations exist, since Arjuna twice marries daughters of the race—one, by the way, connected with the ancient State of Manipura (N.E. Central Provinces). Hostility is, however, easily renewed; and in the time of Arjuna’s grandson Parikshita, the king insults a hermit, who calls on the ‘snake king’ to avenge him, and the Hindu king is slain (bitten). Janmejaya, his son, in retaliation, undertakes a great ‘sacrifice’ to destroy the Nāgā, and myriads perish; but Vāsukī, who (curiously enough) is the nephew of a Brahman, intercedes, and further destruction is averted. Fergusson thinks that the appearance of a ‘Nāga’ dynasty at Magadha (after the Kuśika-Lunar) is merely a resuscitation of Turanian clans already in the country. But it may be connected with a fresh invasion about the sixth century B.C.

I have no suggestion to offer regarding the general introduction and spread of these serpent-worshipping tribes, whether before the Aryans or simultaneously with them; or whether their known site (Takā tribe) in the N.W. Panjāb, and their dominion in Kāśmir, gave off branches which extended southward and eastward. It is quite possible that one group of Dravidians took the Indus line and went directly south, while another group kept to the north; so the 'Nāgā' in the Eastern Central Provinces, Chutiya Nāgpur, etc., may either have been wanderers *upwards* from the southern continent, or have travelled *downwards* from the north-west frontier across to Magadha and the country at the eastern end of the Vindhya. I have already expressed a belief that the great bulk of the southern and peninsular Dravidians came by land (and partly perhaps in trading vessels by sea), by the Western route and the Western passes, where the Brāhūi still preserve a relic of the ancient language. That need not prevent the supposition that another, smaller group (or some other section) entered further north.

But to return to the Aryans and their associates in Upper India. The Matsya-Kuru-Pañcāla are by no means the only kingdoms besides Prayāg and Kāśī, not forgetting the 'Solar' dominions in Oudh and the country east of it. We must find room for the great Bharata tribe, who, indeed, gave their name to the whole land—'Bhāratavarṣa.' Bharata is made to be king of 'Antarveda,' which appears to apply to the whole Doāb, though more properly to the south part of it. Then, again, the Bharata are in close connection with the Kuśika (or Kausika), of whom came Viśvāmitra, son of Gādhi, the sage, who led the Bharata.¹ Gādhi founds Kanauj on the Ganges;² Kausambhi and Magadha are also Kuśika foundations. Jarāsandha, afterwards king of Magadha, is represented as a 'Lunar' prince; and the

¹ In chap. vii Manu calls Viśvāmitra the son of Gādhi, a Kausika. He attained the Brahmanhood by his great humility.

² And one of the names of Gādhipur or Kanyakubja was Kuśasthala (Lassen, i, 138, note 3).

Purāṇas place him fifteenth in descent from Kuru; but there is a curious story about his miraculous birth (in halves) which perhaps suggests some union of the Kuśika and Lunar tribes. All the authorities, however, call Jarāsandha the son of Vrihadratha.¹

The various 'cities' appear to have changed their masters before long; since the Kuru and Pañcāla became enemies, and so, indeed, do many other reigning houses. Thus at the beginning of the great war we find the Pāṇḍava princes claiming cities that had been founded by the Pañcāla and Matsya,² or by even earlier hands, since Kuśasthala (Kanauj) and Vāraṇāvata (south of Hastinapura) were also claimed by them. But whatever changes took place, we see how, all over the Madhyadeśa, other tribes besides Lunar Aryans established their cities.

At this point it will be convenient to reproduce in two short Tables (I and II) the chief personages of importance to the descent. According to usage, the single name often represents the king of a state with its capital city; and usually there is a whole clan or tribe derived from the king-ancestor. I have not put in the sons of Anu, Druhyu, and Turvaśa, as they have been sufficiently alluded to already.

A glance at the two lists shows, first, that the 'Solar' house from Ikshwāku has no kind of (human) ancestral connection with either the Lunar or the Yādava line. The M. accordingly hardly takes notice of Ayodhya or Kosala at all. Videha or Mithila is mentioned.³ Next we find the two houses of Puru and Yadu are really completely distinct, only joining at last in the distant common ancestor Yayāti. But what is of most importance is, that while the whole of the names in Table I are connected with Upper India, and imply an absorption of the kingdoms or domains of the Bharata and Kuśika into the 'Eastern' Aryan group, the

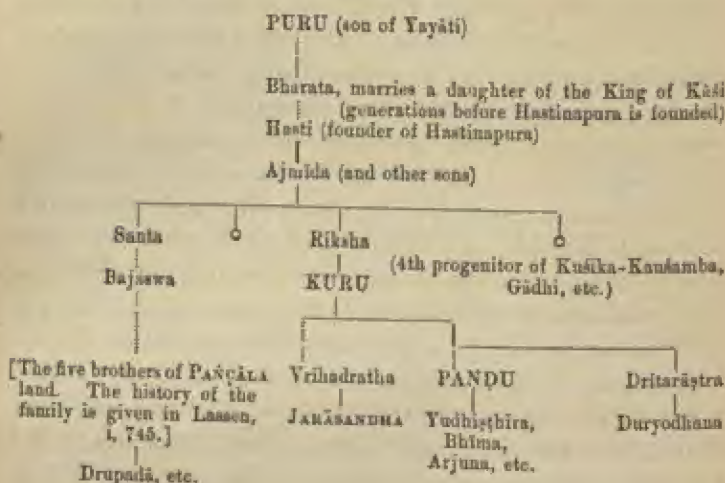
¹ See Wilson, V.P., 455, 456, and note. The Rāmāyana calls him a Kuśika outright. Bharata has not only been adopted into the Lunar genealogy but also into the Solar; this will be discussed further on.

² Lassen, i. 840.

³ I refer to the list of countries and people from the Bhishma Parva which appears in the V.P. (Wilson, pp. 178-185).

whole of Table II is connected with princes and their domains in Sindh and South Panjāb, in Western India, Berār, and the Narbada Valley region—in short, it is the 'Western' group, quite distinct, as geographical indications would prepare us to expect. Thus I infer that the Çedi, who from their position may have become earlier influenced by Brahmanism, really came not from the 'Eastern' group but from the Indus line *via* the Narbada Valley; and that the Bihār Bhoja extended in a similar direction.¹

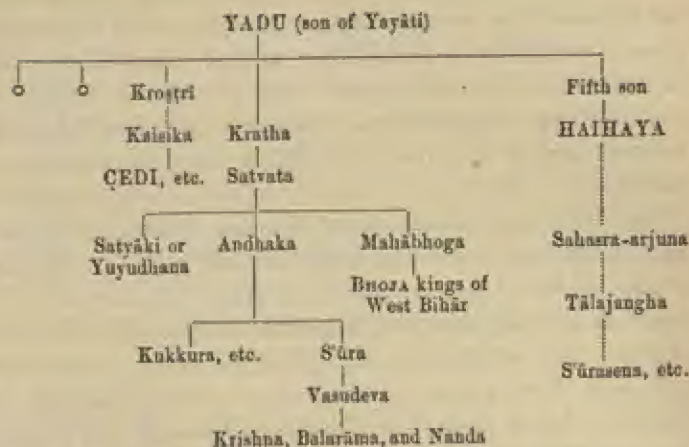
TABLE I.



Note.—Both tables are derived from Tod's table, compared with Lassen, i, 763, and appendix to the volume. The dotted lines indicate that several (or many) intermediate names are omitted. The different genealogies in the Ādi (Sambhava) Parva of the M., as given in Mr. Hewitt's paper (Appendix A), J.R.A.S. for 1889, pp. 316, 317, do not really present, as far as I can see, any point that affects the result as to the general relationship or tribal connection intended. Particular names differ, are put in or left out, and their order of sequence is not the same. All the genealogies insert Bharata.

¹ The V.P. further illustrates this distribution when it describes the 'regions' of India, and says of Upper India that on the *west* side of it dwell the Yavans (see note 2, p. 311), on the *east* side are the Kirāta, and in the *middle* "the four castes" (explained to mean the Kuru-Paṇčāla; see Wilson, pp. 175-7). For the rest of India, the author mentions the regions of Mālwa, Saurāṣṭra, etc., as in the *west*; and the *south* includes the Paṇḍra, Kalinga, etc.

TABLE II.



Note.—Other genealogies make Sūra and Sūrasena both descendants of Sahastra-arjuna. Krishna is certainly commonly treated as closely connected with the Sūrasena branch. For the sake of comparison with Table III (further on), which gives the (Brahmanic) 'Solar' houses, it may be mentioned that when Sahastra-arjuna is slain by the (Bhṛgu Brahman) Parāśurāma, Hariścandra, son of Trisanku (Solar) is reigning (Skanda-P.). Eight descents later (32nd in the whole list) we have Sagara in conflict with the Tālajangha.

Let me develop a little further the evidence of this separate distribution and local domination of the characteristically different, but linguistically allied, 'Eastern' and 'Western' Aryan groups. There is a complete unanimity as to the YĀDAVA (with many branches) dominating first the Indus Valley and then the Gujarāt peninsula, Western India, and the Narbada country. The Indus Valley settlements would naturally overflow somewhat on the Panjāb side also. And this overflow was afterwards increased by some early event—possibly indicated by the story of the scattering of the Krishna branch by the Mauryan emperor, which drove some of the Yādava into the Salt Range or North-West Panjāb.¹ Marks of this residence still survive. Again, say

¹ See Arch. Rep. N. India, vol. ii, p. 16.

about 120 B.C., in consequence of the Indo-Scythian movement, some of the West and North-West Panjāb tribes, as well as those of the Indus, were displaced; we see that these were Yādava—the Jharaṇa and the Bhatti (or Bhāti) branches of the stock—who were driven to Kaçch and Gujarāt, and to 'Bhattiāna,' Jaisalmer, and the 'Yāduvaṭi' country east of it (where the Jāduṇ State of Rassuli still survives).¹

The Śūrasena settlement, by the time it had (at Mathurā and Bindrabān) come into nearer contact with the 'Eastern' group, seems at once to have been subjected to attack. We hear of Jarāsandha from Magadha driving the tribe away. Again, they succumb to the Mauryan king. Once more, to quote Cunningham, "they were overwhelmed by the Indo-Scythians under the [Northern] Satrap Rajubul and his son Saudāsa. They next fall under the power of the Gupta. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in 635 A.D. the King of Mathurā was a Śūdra, but a few centuries later the 'Jādu Rājputs' are in full possession both of Bayāna and Mathurā. Nearly the whole of Eastern Rājputana belonged to the Yāduvaṇsi."²

How the Krishna branch of the Yādava became connected with the Gujarāt peninsula is not so clear. But it must be remembered that early Aryan (or semi-Aryan) tribes would naturally have extended to North-Western Gujarāt—most of them probably of Yādava connection—long before the move towards Mathurā. And when once the Krishna family became celebrated, Yādava families of *any* branch, or mere connections (like the later Rāvs of Junāgaḍh), would hasten to discover their descent from Krishna himself. Naturally we have no direct evidence of specific Yādava tribes in the

¹ This secondary movement towards the old Śūrasena region was very likely directed by the traditions of the tribes (see Beames' Elliot, Gloss., i, 128); but the author did not notice that the occupation of the Yāduvaṭi was the consequence of the Sakā movements, and long centuries after the original Śūrasena settlement (cf. Arch. Rep., ii, 21, 22). It was in connection with this invasion that (the Yādava) Śālivāhana, from his Dakhan home, made a brave but ultimately unsuccessful stand against the Indo-Scythians, defeating them at Kahrur, sixty miles from Multān.

² Arch. Rep., vol. xx, p. 1 ff.

first ages; we have only the fact of Yādavas in the Indus region and the certainty that this group extended southwards. Whatever the truth may be, legend soon connects Mathurā with 'Dwārka'; and as soon as the Śūrasena are disturbed at Mathurā, we find the Krishna clan backwards and forwards, to and from the peninsula; and Balarāma marries the daughter of Revata, a local king. In Saurāstra we find Akriti, brother of Bhīṣmaka, king of a local Bhoja territory.¹ Bhīṣmaka himself is called a Bhoja and is king of Vidarbha, and is the father of Krishna's wife, Rukminī. Kroṣṭri, the son of Yadu, is also king of Vidarbha, and so are his many descendants.² The Śatvata branch (of Yādava) are also early kings of 'the South.'³ In later times we find the ancient Rāṣṭrakūṭa (in this very branch) dominant in the Dakhan, and shall notice their career later on; meanwhile it may be said that reasonable evidence can be adduced linking on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa with the later Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, and the 'Hoysala' Yādavas as far south as Mysore. There are Kuṇbi divisions also, claiming Yādava origin.

Of the collateral branches (Table II) we have limited and scattered information. These tribes, who long remained non-Brahmanic, were perhaps hardly worthy of much notice from Brahmanic writers. But all are found in the neighbourhood.

The BHOJA tribes are said to have had eighteen divisions, a specific number frequently used, but meaning nothing more than that the tribe was numerous and much subdivided. Something has already been said as to their *locale* and their Yādava connection.⁴ One branch (that of West Bihār) is

¹ See Lassen, i, 758. When Arjuna visits Kuṇasthali (Dwārka), families of Vṛṣṇi (Krishna's Yādavas), Andhaka (another Yādava), and Bhoja families come out to greet him.

² The V.P. (Wilson, p. 441) remarks on the great number of the Yādava branches.

³ See Aitareya Br., viii, 3, 3-14.

⁴ See Rajendralāla, "Aryans in India," ii, 387. Wilson (V.P., p. 196, note) also concluded that the Bhoja were derived from [perhaps 'related to' would be better] the Yādava. Bhojakata, one of their cities on the Lower Narbada, was founded by Rukmi, Krishna's wife's brother, and Bhīṣmaka is called a Bhoja. The uncertainty of origin is reflected in the variations of the genealogists. The M. derives Bhoja (in the remote past) from Druhyā. Others take them, more

shown as directly connected by descent from Yadu through Andhaka. They seem to have been in conflict with the Haihaya in the Lower Narbada Valley. They are mostly connected with the Narbada region and with Mālwa; and the recurrence of the name Bhoj among the 'Pramāra' kings of Mālwa suggests that possibly the Pramāra Rājputs may be remote descendants, though in a very mixed race.

The HAIHAYA are a distinct branch of the Yādava, with a separate history. The tribe is certainly ancient, and the Narbada Valley—first in the lower, afterwards in the upper part—is the scene of their settlement; it is a sufficiently distinct territory to place the tribe considerably apart from their other 'Western' relatives, and make them quite outer strangers to the 'Eastern' Aryans of Upper India. I am at a loss to account for the legend which brings the Bhṛgu-descended (i.e. Brahman) Paraśurāma on to the scene in the Narbada Valley, even if the upper end, nearer Bundelkhand and Mabākosala, is intended. But the story of the destruction of Sahasra-arjuna (Kārtavīrya) is explicit.¹ The Haihaya have relations, the Tāljaṅgha, who also fight the Solar kings several generations after the time of Paraśurāma and Kārtavīrya, judging by the respective places in the list of Trisankhu and Sagara. I do not know

proximately, from Kunti-Bhoja, father's sister's son of Sāra. See Lassen, i, pp. 720 and 757, as to the connection; also Wilson, V.P., p. 418 (note 20) and p. 424. It must always remain doubtful whether the Bhoja are not Dravidians, contemporaneous like the Bharata, with the Aryans proper; and whether some were not united by adopting Brahmanic customs and by marriage, and so taken up and grafted on the Aryan (Yādava) stem.

¹ Sahasra-arjuna is represented as deriding the Brahmins, "clad in skins," because "they thought so much of themselves" (Muir, A.S.T., i, 462). From early times we begin to have mention of hermits from the North in the Vindhyan forests; a settlement in the Payoṣṇī (Tapti) Valley is also mentioned. Possibly the 'heathen' Haihaya mocked the Brahmins, who by their own clansmen or some local adherents avenged themselves. Paraśurāma is made contemporary with Rāma of Oudh by the V.P., which represents the latter as 'humbling' the former! Paraśurāma again appears as miraculously reclaiming the Malabar coast out of the sea; but this latter is a quite late legend to glorify the local Nambūri Brahmins. But possibly it is intended that we should take Paraśurāma as one of those sages who, like Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, live through whole ages and appear when wanted: he represents a principle, or symbolizes the fact that now and again the priest merges into the warrior or fights his own battles. Even Brahman kings (in Kābul and Sindh) were not unknown to history, at least in the early centuries of our era.

to what event the driving of the Haihaya to the farther extremity of the Valley is to be referred; or whether we have evidence to establish the Bhoja in their place in the Lower Valley. But the Haihaya rule in the Upper Valley¹ and in the North-East Central Provinces is historic. It is curious that the Haihaya are often connected with the Çedi people, of whom a single mention occurs in the R̥gveda;² and the 'Vatsya' tribe appears to have been settled in the same general region, up to the west frontier of Magadha. Indeed, Lassen notes³ that the "city of the H." is called "city of the Vatsya," and the country 'Vatsabhūmi,' in the Mahābhārata. The Çedi also, if they are not identical with the Vatsya, boast in their inscriptions of descent from the (Haihaya) Kārtavīrya.⁴ The Kālachuri (or Kaṭachuri) are of this group also, and they (with the Traikūṭaka clan) are at one time dominant in the West. When the clan was defeated by the early Çālukya king Mangalīśa in the late sixth century they were ruling from Tripura (Tewar), near Jabalpur. The Haihaya were at one time Buddhists, and are afterwards mixed up with the Nāgbaṇsi chiefs. As they were so much out of the notice of the Brahmanic authors, they seem to have been regarded very much on the same footing as the Nāgbaṇsi and other foreigners.⁵

¹ The ancient (lower) capital was Mahiṣmati (Maheswar in the Indore State). Some confusion is caused by the attempt to carry the reminiscence of this traditional seat further up the Valley to Maṇḍla: there is no reason to believe that Garha Maṇḍla, or any other place *there*, was ever called Mahiṣmati.

² R̥g., viii, 5. 37.

³ Vol. i, 744, note.

⁴ See Arch. Rep., ix, 77. It will be observed that the genealogies (Table II) make them Yādava, but in another branch. In a later volume (Arch. Rep., xvii, 71) Cunningham says that the Çedi in the oldest Rājim inscription (Raipur District, Central Provinces) do not refer to H., but call themselves sons of Kuru. This may have some special justification, but certainly, in general, the Haihaya are alluded to as 'Çedi swāmi'—lords of the Çedi; and the Kālachuri always accounted themselves Haihaya (see Arch. Rep., ix, p. 92, and Corp. Ins., iii, Introd., p. 10). The Gujarāt bards sometimes insert the Kālachuri (in some corrupt forms) among the "thirty-six royal clans." They were of high rank, and married into families of Mewār, and the Mālwa Pramuṇḍa, in the twelfth century.

⁵ I can only just allude to the illustration afforded by Sleeman's account of the 'Gond princes' (not that the princes were Gond, but that they ruled over Gondwāna, and left many illegitimate descendants called Rāj Gond). The tradition originates the dynasty in one 'Yādava-rāja' (the names suggest a Yādava tribal connection) who was serving a Haihobaṇsi chief. He transferred his services to a local Nāgbaṇsi prince, married the prince's daughter (and

Of the ŚŪRASENA (or Śūrasenaka), whose history is made important by the Krishna legend, something has already been said. There is some confusion about the descent. Krishna is usually associated with the Śūrasena, but the genealogy derives him from Śūra in a collateral branch. Perhaps there was a double connection. But the families are not always friendly; Krishna and the Śūrasena take opposite sides in the great war. In any case with Mathurā, the centre of a very Brahmanic worship, the Śūrasena—called 'bhadrakāra'—the righteous (Brahmanic) law-keepers, must have been separated from the Haihaya.¹

It was natural to examine the list of kings and tribes that are represented as taking part in the great war. We should expect to find the array exaggerated by bringing on to the scene distant kings, who could have had nothing really to do with it; but still we might come upon certain indications of affinity. There is, however, little information which throws light on our subject. We only notice that the Śūrasena (as I have said) are not on the Pāṇḍu side with Krishna. Some of the kings are attached merely (like the King of Kāśī) on the ground of family ties. The Bhoja and other Narbada peoples are much divided; some appear on one side and some on the other. The Haihaya are not named, perhaps are meant to be indicated under 'King Driṣṭaketu of Āṇḍi.'

only child), and succeeded to the kingdom. This, Sleeman says, was in 'Samvat' 415 (presumably Āṇḍi era) or late in the seventh century (Sleeman makes it *Fikra*: which is not admissible).

¹ While speaking of the Yādava and cognate tribes, it is impossible to omit all mention of the Ahīr, apparently the same as the Abhīra, who are certainly a non-Aryan, perhaps early Indo-Scythian tribe, from the north-west. Now, they hold no place in the Panjāb, but in the N.W.P. in Ahīrwāra and the Upper West of India. They are not now esteemed, but once furnished princes both in Nepāl and on the West Coast. One list at least, gives 'Abhīra,' a place in the 'thirty-six royal clans.' (See J.R.A.S., October, 1897, p. 890, and Arch. Rep., ii, 300.) In the N.W.P. the Ahīr are still divided into great, and quite independent, sections—Jadabānsī, Nandabānsī, and Gwālībānsī (Elliot, i, 3). Nanda, with whom Krishna took refuge, was an 'Ahīr' chief. The author of the *Prabandh Cintāmaṇi* (died 1305 A.D.), in relating the story of the Yādava Rāva of Junāgarh, called Navaghana "the Ahīr Rāna" (*Rāmāla*, p. 118), while an inscription calls the same family "Yādava." In the Central Provinces, where the Ahīr are numerous, they seem to be connected with some traditional "Gāoli" of former importance, and their name survives in Gwālībār, Gāvalgarh, Gol-khanda, etc. The Abhīra appear in the Samudra Gupta inscription, and are the people of Ptolemy's Abhīria.

Here, too, 'King Vrihadbala of Kosala' is just named as taking side with the Kurus, but without the least allusion to Ayodhya, or to any remarkable dignity or power of his kingdom.

The separate character of the Yādava, Lunar, and Solar lines so far appears clear; and, moreover, the Yādava themselves become so subdivided that distinct centres naturally arise. This separation of 'Eastern' and 'Western' Aryans would not only facilitate the growth of different linguistic and physical features; it would entail much difference in ideas of caste and religion. It is only necessary to recollect the entire change that came over 'Hindu' religious ideas as they developed from the Vedic stage to that of the Purāṇa and Tantra; and the caste rules of later days were so little developed in Vedic times that the tribes of those days in their first movement could have carried with them, to the west, very few such restrictions. The whole of the systems of religion, law, and philosophy, as well as the literature, which we associate with the term 'Hindu,' were in fact developed by Brahmans and among the Eastern group after their settlement throughout Āryāvarta. The Yādava and their congeners would have, originally, no part in this progress. In the Indus Valley and Western India, the Aryan element could mix without hindrance with at least the superior families of other tribes or families—Dravidian, early Sū or Abar, and later Śakā and Yū-chī—such as the Abhīra, Nāgbañsi, Andhra, Bālā, Śakā, Gurjjara, etc.¹

Then, again, some centuries must have elapsed before the Puranic religion and law reached or were accepted

¹ I do not mean to imply that even the Eastern Aryans *very soon*, or *very completely*, acquired strict caste ideas. Not only have we repeated allusions to sages and heroes marrying 'serpent' and other strange, not to say 'inferior,' wives, but a more general laxity long prevailed. Mr. J. F. Hewitt (J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 196) has justly called attention to a conversation in the M. in which Yudhiṣṭhira says to Nahuṣa that "in human society it is difficult to ascertain one's own caste, because of the promiscuous intercourse among the four orders. Men belonging to all the orders have children by women of all the orders." This, however, shows that the idea of established 'orders' and of the propriety of caste distinctions, existed; and that is more than can probably be said for early times in Western India.

by the Yādava and other ruling races. Whether they long retained a Vedic type of worship in their new settlements, we have no means of knowing; but for centuries they were non-Brahmanic, and Jainism and Buddhism appear at one time dominant in their early history as reflected in the cave-sculptures and other remains. It is notorious, too, that those (independent) faiths are always connected with Northern and Indo-Scythian tribes and the earlier dynasties of the West who had affinities with them. Wherever we can trace a family to the early Yādava, or to Magadha, or the Indo-Scythian times, or to the Nāga connection, or to princes like the Maurya, we invariably find some early worship of Sun or Serpent giving way to Jainism or Buddhism, as the case may be, before an ultimate prevalence of the worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu. On the other hand, none of the Ganges Valley (Lunar) Aryans are non-Brahmanic, nor open to accept Buddhism when it arises. But Brahmanic religion and customs only slowly filtered into the West and South and Lower East. Nor is the fact altered by the possibility of finding an early 'Hindu' prince or dynasty here and there before the general acknowledgment of Brahmanic superiority. Brahman hermits early began to wander, and must have made occasional royal or baronial converts. There are, for example, inscriptions of the 'Western Satraps' which show that there were many Brahmans then in Gujarāt and Upper Dakhan, though Buddhism was prevalent.¹ If we can judge from the general traditions which prevail, and the certainly foreign character of the Western Brahmans, we shall, I think, conclude that the Brahmanic faith was

¹ In the M. we hear of Brahmans in the Payoṣṇī (Tapti) Valley, and even as far as Gokarna on the West Coast. Among the Kshatrapas we notice Ushavadata (probably ruling during the first quarter of the second century). Though a Śakā by birth, he is believed to have adopted the Brahmanic faith. The inscriptions, with pardonable exaggeration, record how he gave 300,000 cows and other wonderful gifts to Brahmans. He fed, we are told, "hundreds of thousands" of Brahmans every year, which is obvious nonsense, because such a number could not have been in existence in the West. It cannot be supposed that Brahmans accompanied the Yādava from the Indus; so that none could be found but hermit wanderers in small groups from the North. (See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 125.)

not *general* in Maharāṣṭra before the seventh or eighth century.¹

The success of the Brahmanic ideal, developed as it was among a small minority of a ruling race, overcoming Buddhism, proving superior to all racial and geographical barriers, is one of the most remarkable facts of Indian history. But Brahmanism really displaced no cherished national divinities; it only ranged or embodied them in a new order; it could admit all kinds of local deities, even the hated Nāga;² it could devise the most minutely ritualistic and formally objective worship, while, on the other hand, its various schools of subjective speculation could develop a misty pantheism which is reality of nothing and the negation of any intelligible worship whatever. But the greatest strength of Brahmanism lay in its combined social and religious system. It took possession of both the elements of which Hindu Society was made up. One element was the mass of the people—nearly all non-Aryan (or very mixed), agriculturist and industrial; this element provided the *modus vivendi* for the second. The second element included both the spiritual ruler—the Brahman—and the temporal ruler, the king, and his host of nobles, relations, hangers-on, and officials. Of both elements the Brahmans took complete possession. Their rules of caste were calculated to promote the interests of both. In the case of the lower orders, they fixed a certain, if humble, status of respectability—certain, because there was the abyss of outcastedom below it: but caste, to some extent at least, effected a permanent division of labour, and presented an obstacle to over-competition in any given

¹ I may refer to the tradition or legend of the Kādamba king Mayura-varma, or Mayurasharma, of N. Kanara, introducing eighteen 'agrahāra' of Brahmans, which could not have been before the seventh century. (See *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 560.) As regards Mr. Baine's remark (Census Rep., 1891, Parl. Blue Book, p. 141) that the Mahrūthi language is peculiarly *Brahmanic*, any such feature could have been taken on, just as the introduction of Christianity affected the vocabulary, etc., of many languages that had long been fixed.

² Nor need I argue about Śiva and phallic worship being of Dravidian origin. The whole genesis of Śiva worship and the rival Viṣṇu sect is curious. The Krishna cult seems to have been invented as a bid for popular favour for the Viṣṇu side against the Śaivite.

trade or industry. Among the upper classes, caste appealed to family pride and ideas of respectability and dignity.¹ But, indeed, the Brahmanic system as a whole—not merely its caste distinctions—attracted all classes. The populace in towns found their religious sense satisfied by the assistance of a family priest, ever ready with his sacred ceremonial and offices arranged in connection with every event and stage in family life. In the country wandering teachers and ascetics attracted eager attention, and shrines and holy places were established all over the continent.² Nor were the 'mela' or local religious gatherings and periodic pilgrimages without a powerful effect in attracting adherents. To these must be added the power of the Brahman to declare 'good' and 'bad' days—the astrological government of life, and his control of supernatural influences by charms and exorcisms, which, in spite of educational progress, continue to be almost as much a power as ever. Nor was the system less adapted to capture the ruling classes. The Brahman made his presence needed at every Rājā's court, to organize business and direct the State correspondence as well as to declare the sacred law. Here, too, astrology played no unimportant part in securing priestly ascendancy. Kings seem, at all times, to have accepted the traditional position of the Brahman, and never to have had any misgivings as to the great merit of making land-grants and lavishly endowing priestly families. In the developed Hindu State polity, the Brahman Counsellor is as much a part of the Constitution as the Rājā himself. To this organizing power of the Brahman we undoubtedly ascribe the general spread and immense success of Hinduism over the West, and still more the South, of India, where the Aryan element was otherwise so little diffused. The (Southern) legend of Āgastya but symbolizes the process—the Brahman teacher converting the

¹ And it is not necessary to say that caste rules had a certain moral utility they had their good aspect as well as their bad.

² It is notorious to the present day how any ascetic teacher or hermit will gather a following. The effect of shrines and the 'melas' connected with them is equally well known.

Dravidian masses from his hermitage or preaching station, set up at every mysterious point of natural scenery, on mountain peak or riverside. The Brahman minister found his way into the Court of the Scythian Kshatrapa as well as into that of the rude but capable Dravidian princes. He inspired them with a new idea of family dignity and its increase by caste observance;¹ he proceeded to organize the local Court and the public administration; and to judge by the Sanskritic inscriptions only, that Court would often be imagined as more extensively 'Hindu' than it really was. Then, too, some members of a more nearly Aryan military race would be received² and given high command, being found useful in introducing improvements into the army. All this happened, not in any rapid flood of Aryan progress, but in the slow course of centuries, and by individual influences.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Brahmanic system had not only to reckon with more or less crude Kolarian and Dravidian religious ideas. It had to contend with a rival, and at times powerfully State-protected, Buddhism and Jainism. Moreover (and this chiefly concerns us here), it had to admit and provide for a long and varied series of foreign additions to the ruling and dominating class. For in some parts of India, the orthodox Kshatriya element never existed; in others it had died out, and in others had been replaced by foreign clans who were not indisposed to adopt the form of orthodoxy, so long as their own ruling and conquering position and dignity were provided for. I need not repeat the enumeration of these foreign elements—from the sixth century B.C. down to the sixth century A.D. All were originally outside the pale of Hinduism; and despite

¹ We have examples in the Central Provinces and elsewhere of how the Nāga chiefs discarded their ancient symbol, and accepted 'Rājput' rank and an impossible genealogy for some Epic or Puranic hero. Such princes adopt caste observation with extreme strictness. After some few generations (backed by wealth and success) they are admitted to marriage alliances with Rājput houses of more established reputation.

² With reference, for example, to the possibility of some real descendant of Pāṇḍu, or other Aryan Kshatriya of the North, finding his way to power in the Southern 'Pandyan' kingdom.

the attractiveness of the Brahmanic system among the long-acclimatized Western and Southern peoples, Brahmanic institutions had a very limited hold on countries like the Panjāb, where to this day we find Brahmans indeed everywhere admitted, but not much held in reverence, while their 'Hindu law' is almost unknown. Everywhere, except in a few high-caste families in cities, the agricultural tribal custom of inheritance, adoption, marriage, etc., prevails; and doubtless the limited influence of Brahmans made it so much easier to convert 'Rājput' tribes to Islam (which was common), and helped the establishment of Sikhism. Very probably other provinces remote from the Madhyadeśa, would furnish similar examples.

No wonder that so few surviving castes and clans represent pure descent of any kind. No wonder, on the other hand, that on becoming 'Hindus,' so many began to claim kindred with Brahmanic heroes or sages; just as many Moslem castes claim descent from Arabian chiefs and saints, though their Hindu origin can hardly be concealed. There is, indeed, an obvious gradation of superiority, mental and physical, connected with the higher castes and clans, especially in Northern India; but these mark the superior elements of several races, while among them the 'Aryan' has had the best chance. But the mass of middle and lower castes, agricultural or industrial, are either not 'Aryan' at all, or represent only the least advanced, and most mixed, sections of the race.

(To be continued.)

ART. XI.—*The Pre-Aryan Communal Village in India and Europe.* By J. F. HEWITT.

IN Mr. Baden-Powell's article, No. XXV of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1898, on Village Land-Tenures in India, he asks with reference to my letter on the same subject in the Journal of the Society for July, 1897, for further local details on the following points:—

I. As to whether the original matriarchal stage of village life described by me is to be found in the primæval history of both Kolarian and Dravidian tribes, or whether its institutions were only indigenous among one of these groups.

II. On p. 609 he also asks for a statement of the grounds for asserting that the matriarchal form of village I sketched actually prevailed, and for further information as to the *locale* and actual features of the Nāga and Oraon villages mentioned by me on p. 631 of my letter of July, 1897.

III. He asks (p. 611) for further proofs showing that the whole cultivated produce of the village lands was brought into one common stock or central store, whence it was issued for the common meals and common use of the associated cultivators.

In answering the first question it is necessary to state clearly the distinction which, according to my understanding of the meaning of the terms, separates Kolarians and Dravidians. In the first place, the languages of the two races are radically distinct, the Kolarians or Mundas speaking dialects akin to those of the Mon tribes of Burmah, while the Dravidian tongues are allied to the Madras Tamil, and Tamil is also, I believe, the speech of the Madras Cholas, who there represent the Kols of Western Bengal. There

is also a distinct difference in the characters of the two races, the Kolarian Mundas being excitable, light-hearted, garrulous, exceedingly sensitive, and not nearly so steadily industrious as the Dravidians, who, as represented by the Bhuyas, their most distinctive tribe, in Chutia Nagpore, are silent, self-contained, indomitably obstinate, and persevering. Both races are dolikho-kephalic, and as a general rule the Kolarians, at least in their dominant tribe, the Ho Kols of Singhbhum, have not the semi-negroid features and thick lips of the Dravidian Bhuyas and Marya or Tree Gonds.

But neither of these races are to be found now in India in a pure unmixed state. All their component tribes have in the course of past ages and the process of the birth of local nationalities been very much fused together, and thus Dravidian customs are found among the Kolarians and Kolarian among the Dravidians; and as far as I can judge from my own observations I would say that the Marya Gonds of the forests of the Central Provinces in Kakeir and Bustar, where the Mahanuddi and Wardha rivers rise, are the purest representatives in Central India of the original Dravidian stock. The mixed character of the Gonds is proved by the fact that their ruling clans are Turanians, undoubtedly descended from immigrants from Asia Minor, who first introduced into India the sacred oil-seed, the Tilli (*Sesamum Orientale*) and the northern millets, Jowari (*Holcus Sorghum*) and Kessari (*Paspalum frumentaceum*). They were the Gonds of the second immigration described in their national epic, the Song of Lingal, as being born in the caves at the sources of the Jumna. They were thence carried down the river by the flood which arose while they were cooking their kessari millet, and the four fathers of the four ruling Gond clans were saved from death by Lingal and Dame the tortoise, who placed them in safety on the tortoise earth of the Kushika or Nāga race, and taught them to build houses and to found the tribal city of Nur-Bhumi.¹ These immigrants united with the people

¹ Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay iii, pp. 222, 223.

of the first immigration, who had come, like the Mundas, from the mountains of the North-East, the hill lands of North Burmah and Southern China, and had become amalgamated with the still earlier Dravidian races born of the forest trees.

In consequence of this constant intermixture of early indigenous and immigrant races, among whom only the very faintest sense of national as opposed to local distinctions existed, it is somewhat difficult to determine exactly the race among which the distinctly matriarchal customs I have described as regulating the union of the sexes in India arose. For very similar customs to those of India are proved by the writings of Khwang-tzi, the greatest of the followers of Lao-tzi, the apostle of Taoism, to have existed in the primeval villages of China. He in pt. iii, sect. vii, describes the age of the first village founders as that of the Nest-builders, who roosted at night on trees, lived on acorns and chestnuts, and did not know the use of clothes. These people, he says, knew their mothers, but did not know their fathers, and from this state they emerged to become a people who ploughed and ate and wove and made clothes.¹

In Chutia Nagpore and the adjoining districts of Chuttisgurbh we find every stage of village organization existing in India before the institution by the immigrant Jats and Rajputs of Northern India of Bhaiūchārā and Pattidari villages, with rights of private property in the soil vested in the families of the village shareholders. The evidence furnished by these early tenures fully proves that this Chinese description of early village life gives a very true account of the origin of Indian villages. The first stage approaching that of the Nest-builders is to be found among the Kolarian Korwas, occupiers of the Pāts or volcanic plateaux of Jushpore and North-East Sirgujya. These, which were originally one plateau, have been divided into a number of elevated islands, separated from one another by the deep valleys of the rivers rising in these central mountain lands. Each of these is

¹ Lagge, "The Texts of Taoism": SBE., vol. xi, p. 171.

occupied by a section of the Korwas, who scatter themselves over its surface in small groups, living in the rudest possible huts, made of tree branches stuck into the ground. But each location is only occupied for two or three years till the fertility of the soil cleared for their encampment is exhausted, and then the occupants move to another tract. The nucleus round which these scattered groups congregate is their Byga or tribal priest, the maker and consecrator of the arrows used by the hunters. He, in the Lahsun Pāt, which is that which I know best, used always to live in its centre before the Korwas were deported from the Plateau because of their persistent habit of robbing merchants and travellers passing along the roads encircling the base of their rocky fastnesses. The only permanent village among the Korwas was that in the south-west of the Pāt formation in the Maini valley. This was the home of the chief of all the scattered clans, the potentate answering to the Manki or head of a Kol Parha or province.

The next stage succeeding that of the nomade Korwas is found in the Munda and Kol villages, each ruled by its own Munda or headman, while each Parha or union of ten or twelve adjoining villages has, as among the Korwas, its tribal priest.

In succession to these Munda villages we find those of the Gonds of Chuttisgurh, where the headman is aided in the management of the village by four or more assistants, the subordinate members of the village Panchayat, who are, as I have described in pp. 635, 636 of my letter in the *Journal* of July, 1897, the autocratic rulers of the village.

The transition from these Munda and Gond villages to the elaborately organized villages of the Ooraons, which I have fully described in my "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay ii, pp. 91-95, is very great. The Ooraon tribes are those ruling the central provinces of the Lohardugga plateau of Chutia Nagpore. This forms the estate, and before our assumption of the Government was the ruling portion of the dominions of the Nagbunsi Rājas of Chutia Nagpore. This name means the mother (*chut*)

country of the Nāgas. But this name of Nagpore or the land of the Nāgas was also that of the whole Gond kingdom of the Haihaya or Haio-bunsi kings of Central India, extending from the valleys of the Tapti or Nerbudda in the west to the Behar boundaries of the Magadha or Cheroo kings of the Gangetic Valley on the east, and this boundary is still marked by the estates vested in the Ghatwali landowners of Khurrukdeha in Hazaribagh and the Ghatwals of Birbhum, Bancoorah, and Midnapore, who were placed to guard the boundaries of the Ghats or mountain passes leading down to the plain. In the remains of the Deshbohi of the old Haihaya kings of Chuttisgurrh for 1629 Sbt., 1553 A.D., given to Mr. Chisholm, Settlement Officer of Belaspur, by the descendants of the Sherishtadars or record holders of the Haihaya kings, Chutia Nagpore is named as a subordinate tract of the Haihaya kingdom, and its wealth in gold and diamonds must have made it the most valuable part of their dominions, and have justified its name of the Mother Country of the Nāgas. The name Haihaya or Haio-bunsi means, I believe, the sons (*bunsi*) of the water-snake (*haio*). They, like the Chutia Nagpore Rājas, used the sign of the Nāga snake as their totem mark, and doubtless wore it (like the Kushika or Kushite Egyptian kings) on their foreheads, where similar marks are worn by all Hindu Vishnuites and Sivites. The land ruled by the Haio-bunsis was once the whole of the Gond lands of Central and North-Eastern India, afterwards called Mahā-Kosala and Kosala, the country of the Kashis or Kushikas. The present Rāja of Haldi in Ghazipur is a Haio-bunsi, and Sir H. Elliot tells us they are also found in Sohajpur. Also in the Vishnu Purāna the Haihayas are spoken of as the early rulers of Ayodhya or Kosala, and local tradition, as recorded by Sir A. Cunningham,¹ tells us that the oldest name of the country was Gaṇḍa or Goṇḍa. The Ooraon tribes, successors of the Gonds, probably represent the mixed Nāga, Gond, and Munda races under

¹ Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," p. 908.

their original aspect, before they were subjected to the later influences of the Cheroos or later Jats and the Kshatriya tribes, and the relation in which they stand to the Cheroos is shown by the fact that the owner of the greater part of the Hazaribagh district, an appanage attached to the office of Senapati or Commander-in-Chief of the Chutia Nagpore Rājas, is a Kharwar by caste, and it is from the Kharwars that the Cheroos or Jats are descended.¹ The organization of the Oraon kingdom of the Nagbunsis and of the Haibaya land of Chuttisgarh also shows a later addition to the strength of the ruling authority in the Kauris and Rantia Kauris. To these representatives of the Kaurāvyas of the Mahābhārata were allotted the greater number of the frontier estates of Chutia Nagpore and Chuttisgarh, which are still held by their descendants. They were the military guardians of the frontiers, and are thus the equivalents of the Kharwars to whom the office of Commander-in-Chief was entrusted.

The Oraons are undoubtedly later immigrants from the North than the millet-growing Gonds. They call themselves the sons of the ass, an animal indigenous to Syria, whence it has been brought to India. They say they were the first people who brought the plough to India, and that they came from the West, the land of Ruhi-das, a name meaning the country (*das*) of the red men, and similar to that of Rotou, meaning 'red,' by which the Egyptians called the Syrians. They brought also barley, a Mesopotamian plant, with the plough, and one of their chief festivals is the Kurram festival, held in August, when the villagers dance round the Kurram, or almond-tree, cut from the forest and planted for the occasion in the centre of the village Akra, or dancing-ground. They wear in their hair yellow sprouts of the young barley plants, sown by the daughters of village headmen in river sand, mixed with turmeric, the sacred plant of the yellow races.

¹ For the connection between Cheroos and Jats see Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay v, p. 424.

In their villages we find the Panchayat of the Gonds replaced by the ruling council, composed of the Munda or village headman, the Pahan or village priest, and the Mahto, the village accountant, who became the Patwari of Bengal and the North - West, and the Kulkarni of Bombay. Except the Pahan, these officers do not, like the Munda and Gond headman, hold a separate tract of land as an appanage of their office, but they have allotments in the three tracts of cultivated land set apart for the clans of Bhunhiars, or original settlers, whence the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto are chosen. Thus we have in this organization a distinct instance of clan or guild tenure, and an appropriation of cultured soil to the official village clans in place of the land allotted to the Gond headman, who gets one share out of the five into which the village lands are divided, or to the Munda headman, whose holding certainly in many cases is no larger than that of other well-to-do cultivators, and whose official emoluments consist of the donations of forest produce given him by the ryots. Another most distinctive mark of the Ooraon villages is the Manjhus, or royal land, found in every village. This, which represents the headman's share given to the Gond Patel, is a grant appropriated by the Rāja, whose capital was originally in the central province of Khokra, on the Lohardugga plateau. This Manjhus land is tilled, under the superintendence of the Mahto, by the ryots, who hold the lands not appropriated to the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto koonts, or clans, and its produce is stored in the royal granaries.

These Ooraon villages are all founded on a primæval Munda basis, and the original Munda Rāja, or Manki, has, by the intermarriage of the ruling family with the successive Ooraon, Kharwar or Nāga, and Kaur invaders, become a Nag-bunsi Rajput. The Ooraons, according to their own evidence and that of the Mundas, entered the Lohardugga district peaceably, with the permission of the Mundas, and the truth of this statement is to be found in the existence to the present day of the old Munda Parhas,

each with its distinctive flag, which have been merged in the large Ooraon provinces of Khokra, Doisa, and Pethoria. Throughout the whole of this area the village lands are held, not in individual, but common property, and the land tilled by each ryot is liable to pass into other hands at the village redistributions. In these redistributions, not only the lands held by the subordinate cultivators, but also those of the headman, come into the common stock. This I can assert positively as to Chuttisgurh, from my own experience as settlement officer in that district, and I believe that in Lohardugga the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto lands are also redistributed. Such distributions have now become very rare among the best cultivated villages in Lohardugga, and as I have never settled a series of Ooraon villages I cannot say whether the clan lands of the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto koonts show by the segregation of their plots, in villages containing a great variety of soils, that they have been subjected to this process, but I have been told by Mr. Webster, who was from 1864 to 1866 Manager under the Court of Wards of the estates of the Chutia Nagpore Rājā, that he has known land to be redistributed in the jungle province of Tori, and, therefore, those allotted to the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto koonts must have been treated in the same way. Thus the right of property vested in the clan was not the right to certain fields in perpetuity, but that to a definite quantity of soil of an equal quality to that originally held, the measurement being, before we introduced linear measurements and maps, made, according to the custom of Chutia Nagpore and Chuttisgurh, by reckoning the unit of land as the area which would be sowed by a maund of seed. A great deal of information on this point might be gathered from an examination of the maps of the Bhunhiari lands of the Mundas, Pahans, and Mahtos of the Lohardugga plateau, prepared by the Surveyors employed by Government under the Bhunhiari Act to inquire into these local land tenures. This inquiry began in 1869, and the Munda, Pahan, and Mahto lands in each village were

mapped and recorded in the settlement papers, not in the names of the individual tillers of each plot, but under the general heading of the lands of the koont subject to distribution among the clan members according to clan customs. The only plots in these lands held as individual rights were those in the Pahan koont allotted as appanages of his rank to the Pahan chosen to the office among the members of the priestly clan. He thus was in the position of an English rector holding glebe land appropriated to each successive bolder of the post.

As to the matriarchal customs originally associated with these communal village tenures, very distinct traces of them are found among the Muadas, Gonds, Ooraons, and their allied tribes. The rule under which the young men of a neighbouring village of the Parha are invited to the seasonal dances by the girls of another is customary among the Dravidian Juangs and Bhuyas as well as the Kolarian Ho Kols, and everyone who has seen these dances and the orgies accompanying the celebration of these festivals, some of which last for three days and nights, can understand from the evidence of his own eyesight that these gatherings, where rice beer is consumed in enormous quantities, were originally instituted for the propagation of children. These children were in matriarchal days looked on as the legitimately born children of their mother's village, but now those who owe their parentage to these dances are generally legitimized by the subsequent marriage of their parents. Among the Ho Kols these meetings of the girls of one village with the men of another at the great annual Māgh (January-February) festival are prolonged for weeks, during which the united bands go from village to village and dance in the Akras of those they visit. These orgiastic meetings are, as I have shown in the "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay iii, pp. 204, 205, described in Rg., viii, 58 (69), 7-9, as the times when Indra and the bard used to visit the house of Rudra the red one, the red-headed stick god Bhīm-sen of the Gond forest-races, and drink 'Madhu' or intoxicating spirit at these dances. The dances of the

village women are also mentioned in Rg., i, 92, where the beams of the morning sun are said to be like the "maidens who come trooping out on the shady village green (the Akra under the shade of the Sarna), dressed in their brightest clothes and ranged in order for the dance, bringing with them Soma," which was originally an intoxicating liquor. Also, in another hymn, Rg., x, 146, the first stirrings of the birth of the spring leaves are said to be caused by the sound of the dancing cymbals used as musical instruments in these dances.

The seasonal dances which have now almost, if not quite, disappeared from the Northern India of the Vedic bards, still flourish everywhere in Chutia Nagpore. They are held in the Akra or dancing-ground, under the shade of the Sarna or sacred village grove. This grove is a remnant of the primeval forest still retained by the first founders of permanent villages, who carved them out of the forest. The village dwellings are placed close to it, and round this centre ran the ring of cultivated land called by the Gonds the ring of the guardian snake. This separated the home of civilized life from the world of death, the land of the uncleared forest. The children begotten near the Akra under the shade of the mother trees were thus the children of the grove, and hence, when marriages succeeded to the matriarchal unions, arose the custom observed by the Bagdis and Bauris of Western Bengal, the Bunhias, Kharwars, Rautias, Lohars, Mahilis, Mundas, and Santals of Chutia Nagpore, and by the Kurmis throughout India, of marrying all brides to a tree before they were united to their husbands. It was these matriarchal customs which made the tree called Marom by the Gonds, the mother of the Marya or Tree Gonds. It is the memory of this tree mother which is preserved in the name of the mother goddess universally worshipped throughout Southern India as the goddess Mari-amma, or the Mother Mari. She is the only Indian deity whose image is *always made of wood*.¹ She is the

¹ Abbé Dubois, "Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies," edited by Beauchamp, vol. ii, pt. 3, chap. iv, p. 589.

goddess called in the *Mahābhārata* Mahish-Mati or the Chief Mother, who is said to rule the southern land of King Nila, conquered by Sabādeva. This is called the land "where the women are not obliged to confine themselves to one husband."¹ This is the land of the Nairs, where the unions between the sexes are governed by a custom directly derived from the matriarchal age. For the Nair woman, though obliged by existing custom to marry, does not, unless she chooses to keep him longer, see her husband after the first month of their union, and for the rest of her life she takes temporary partners according to her fancy, as restricted by tribal rules.

Among these Nairs is found the custom of educating all children as children of their mother village, which I have described on p. 631 of my letter on the Origin of Indian Land Tenures in the *Journal* for July, 1897. This custom arose from the rule forbidding the men of any village to become the fathers of the children of the women of their own village. It also survives among the Nāgas in Assam, the Marya Gonds, the Juangs, and Ooraons, and under it all boys and girls are placed, as soon as they can leave their mother, under the care of the village elders and matrons. The boys occupy one building and the girls another, and each sex eat together in reminiscence of the days when all the villagers ate a common meal. Among the Juangs, as Mr. Risley tells us in his "*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*," the boys' residence, called by the Ooraons the *Dhumkuria* or Bachelors' hall, is also the place where strangers visiting the village are entertained.

The custom of regarding each village as the family home of united sisters and brothers is also preserved in the Gond conception of the cultivated land as the boundary snake. This belief, which I have described on p. 634 of my previous letter, is preserved in the ritual of eating the sacred snake in all boundary disputes in Chuttisgarh. The village boundary guardian, the Gorait, priest of the Gond boundary god Goraya, who is chosen by lot to mark the boundary,

¹ *Mahābhārata Sabha (Digvijaya) Parva, xxxi.*

solemnly eats before he starts on his journey a piece of the earth of the boundary, calling it 'the sacred snake,' and when thus inspired by the god, begins his task of walking round the true boundary. That this belief in the boundary snake is not confined to the Gond lands of Chhattisgarh, but extended to the old Gond kingdom of North-East India, is proved by the following story taken from a cutting from *Allen's Indian Mail*, No. 2,005, of the last week of December, 1896, given me by a friend. It is said to be taken from a note of a recent meeting of the Bombay Anthropological Society. It tells how a boundary dispute arose between the villages Shuknara and Pipra, in Pergunnah Pachlakh in the Sarun district, belonging to the Majhowli Raja of Ghorakpur. The two villages were about to fight for the possession of the disputed land, when the sacred serpent appeared in a dream to the headmen of both villages on the night before the intended battle. He told them not to fight, and he would mark out the true boundary. The next morning the snake came out of a Pakur-tree (*Ficus infectoria*) close to the Shuknara Masjid, and drew its length over the right boundary.

The selection in this story of the Pakur mother tree close to the village temple as the sacred tree of the Nāga boundary snake is also significant, as the Pakur is the sacred fig-tree still worshipped at Pureag, the meeting-place of the Jumna and Ganges. This is consecrated as the place where the union between the immigrant Turanian tribes coming down the Jumna and the earlier dwellers in India was consummated, and where the union of the Kushika Nāgas who founded the sacred city of Kashi (Benares) was formed. The historical stage indicated by the reverence for the Pakur or Plaksha is also distinctly shown in the Soma ritual, where in the form of Soma worship succeeding that celebrated on the altar thatched with Kusha grass, the parent grass of the Kushikas, forming the ring still used in the marriage of Kushika cultivating tribes,¹ Plaksha branches

¹ Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay iii, p. 175, note 2; p. 280.

are ordered to be placed as coverings on the altar above the thatching of Kusha grass. The altar thus covered was that used for animal sacrifices, showing that the ritual was earlier than that of the Soma altar, where only milk in various forms, barley, and running water were mixed in the Soma cup.¹

The national snake-god of the Gonds is the god Sek Nāg, the rain-god whose image of a wooden snake is placed in his shrine under the national parent tree, the Saya (*Terminalia tomentosa*). Only men worship him, and his worshippers must come to his shrine perfectly naked. That he is a sea-god is shown by the offerings made to him—seven cocoanuts which only bear fruit within the influence of the sea-breeze, seven pieces of betel-nut, milk, and flowers, but no animal victims. This absence of animal sacrifices in his ritual proves that his worship dates back to the days of the tree mother and the father tree ape, the Gond god Maroti, to neither of whom are offered the animal sacrifices introduced by the Northern immigrant sons of animal totems. This god becomes, in the ritual of the Takkas of the Panjab, Shesh Nāg, who rules the Winter season of the year, the Spring and Summer seasons being ruled by Takht Nāg and Bāsuk Nāg. These three Nāga gods form the prongs of the holy trident worshipped by the Takkas, and this trident is the descendant of the Gond trident of Pharsi Pen or the female (*pen*) trident (*pharsi*), composed now of the iron rod and central prong called Pharsipot inserted into the female bamboo, while the two outer prongs are called Manko Rayetal and Jango Rayetal, his two tiger wives. These are the tiger mothers of the Malli or Mon race, who with the Licchavis, the sons of the Akkadian lion or dog Lig, constitute the confederacy of the Vaggians (Sanskrit, Vyaghra; Pali, Vyaggho), who ruled North-Eastern India, the kingdom of the Gonds, in the lifetime of the Buddha. The name Pharsi Pen or the female trident given to this sacred sign of the year-god of

¹ Eggeeling's *Sat. Brāh.*, iii, 5. 1. 36; iii, p. 3, 10-12. SEE., vol. xvi, pp. 120, 202, 203.

the year of three seasons points to the matriarchal age, when mother and not father gods were worshipped.

The god Sek or Shesh Nāg was the god who is said in the Mahābhārata to have been placed by the god Vasu, the Takka Vāsuk or Bāsuk Nāg, below Mount Mandara, the central mountain of the Kushikas, as the ocean snake on which it rested. It was from this ocean that he made the holy ass Ucchai-shra-vas, the horse of Indra with the long ears, to emerge by making the mountain revolve, as in their belief the earth revolved under the guidance of the Pole Star.

This ass is the sun-god of the Summer season of the year of three seasons, called in the Bandahish, xix, 1-11,¹ the three-legged ass with three feet and six eyes. He is the counterpart and successor of the snake Azi Dahūka, the Vritra of the Rigveda, with three heads and six eyes.² It is he who helps Tishtriya (Sirius) to draw from the ocean the rain which is to water the earth at the close of the burning Summer, and which falls in North India during the rainy season at the Summer solstice ruled by Sirius. This ass, who succeeded the sacred Vritra or enclosing (*vri*) snake of the Rigveda as the god slain by Indra, is the totem god of the Ooraons, who are also, as I have shown above, closely connected with the Kharwars, the parent tribe of the Cheroos ruled by Vasu.

The god Vasu is also said in the Mahābhārata³ to be the god-king of the Pūruvas, or eastern people, whom we have seen to be the sons of the tiger dwelling in the land of Cheḍi, the land of the birds (Cheḍ or Chir), the country of the Cheroos rulers of Magadha. He is said to have set up on the Sakti mountains, the Kymore range forming south of Benares the southern boundary of the Gangetic Valley, the bamboo pole, the female bamboo of the trident of Pharsi Pen, as the sign of the divinity. This he crowned

¹ West's "Bandahish": SBE., vol. v, pp. 67-69.

² Darmesteter's "Zendavesta Aban Yasht," ix, 34. SBE., vol. xxiii, p. 61. Eg., x, 99. 6.

³ Mahābhārata Adī (Adīvaṃśavataṃsa) Parva, lxiii, pp. 169-171.

with the lotus garland of Indra, the rain-god, to whom, as to Sek or Sak Nāg, the god of the Sakti mountains, no animal victims were ever offered. His name, derived from the root *indu*, shows him to be the god Ind or Aind, the eel or water-snake, the totem of the Haihayas, or Haios, and also of the Kherias, Cheroos, Kharwars, Mundas, Rautia Kairs, Asuras, Gualas, Pans, and Santals; in short, of all the ruling primitive tribes of Chutia Nagpore and Western Bengal, the mining races who developed the mineral wealth of Chutia Nagpore, and made it the treasure-house of the early Nāga kings. This eel was, as Herodotus tells us (ii, 72), worshipped by the Egyptians, who also adored the Nāga snake of the Hindu Kushika, or Kushites. It was the parent fish of the Sanskrit Matsya, sons of the fish from whom the royal races of India were descended. He and his sister Satya-vaṭī, wife of Shantanu, and thus ancestress of the Kaurāvyas and Pāṇḍavas, the conquering races of the Mahābhārata, were born, as that ancient historical poem tells us, from Vasu and his hawk wife.¹ She was the Hindu equivalent of the Greek goddess Circe or Kirke, from *κίρκος*, 'the hawk,' and the root *kir* reappears in India as the Chir or bird-mother of the Cheroos. In Egypt she was the hawk-headed goddess Hat-hor, whose son Horus always is depicted with a hawk's head. Mr. Boscawen tells us that the image of the sun-mother hawk is engraved as the sign of the guardian god on the walls of the oldest mines in Egypt.² The sons of the hawk, the Cheroos, were the successors of the trident-worshipping Takkas, and they are named as the second of the Dri-dasyas, the three (*dri*) country-born races (*dasya*) in the Madras list of the three races, the Cholas or Kolas, the Cheroos, and Pandyas, descended from Agastya, the star Canopus, and Lopā-mudrā, the fox (*lopā-sha*) mother, the moon-goddess.³

The original fish or water-snake, Sek or Shesh Nāg, who was the god of the Spring season in the Takka triad, is

¹ Mahābhārata Adī (Ādivansavataṛna) Parva, lxiii, pp. 174, 175.

² Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," Preface, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

³ Mahābhārata Vana (Tīrtha-yatra) Parva, xvi, xvii, pp. 307-314.

the Vedic Suk-ra, another form of Indra. The mountain Mandara, which he surrounded as the ocean-snake, is the forest-clad hill called Paris-nath, the lord (*nath*) of the traders (Papis or Panris) on the Burrakur in Chutia Nagpore. It is still one of the most sacred shrines of all the Jains of India, whose earliest shrines are in Khātīāwūr in the West of India. The great majority of the Jains are traders and bankers, and they, according to the genealogy of their Tirtha-karas, their twenty-four parent gods, are descended from Rishabha, the bull (*rishabha*) of Kosala and the mountain (*maru*) goddess Maru-devi. The image of their mountain mother, encircled by the ocean-snake, reappears in the conception of the earth in the Edda, where its centre is Mount Asgard, surrounded by the Midgard serpent, and crowned with the mother-tree, the sacred ash, Ygg-drasil.

These historical stories of Vasu, the sacred mountain, and Shesh Nāg, filtered down into the theology of the Mahābhārata and the Vedas, through Goud, Takka, and Cheroo tribal traditions, are all shown by the Takka mythology to point to the year of three seasons indicated by the three gods of the Takka trident. But as in this mythology Vasu or Vāsuk Nāg is said to have added himself as ruler of Summer to an actual year formerly consisting of Shesh Nāg, the Spring and Summer, and Takt or Taksh Nāg, the Winter season, it is clear that the year of Vasu was preceded by one reckoned by two seasons. These are the two seasons of the year of the Munda sun-bird, the sacred jungle-fowl, which begins its annual circuit round the heavens with the Winter solstice, when the Sohrai Saturnalia of the Santals and the Pongol or year festival of Madras is held. It makes its journey from the south to the north during the six months called in Hindu ritual the Devayāna. At the Summer solstice it turns back again from the north to the south, during the six months season of the Pitri-yāna, and ends its yearly course in the south, with the sun at the Winter solstice. This is the sun-course represented in the two Sū-astikas,

called female and male, the sacred signs of all the Jain traders of Western India; the female Sū-astika, or Sū-v-astika,卐, marking the northerly course of the sun as going widershins, or from right to left, and the male Sū-astika,卐, representing its southern or deasil course from north to south or from left to right. This last is the holy circuit, the Sanskrit Pradakshina, the Pāli Padakkhina, of the Brahmans and Buddhists, and the latter in the Buddhist books are represented as thus going round the Buddha with their right sides towards him. This male Sū-astika is also depicted on the feet of the Buddha. The earlier mother sun-bird, who began her course at the Winter solstice, is the Shyena or frost (*shyā*) bird of Rg., iv, 27, who was wounded by the arrow of Krishānu, the rainbow-god, the drawer (*karsh*) of the heavenly bow, the god who brings the Winter rains. With her blood one of her feathers fell to earth, and grew in the Spring following the Winter solstice into the Palāsha-tree (*Butea frondosa*), as we are told in the Brāhmanas.¹ This Palāsha-tree, called Shyena-brita, or the tree sacred to the Shyena bird,² is the most ancient of the sacred trees of which the sap supplied the holy Soma juice, and it is also the sacred tree of the Mundas. The arrow with which it was slain represents, according to the Brāhmanas,³ the year of the three seasons of the Upasads succeeding that of two, its feather being the Spring, its shaft the Summer, and its barb the Winter, and the whole story of the arrow and the bird tells of the coming of a northern race, who used the bow instead of the Dravidian boomerang.

But the year of the sun-bird of the Eastern Mundas, Santals, and Madras Dravidians, which became the orthodox Brahminical year, the year of the Vedic god Tvashhtar, or the most complete two, was not the earliest year of the founders of the Indian communal village carved from

¹ Eggeling's Sat. Brāh., i, 7. 1. 1. SBE., vol. xii, p. 193.

² Eggeling's Sat. Brāh., iv, 5. 20. 2-4. SBE., vol. xxvi, pp. 421, 422.

³ Ait. Brāh., 1. 25; Eggeling's Sat. Brāh. SBE., vol. xxvi, p. 198, note 2.

the *primaeval* forest. This last was the year of Western India, beginning with the new moon of Khartik (October-November), the month of the Krittakas or Pleiades. This is the year observed by all traders in Western India, who close their books on the 26th of October, to prepare for the Dewali or Dibāli festival, held at the beginning of November. This November feast of lamps is still celebrated in Japan, and was also held in Egypt in connection with the yearly burying of Osiris, the star Orion, the god of the old year at the same season in Egypt.¹ This is the year of the people of the Southern Hemisphere, who as ancestors of the forest races of India, the first founders of villages, were led by the exigencies of agriculture, which rendered a knowledge of the times and seasons a necessary part of a farmer's education, to seek for a method of measuring annual time. They did not seek this knowledge in the course of the sun, the evil spirit which burnt up their crops unless its heat was tempered by constant rain, but in the stars, which rose, culminated, and set like the sun. Their object was to find a constellation which marked the 1st of November, the beginning of their Spring. This they found in the Pleiades, which, as they noted, set immediately after the sun on the 1st of November, and continued to set later than the sun up to the beginning of April, when they were no longer visible in the night sky. They reappeared again in May, to set before the sun, and this they continued to do till the end of October. Thus their year was divided into two seasons of six months each, from November to May, and May to November, the first year of the parent year gods called the two (*tea*), who became, when this year was succeeded by the Munda sun-year, the Tvashtar or superlative two of the Rigveda. This Pleiades year begins everywhere throughout the Southern Hemisphere with a three days' feast to the dead.

¹ H. Brugsch, "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter," pp. 303, 346, 617. Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. I, Essay II, pp. 124-126.

A story was invented to explain the motions of the stars headed by the Pleiades, and its most picturesque form is that surviving in Australia. According to this, the Queen of the Pleiades found a tree-grub in a forest-tree and took it out. It became the giant star Canopus and ran away with her, that is to say, dragged her and her attendant stars round the heavens. This became among the Dravidians the story which represented the giant ape, the Gond tree ape god Maroti, as sitting on the top of the central tree of the world's village grove and dragging the stars round the Pole. This survives in Egyptian astronomy, in which the stars of the Great Bear are called the Thigh of Set, and Set, whose name according to Brugsch means the vanquished (*st*) god, is the god originally called Hapi in Egyptian form of the Tamil Kapi the ape. In the Rāmāyana this story appears as that of the marriage of Su-griva, the ape king, with Tārā the Pole Star, and it is Su-griva who, with Hanuman, the Gond tree ape god, Maroti helps Rāma, the ploughing ox-god, to visit Sītā, the furrow, in the island of Lanka (Ceylon) by means of the bridge formed of 360,000 apes, that is to say, by the 360 days of the year. Tārā, again, is the Buddhist mother goddess worshipped at Budh-Gaya and in Thibet, the goddess Tārā Pennu or the female (*pen*) Tārā of the Khonds and other ruling races of the earliest northern immigrations to Orissa and Chutia Nagpore. This ape star god, the star Canopus of Southern astronomy, called Agastiya in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata, is the father god of all Southern India, who was, as we have seen, by Lopāmudrā his wife, mentioned with him in Rg., i, 179, father of the Dri-dasyas, the Cholas, Cheroos, and Pandyas. The fingers of this ape god, with which he dragged the Pleiades round the Pole, appear in the reckoning of the early Pleiades year as the five days of the weeks into which it was divided. There were seventy-two weeks of five days each, the five fingers of his mighty hand, reckoned in this year. Thus each of its two seasons of six months contained thirty-six weeks, the thirty-six steps of Vishnu, the year-god of Hindu mythology. This is the

week of the Shans of North Burmah, who hold their markets at intervals of five days. It was also the week of the people of the Gangetic Doab, called in the Mahābhārata the Panchālas or men of five (*panch*) claws (*ala*), also called, both in this poem and the Rigveda, the Srinjayas, or men of the sickle (*srini*). This was the week they reckoned in their first sun-year, reckoned by months, the eighteen months' year represented in the ritual of the Ashvamedha sacrifice recorded in the Mahābhārata, by the eighteen sacrificial stakes then erected in place of the eleven hitherto set up to represent the year of gestation of the sun-horse, that of eleven lunar months.¹ It was also the week of the Zends, called the *Punchak fartum*, represented in the seventy-two threads of the Zend girdle, which, like the three knots of the Brahmin's girdle, tied to represent the three seasons of the year, recalled the memory of the primæval five days' week. It was also the Fimt, the name of the five days' week of the Scandinavians.

I have now shown in this sketch of the development and extension of the matriarchal village customs, with the accompaniment of a communal tenure of land, that this primæval system originating in the south, was gradually spread by the northern advance of the southern forest races all over India. The evidence also shows that these customs were in part taken over by the first northern immigrants, the Mundas and Turanian Gonds, and that among these early founders of primitive states, divided into Parhas or Provinces, the Pergunnahs of Bengal and the North-West, the first villages each contained its central Sarna or sacred village grove, and its Akra or dancing-ground, where the matriarchal unions of the sexes were consummated at the seasonal dances. Also that the first northern immigrants from the south brought with them their year, reckoned by the movements of the Pleiades, beginning with its three days' feast to the dead, and this

¹ For the full proof of this see my "History of the Sun-God as the Great Physician," *Westminster Review*, April, 1896, pp. 363, 364; and my "History of the Week," *Westminster Review*, July, 1897, p. 968.

year was by the Mundas replaced by their solstitial year of the sun-bird, also divided like the Pleiades year into seventy-two weeks of five days each. For the original three days' feast to the dead beginning the November year, there was substituted by the corn-growing Syrian immigrants from the north, who instituted the year measured by equinoxes as well as solstices, the present Hindu Shraddha held in Bhadon, at the autumnal equinox. This was the time when the original Syrian and Macedonian solar year, the year still used by the Jews, began.

But the Indian evidence as to the matriarchal, social, and territorial customs of the earliest founders of villages is not the only evidence adducible on the subject, for, as I shall now proceed to show, we find in Europe and South-Western Asia evidence proving the existence there of the Indian matriarchal system, and thus corroborating that I have shown to exist in India. Also this evidence gives us as to certain details, especially those connected with the ancient custom of common meals, more exact proof than that can be gathered from India, where it has been almost everywhere destroyed by the caste system, which again originated from the earlier division of the country into villages, where the inhabitants fed together, and from the system of trade guilds introduced by the Kushika, under which, as in Europe, the guildsmen dined together.¹

These early village founders, in making their way through the country to seek new sites for the settlements of the growing population, used the natural high roads supplied by the rivers and the sea. It was on the river banks and the western sea-coasts of India, covered with forests down to the water's edge, that they learned the arts of boat-building and navigation. As the possessors of these arts, it was they who first introduced maritime trade and civilization into the coast lands of the Indian Ocean, for, except on the Malabar coast of India and those of the islands of the Archipelago, no ship-building timber is found elsewhere

¹ Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i. Preface, pp. lviii, lix; Essays ii and iii, pp. 87, 310, 311.

near the sea over its whole extent.¹ It was in the course of these coasting voyages to seek new lands more accessible than those situated far from the rivers among the tangled woods, that they gradually made their way to the Persian Gulf in the boats which were henceforth used throughout Assyria and Egypt to represent the dwelling-places of these national gods, the arks in which they were carried in all religious processions. There they found good arable land, but the sandy soil was not well suited to their rice, and hence, as they in India had grown rice from the wild grass, still hung up in August in the houses of all ryots in Central India, as the parent rice plant, so their descendants in Mesopotamia found the wild grasses, whence, as all botanists now agree, our European barley and wheat were originally produced. These people came to Asia Minor at the close of the Palaeolithic Age, the age of the Glacial epochs, when cultivation in Europe was all but impossible, and united with the hunting races, the cave-dwellers, who were the sole inhabitants of the country during the Ice Age. It was there that they substituted Orion, the hunting star, for Canopus as the leader of the Pleiades and their attendant stars round the Pole, for Canopus in Argo ceased to be visible north of the Isthmus of Suez, and it was thence that they spread themselves all over Europe as the dwellers in the Neolithic villages. In these, as Lubbock and Boyd Dawkins have shown, all the crops grown and all the beasts domesticated owed their origin to Asia Minor and South-Western Asia. These people took with them their reverence for the village grove, and the village tree, preserved in the temple groves and the temple Temenos forming the Akropolis or centre of all towns and villages. The seasonal dances were reproduced in the dances to Istar, Mylitta, Cybele, Aphrodite, and Venus, and the matriarchal national customs produced the Amazonian rule of women along the coasts of the Mediterranean and in Ancient Greece. The consecrated maidens of Istar of a later age represent the

¹ Hewitt, "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times," vol. i, Essay iii, pp. 250 ff.

village women of the matriarchal epoch, and the Babylonian customs of the worship of Mylitta, which obliged all women to appear at her temple before their marriage and there unite themselves with the first male worshipper who chose them, show clearly their derivation from matriarchal village unions. The custom of common meals was preserved by the Cretans, Spartans, the Oenotrians and Sikels of South Italy and Sicily, the Arcadians of Phygalia, and the Argives. It was observed at Megara in the days of Theognis, and was said to have been introduced into Corinth by Periander, and Aristotle in his Politics tells us that these meals were taken from the common granaries (*ex κοινοῦ*).¹ The primæval custom of common meals was universally preserved in Italy and Greece by the common ceremonies performed in each city at its public festivals. These were always, as Mons. Fustel de Coulanges has shown in his graphic work "*La Cité Antique*," accompanied by common meals partaken of by all the inhabitants.² We have also in the Bible a reminiscence of these common sacrificial meals in the feast held by Samuel as national prophet at Ramah, where the sacrificed victims were eaten, and the thigh, the part of the victim assigned to the priest, was set before Saul as the national priest and king.³ But this feast was, as the number of guests was restricted, a guild feast of the priestly guild which succeeded the village festivals.

The Indian division of the country into Parhas, each with its central village, the residence of the Manki, was reproduced in the divisions of Palestine recorded in Joshua, where each province with its villages is named after its central city. Also the Nomes of Egypt were constituted in an exactly similar manner, only that in these Nomes the totem system of descent was preserved more clearly than in India, for the villages and capital city of each Nomo

¹ Müller, "*Die Dorier*," Bk. iii, p. 199; Bk. iv, chap. iii, p. 269. Grote,

"*History of Greece*," vol. iii, chap. xxi, p. 672.

² Fustel de Coulanges, "*La Cité Antique*," livre iii, chap. xvi.

³ 1 Samuel, ix; Levit., vii, 32.

were consecrated to a special animal totem. In Abyssinia, whence the Kushite kings came to Egypt, the Indian village with its central grove still exists, and this grove dedicated to the temple is now the site of the village church.¹ Also the village groves were a most prominent feature in the national religion of Palestine. The village Town Hall, the Gemeinde Haus of Germany and the Gemeente Haus of Flanders, is a surviving relic of the Bachelor's Hall of the matriarchists, which exists everywhere where the communal tenure of land prevails. The annual or less frequent redistribution of land at the close of a series of years which marked the communal tenure of the Indian villages also survived in the villages of South-Western Asia and Europe. The Rev. J. Neill, in an article on "Land Tenure in the Village Communities of Palestine," published in No. xlv, vol. xxiv, of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, describes how the village lands are annually redistributed among the cultivators exactly in the same way as was customary in Chuttisgurh, and Tacitus has described the existence of similar customs among the Suabians of South Germany, where they still, as I know, existed at intervals of years till recently, and still every purchaser of a peasant's land has to pay an additional sum to the commune for right of entry, thus showing the peasant not to be the full proprietor of the land. That they formerly obtained in England is proved by the annual distribution of common lands, such as the Lammas lands of Coventry, and that the methods of distribution were exactly similar to those used in India is proved by an instance quoted by Sir H. Elliot from Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. iii, p. 586. He tells how before 1811, when the lands of the parishes of Congresbury and Puxton, called Dal-moors, were enclosed, they used to be annually redistributed to the inhabitants of the parishes. They were divided into strips, each covering an acre, and bearing a peculiar and different mark cut in the turf, such as a horse, four oxen and a mare,

¹ Bent, "Sacred City of the Ethiopians," chap. viii, p. 138.

two oxen and a mare, a pole-axe, duck's nest, hand reel, and hare's tail, etc. The fields were thus named in an exactly similar way to that still in use in Chutia Nagpore. On the Saturday before old Midsummer, the tenants of the proprietors of estates in Congresbury, Puxton, and West St. Lawrence used to assemble on these lands, and a number of apples, each marked with the mark of a field, are put into a bag, and each tenant took possession for the ensuing year of the plot bearing the mark of the apple he drew. Four acres were also reserved for the payment of expenses, and these were let by an inch of candle.¹ These answer to the Beth-kheta lands in Ooraon villages in Chutia Nagpore, lands held in common among the ryots for the payment of village expenses and allotted to different ryots in turn.

But besides this evidence of the transference from India to Europe of matriarchal social customs, and those connected with the tenure and distribution of land, there is also most cogent evidence furnished by the custom of reckoning the year beginning in November. This was the year of the Druids, the priests of the mother-tree (*dru*), who always began their year in November, and it was then that the Druid nuns were obliged to pull down and rebuild the roof of their temple, and it was then that the annual fires were lit. Also the year began with the three days' feast to the dead, still preserved all over Europe in the three sacred days of All Hallows Eve, All Saints, and All Souls Day. It is still the custom in several counties in England for farm servants to be hired for the year from the 1st November.² Also the beginning of the second season of the year, from May to November, is celebrated in the May festivals, accompanied by the annual perambulation and marking of boundaries, a survival of the Indian ritual of the boundary snake-god.

This snake-god survived in Greece in the Echis, the

¹ Elliot, "Supplementary Glossary, N.W.P.," p. 264.

² Also all Mayors and Corporations in English towns are elected annually on the 1st of November.

parent snake killed by Cadmus, and the father of the Achaioi. This snake was the Sanskrit Ahi, the holding snake who appears in Vedic mythology as the Ahir Budhnya, the ocean- (*budhna*) snake encircling the base of the mother mountain, the Python or snake of the depths (*βυθός*) of Delphi. The Ahi, again, is the snake Vritra slain by Indra, and his name, from the root *eri*, means the circling snake, or snake of the Indian village. The Greeks still call themselves his children, for, according to Mannhardt, in Greek villages at the present day all unbaptized boys are called δράκος, δρακόντας, 'male snakes or dragons,' and girls δράκαινα, δρακοῦλα, δρακόντισσα.¹

But one of the most telling pieces of evidence as to the transference of Indian matriarchal customs to Greece is furnished by the festival of the Thesmophoriazousai. This festival, which is apparently a Northern reproduction of the universally observed festival of firstfruits, held in the Southern Hemisphere at the beginning of the November year, was, according to Herodotus, ii, 171, introduced among the Pelasgi by the sons of Danaus, the Indian Dānava, the sons of the Akkadian Danu, the Pole-star God. It was, he says in vi, 16, held in a cavern by the women of Ephesus, one of the cities founded by the matriarchal Amazons. It took place on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Puanepsion (October-November), answering to the 24th, 25th, and 26th of October, and was held at night, showing it was a festival of the southern races, who began their day, not with the rising of the sun in the morning, but by the rising of the stars led by the Pleiades at night. Only the women of each *demos* or village took part in it, and among these two were chosen by the rest as rulers of the feast. Pigs were sacrificed to the mother De-mētēr, the barley-mother, just as in India pigs are sacrificed to the god Rāhu, the sun-god of the ploughing races. The Greek pigs were consecrated to the snake parent gods, and no pomegranates, a fruit consecrated to the sun, were allowed to be eaten.

¹ Mannhardt, "Antike Wald und Feld Kultur," vol. ii, chap. ii, p. 63.

This feast was followed by the Chalkeia, held on the 19th of Puanepsion, the 1st of November. This was dedicated to Athene and Hephaistos, the latter being the god of the fire-drill. Between these two were held the village feast of the Apaturia, when the assembly of the *phatria* of each village was held, the lists of members of the village community revised, and the young men who were sufficiently old for admission received the *κλήρος*, or grant of cultivated land, allotted to them, a grant which necessitated the re-arrangement of the village lands. It was at this feast that the year's fires were lighted from the central fire of the village, the hearth dedicated to the goddess Hestia, the Roman Vesta. At this fire each man lighted the torch which was to light his household fire, and these were carried in procession through the village. Similarly these fires were lighted among the Druids, and this feast of the annual relighting of fires is called in Wales and Ireland Samain. It lasts for three days before and three days after the 1st of November.¹

I have now shown, in this review of the customs and institutions of the primitive villages, that in their earliest form no individual right of property in any piece of land was recognized. The tenures were thus entirely distinct from those of the Gothic Hof Bauers of North-West Germany, who, with the Bratsvenici Slavs of the Balkans, were the ancestors of the Indian Jats. To each Bauerschaft or Bratsvo a definite estate belonged, which was divided into separate portions allotted to each family,² as in Bhāyāchāra villages in India. In Europe each family had its land, and each tribal territory was marked by its distinct boundary-marks, the origin of our hedges, which are never seen in the communal villages of Belgium, Eastern France, or South Germany, except where a tract held by private proprietors exists. It was these marrying Goths who were the precursors of the later Aryan Celts of the Vedic age, the people who

¹ Rhys, "Hibbert Lectures for 1881," pp. 517, 518.

² Jeróns Schrader's "Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryans," part iv, chap. xii, sect. vi, p. 307.

burnt their dead, and who superimposed rights of private property in India, which have, wherever the Mitakshara and Dhayabhaga codes prevail, superseded those of the earlier village communities. //

With regard to Mr. Baden-Powell's remark, in p. 611, that it seems to him very improbable that once the cultivator had no separate interest in the plot or aggregate of plots he was told to cultivate, I would remark that, as all the produce of the whole cultivated tract was once stored in the common granary (as in the Cretan villages described by Aristotle), he could have no possible private interest in the produce. Similarly the produce of all freshly cleared land belonged to the community, and the land itself, if cleared by any one individual cultivator, was included in the cultivated land of the village at the next distribution.

ART. XII.—*The Coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava (Western Kṣatrapas)*. By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S. Together with a Note on the order of succession, and Dynastic and Genealogical Tables, by Colonel J. BIDDULPH.

MORE than eight years have passed since the publication in this Journal of a posthumous article by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī on "The Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas."¹ With the exception of a chapter in "Coins of Mediaeval India," by the late General Sir A. Cunningham, little of importance has since been written on the history of this dynasty. The Paṇḍit's article is still the best and fullest account of the subject taken as a whole. So much new information has, however, been obtained from the coins—partly from specimens recently brought to light, and partly from a more minute scrutiny of specimens previously known—that a supplementary account has become necessary. The following notes profess merely to supply *addenda et corrigenda* to the article in question, and are not intended in any way to supersede it.

The most important results have been obtained from the collection of the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas made by Colonel J. Biddulph, while Resident at Baroda, and many of the new facts now published are due to his patient and painstaking observations.

When our manuscript was about to be sent to the printer, I received a very interesting letter from the Rev. H. R. Scott, giving an account of the investigation by

¹ J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 639. In the following pages, this article is referred to as *RA*.

Mr. Vallabhji Haridatta and himself of the Kṣatrapa coins—two or three hundred in number—in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. These observations, which confirm our conclusions in some instances, and suggest further possibilities in others, have been added to our notes.

The Obverse Inscriptions in 'Greek' Characters.

As is well known, the coins of the Kṣatrapas, throughout the whole duration of the dynasty, generally bear on the obverse traces of what seems to be undoubtedly an inscription—or rather, perhaps, in most cases, an imitation of an inscription—in Greek characters. This is clearest during the period when the workmanship is at its best, i.e. approximately from the reign of Dāmajadaśrī, son of Rudradāman, to that of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena; and, in their endeavours to decipher these enigmatical coin-legends, numismatists have naturally selected for study those specimens on which they were most clearly and completely expressed.¹ There seems to be little doubt, however, that at this time (roughly from about 90 to 170 of the Kṣatrapa era = A.D. 168 to 248), this Greek inscription had lost all meaning, and continued to be reproduced mechanically and unintelligently as a sort of ornamental border. If so, the failure of the numismatists to give any satisfactory explanation is not to be wondered at. The best hope of recovering the lost meaning lay evidently in a study of the earliest coins of this class—those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana—which belonged to a period when these Greek inscriptions possibly still had some significance; but, unfortunately, all the known specimens of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were lamentably deficient and fragmentary in this respect.

An unusually well preserved coin of Caṣṭana, belonging to Colonel Biddulph, supplies, I believe, the clue to the proper explanation of these obverse inscriptions in Greek

¹ Rapson, "Indian Coins" [Bühler's *Grundriss*, ii, 36], § 81, for references to the various attempts made to explain these coin-legends.

characters; and the recognition of this fact is due, in the first place, to Mr. G. F. Hill, who immediately saw that the name of Castana actually appears here as CIACTANCA (inf., p. 370, Pl. 2). From this observation, the natural inference followed that these Greek inscriptions are, after all, nothing but what might have been expected, i.e. either translations or transliterations of the Indian inscriptions on the reverse. If the attempt to restore these fragmentary coin-legends be made from this point of view, it will be quite evident that they are not translations. There are no traces, for instance, of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, which would naturally have been used to translate *rājño*; but there will be very good reason to suppose that they are transliterations.

In the case of the coins of Nahapāna, for example, the Indian inscriptions on the reverse are—*Rājño Kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa* (Brāhmī), and *Raño Chaharatasa Nahapanasa* (Kharoṣṭhī). The obverse inscriptions on all the available specimens are, unfortunately, very fragmentary. The remaining traces, if read from the top downwards—the direction in which the corresponding Indian inscriptions on the reverse invariably proceed at this period—are as follows¹:—

- (1) . A CCNAA[ΠA] . Bh.
- (2) . ANNIΩΙΑΤΑΛΛΔCCNA[?]NA[] Bh.
- (3) PAN[N] [Π]A[?]NACC Col. Shepherd.

Now there can surely be no doubt that the first word PANNIΩ is intended to represent *rājño* or *raño*, and that the third word NAA[Π]A[?]NACC contains in blundered fashion the name Nahapāna in the genitive. With regard

¹ It may be mentioned that in these copies the restorations within brackets are in every case probable, and seem to be justified by the traces which remain of the letters. A note of interrogation has been substituted whenever the visible traces do not suggest a probable restoration. It is interesting to note that Colonel Shepherd's coin alone of all the available coins of Nahapāna and Castana preserves the letter P of PANNIΩ distinct, and thus verifies a conjecture which had been made before its appearance.

to the second word, the greater part of which is to be seen on only one of the three coins, there is less certainty. $\text{IAT}\Lambda\Delta\text{CC}$ can scarcely, after all allowance for blundering has been made, be intended for a transliteration of *Kṣaharataṣa* or *Chaharatasa*, the title which Nahapāna usually bears on his coins; but a little correction would make it into $\text{IATA}\Pi\text{ACC}$, and this might very well represent a Gracized form *śatlapasa*¹ = *kṣatrapasa* or *chatrapasa*, a title which he bears in some of his inscriptions,² and which, indeed, may possibly even have been used in the Indian legends on the reverse of this particular coin, for both the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are too imperfect in the case of this word to admit of any certain reading.

In the case of Caṣṭana, the obverse legend in Greek letters is plainer. The two coins which are clearest in this respect read:—

(1) . ANNIWIA NCA [Bh.

(2) . ANN[Ω]IAT[P] [CI]ACTANCA

[Col. Biddulph.

This seems undoubtedly to be a transliteration of *Rājño kṣatrapasa Caṣṭanasa*. It must be noticed, however, that it does not correspond with the Indian (Brāhmī) inscription on the other side, which gives to Caṣṭana the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa and calls him the son of Ghsamotika (v. inf., p. 370, Pl. 2). The silver coin attributed by Bhagvānlāl (p. 645) to Jayadāman also has [-]ΔNNIΩ quite distinct; but, as will be seen (inf., p. 372), it is extremely doubtful whether this coin should not rather be assigned to Caṣṭana ruling as Kṣatrapa. Generally it may be said that no attempt to explain as significant the inscriptions in Greek characters on coins subsequent to the time of Caṣṭana has hitherto been successful; and that

¹ For the initial letter *s*, cf. the Greek transliteration of the word *kṣatrapa* on the coins of Caṣṭana (inf., p. 370). The representation of *r* by *i* both in Sanskrit and in the Prakritic dialects is common enough; cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, § 191.

² Cf. Archaeological Survey of Western India: Kāṭiāwād and Kachh, p. 16.

the probability is that they then ceased to have any meaning and continued to be imitated or repeated simply as a sort of ornamental border.

They are, nevertheless, not altogether unworthy of study; and, for the purpose of illustrating our observations, it may be worth while to quote a few of the most perfect.

(1) $\text{HVO}\gamma\text{:}\text{DIOIIVVOIIBOIVV}\text{A}\text{IOCI}$

on a coin (B.M., Cunn., 94, 5-7, 677) of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, as Kṣatrapa in the year 102. With the exception of the first two characters, this is repeated on a coin struck in the following year, 103, by the same prince ruling as Mahākṣatrapa (B.M., Bh. Coll., 22).

(2) $\gamma\kappa\text{:}\text{HOI}\omega\text{DIOI}\text{H}\text{IOHOIOI}$

The same ruling as Kṣatrapa (for the second time) in the year 112. (B.M., Bh. Coll., 21.)

(3) $\text{H}\gamma\omega\gamma\text{ICIVIOIVANCV}$

Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, Mahākṣatrapa, year 134. (B.M., Cunn., 94, 5-7, 678.)

(4) $\text{H}\gamma\text{D}[\text{?}] \dots \text{IOICIV}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{IIVVO}$

Dāmasena, son of Rudrasimha, Mahākṣatrapa, year 152. (B.M., Bh. Coll., 154.)

(5) $\text{H}\gamma\text{D}\text{:}\text{IIVIOI}\text{HCV}\text{A}\text{Z}\text{IIVVO}$

This inscription has been traced from three specimens of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, Mahākṣatrapa, year 163 (B.M., Bh. Coll., 204, 208, 210); but it appears to be the reading on all his coins without exception. Indeed, this particular combination of characters seems to have been generally adopted as the recognized form after the reign of Dāmasena, son of Rudrasimha; and it is interesting to trace its growth and gradual predominance from a still earlier time [cf., for example, (5) with (4), and (4) with

(3)]. After the time of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, the obverse inscriptions become more fragmentary, but the fragments can, in by far the greater number of instances, be referred back to this stereotyped form.¹ There are, however, exceptions to this general rule, e.g.:

(6) . . . ΛΙΘΑΝΙΣΙΝΙΑ . . .

(7) ΚΥΛΑΝΑ . . .

Rudrasimha, son of Svāmi Jivadāman, Kṣatrapa from 22x to 233 (?) (B.M., India Office Coll., 945, and Bh. Coll., 539). The fragments of the obverse inscriptions of this Kṣatrapa tend to show that they were altogether abnormal. This trifling observation may not be without significance when it is coupled with the fact that a break occurs in the dynasty at this time, and that the reign of Rudrasimha, son of Svāmi Jivadāman, marks a new departure. Such traces as are to be seen on later coins seem, however, to indicate a subsequent reversion to the old form.

It has been generally supposed that the Kṣatrapa coinage was derived, alike as regards its form and its standard of weight, from the later Graeco-Indian coinage, and that the origin of this obverse inscription in Greek characters is thus fully explained. This view must be, in the main, perfectly correct. There can be little doubt as to the general similarity between the Kṣatrapa coins and the hemidrachms of Apollodotus Philopator, for instance; but there are also, apparently, traces of other influence; and in some respects, notably in the arrangement of the inscription—which is interrupted by the bust, not continuous all around the coin—Roman denarii rather than Graeco-Indian hemidrachms seem to have served as the models from

¹ I must altogether retract an opinion expressed by me in a note to Bhagvānlāl's paper (p. 848) that "It is scarcely too much to say that no identical or even very similar combinations of these Greek letters are to be found on different specimens." It was only after the systematic examination of many hundreds of specimens that it was seen that these fragments are, in most cases, parts of the same original.

which the Kṣatrapa coinage was copied.¹ The letters of the obverse inscriptions of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana are undoubtedly Greek, but, on the later coins, there seem often to be reminiscences of such commonly recurring Roman formulae as AVG, COSIII, etc. It is most probable, then, that the Kṣatrapa coins owe something to both Graeco-Indian and Roman sources.

The Coin-Dates and their Representation.

Most important modifications in the dynastic list, as arranged by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, have resulted from the discovery of specimens bearing new dates. At the same time, scarcely less has been gained by a more precise and rigid method of dealing with the dated specimens already known. It is important to distinguish always between the certain and the probable. It is almost equally important to abstain from all conjecture as to mere possibilities. In these pages, therefore, a note of interrogation has been added to every reading of a date as to the absolute accuracy of which there can be the slightest shadow of a doubt, and this note of interrogation has been used only to denote what is in itself probable and apparently justified by traces remaining on the coin or other satisfactory evidence, never to denote what is possible but wholly conjectural. The letter *x* has been used to indicate a digit which is quite uncertain, and, where it is possible to assign limits to this uncertainty, these have been added within a bracket.

With regard to the reading of these dates, some ambiguity remains apparently on one point only—the determination whether, in certain cases, the character which appears in the unit's place should be read as 8 or 9. There is no doubt about the normal forms of these numerals. They both occur in inscriptions in cases where the number is

¹ Roman coins belonging to the period from Augustus to Antoninus Pius were, as we know, plentiful in India (to the references given in *Indian Coins*, § 13, add Hill, *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 304), and there are undoubted instances of Roman influence on Indian coinage—e.g., in the bust on the small bronze coins of Kozala Kadapha, and in the style of the figures of divinities represented on the gold coinage of the Kuṣāna monarchs Kanīṣka and Huviṣka.

represented both in figures and words, e.g., eight = ४, ५, and ७ (Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Buddhist Cave Temples*, pl. xlvī, Mahad, 1 and 2) and nine = ३ (id., pl. lii, 18, from Nāsik). The doubt arises when we find on the coins forms which, by a little ingenuity, admit of explanation as either. Such a form is ३, which is of frequent occurrence (e.g., B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 25). Bühler assigns the value nine to this figure (*Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel ix), while Bhagvānlāl invariably reads it as eight. The coin from the Bhagvānlāl Collection just referred to is one of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, and has the date ७५३, and the earliest known date of his successor, Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada, appears on a coin—Bh. Coll., No. 20—as ७५३. There can be little doubt that the latter is 119, and if so the presumption is that the former is 118, i.e. that this ३ = eight. The same rule works well if applied to other cases of possible doubt. For instance, on the coins of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, we find both ७५३ (Bh. Coll., Nos. 255, 256) and ७५३ (id., No. 257, etc.). Now, the latter is almost certainly 169 (although the fact was overlooked by the Paṇḍit), and, if so, the former is surely 168, as all the other unit-figures are perfectly well known. The hook at the top seems to be the chief characteristic of the nine: the short line at the top of the eight seems simply to be a *mātra*—or what English printers call a serif—such as was added to Nāgarī letters generally at this period.

The Era of the Coin-Dates.

The vexed question of the origin of the Śaka era need not be discussed here. What we have to decide is whether the dates on these coins are more fittingly ascribed to it or to some other era. In *Indian Coins*, § 83, I point out that the assumption of another era, beginning about 100 A.D., is quite unnecessary, and that the known facts of the case well agree with the presumption that the dates are in the Śaka era, beginning 78 A.D. This view has since been confirmed by Professor Kielhorn's observations as to

the use of the word *varṣa* (as opposed to *samvatsara*) to denote 'year' in inscriptions. From an examination of all the known instances he concludes that "the great preponderance of the word *varṣa* in the technical language of the Śaka dates must, no doubt, be regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Śaka era." After referring to the dates on the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas, he says "the word for 'year' everywhere is *varṣa* (or its Prakrit equivalent), and this circumstance seems to me to connect these dates in an unmistakable manner with the dates which are distinctly referred to the Śaka era, in which the word *varṣa* decidedly predominates. In fact, the way in which *varṣa* is used both in the dates of the Western Kṣatrapas and in the Śaka dates universally so called, tends, in my opinion, to support the views of those scholars who have assigned the former to the Śaka era, on historical grounds."¹ This acute deduction appears to me to make practically certain what was before a very probable theory.

General Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 3) tentatively assigned the years found in Nahapāna's inscriptions, 41, 42, and 46, to "the era of the Mālavas, beginning in B.C. 57." It is extremely improbable that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were separated by any such interval as would be necessitated by this theory; and Professor Kielhorn's rule would show that Nahapāna's dates like those of the Western Kṣatrapas are in the Śaka era.

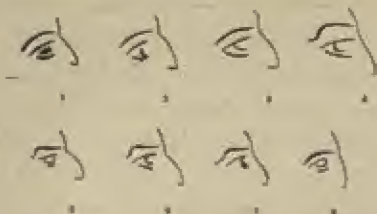
The Representation of the Eye in the Portraiture of Different Periods.

The types of the silver coinage remain the same from the beginning to the end of the dynasty—from the reign of Caṣṭana to that of Rudrasimha, son of Satyasimha—a period of about two centuries and a half; but, in spite of this conservatism in regard to main features, which is characteristic of other Indian coinages also, slight variations are

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1897, p. 163.

naturally to be observed in the art and workmanship of different periods. Some of these—e.g. the different methods of representing the eye and lips in the portraits on the obverse, and the various forms assumed by the *cailya*, star and crescent, on the reverse—were noticed by Newton in 1862,¹ and it is interesting to observe (op. cit., table facing p. 26) how the results which he obtained from a minute examination of these details generally confirm the order of succession of these princes as determined by their inscriptions and dates.

These observations are often useful as *criteria* of date. The different methods adopted in the representation of the eye seem, in particular, to be determinable with great accuracy. The chief methods are shown in the accompanying sketches, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Hill; and the period during which each one of these prevailed can be dated in most instances almost to the exact year.



(1) Drawn from a coin of Mks. Rudrasimha, yr. 110: B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 90.

From the beginning of the dynasty until about the year 115, in the reign of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, the eye-ball is regularly represented by a dot in relief.

(2) Mks. Rudrasimha, yr. 116: B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 100.

For a short period after this, the eye-ball is generally indicated by a line between the eye-lids in the form of a curve bending inwards. This style seems to prevail between the years 116 and 126. Of the five coins of Jivadāman, son of Jayadāman, in the British Museum, four are in accordance with the rule, and one, dated 122, shows

¹ "On the Śāh, Guptas, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat": *Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S.*, 1862, p. 1.

the earlier form of eye given in Fig. 1. The earlier coins of Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, follow the rule.

(3) Mkṣ. Rudrasena, yr. 136 : B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 121.

After the year 126, the curve which indicates the eye-ball is attached to the middle of the line representing the upper eye-lid; and, in the reign of Dāmasena, apparently about the year 153, the curvature of the line representing the eye-brow is greatly increased (see Fig. 4).

(4) Mkṣ. Vijayasena, yr. 170 : B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 263.

A tendency to make the upper line of the eye straighter and the curve of the eye-ball more circular is observable from about the year 170, in the reign of Vijayasena, and this style seems to last until after the year 211, in the reign of Bhartṛdāman.

(5) Mkṣ. Bhartṛdāman, yr. 214 : B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 51 (the eye-brow copied from No. 445).

A coin of Bhartṛdāman, dated 211, follows the style shown in Fig. 4, but on all his coins of a subsequent date, the curve representing the eye-ball has become a complete circle. As will be noticed (*inf.*, p. 393), the dates on the coins of Viśvasimha and Bhartṛdāman are in such an unsatisfactory condition that it was, until quite recently, doubtful which of the two reigned first. The evidence from style is, in this case, important. Of the sixty-nine specimens of Viśvasimha's coinage in the British Museum, not one has a portrait with the eye formed according to the fashion prevalent during the latter part of Bhartṛdāman's reign—a fact which, of itself, seems to show that Viśvasimha ruled before Bhartṛdāman.

(6) Mkṣ. Rudrasimha, yr. 230 : B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 59.

During the reign of Rudrasimha, son of Jīvadāman, before the year 230, we find what seems almost to be a reversion to the style shown in Fig. 4. The only differences appear to be that the curve indicating the eye-ball is attached nearly to the end of the upper line of the eye, and that the lower line is shorter. The dates on most of Rudrasimha's coins are very indistinct, and it is impossible to date the introduction of this style very

accurately. It certainly prevails after 230; but of the coins reading 22x, some follow this style and some that shown in Fig. 5.

(7) Kṣ. Yaśodāman, yr. 240: B.M., Bird, 54, 5-29, 12.

On the coins of Yaśodāman (240-249), the lower line of the eye is much reduced—often it becomes a mere dot—and the curve indicating the eye-ball is much smaller, and is attached to the extremity of the upper line. This style seems to prevail until about the year 290, in the reign of Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman.

(8) Mṣ. Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman, yr. 292: B.M., Bh. Coll., No. 67.

In this reign, after about the year 290, we seem to find a new style, in which the eye-brow is made much thicker, and the eye-ball represented by a circle at the end of the upper line, existing side by side with the style shown in Fig. 7. Both of these styles seem to occur together until the end of the dynasty, but the one described last and shown in Fig. 8 seems to predominate.

The Silver Coinage.

NAHAṬĀNA, THE KṢAHARĀTA (*Bh.*, p. 642).

[Kṣatrapa: dated inscription 41 ?, 42; Mahākṣatrapa: dated inscription 46.]

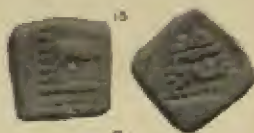
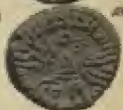
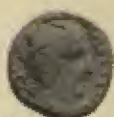
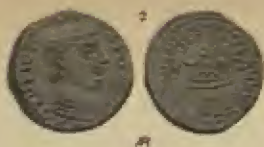
Obv. Bust to r., PAN[N] [Π]A[?]NACC[.

Rev. Arrow and thunderbolt: *Raño Chaharatasa Naha-panasa* (Kharoṣṭhī): *-nasa* (Brāhmī).

Colonel Shepherd. 65, wt. 30 grains; Pl. 1.

As has been already mentioned (*sup.*, p. 359), this coin is important as preserving quite distinct the initial P of PANNIΩ = *raño*, and thus making certain a reading which was previously somewhat problematical.¹ Another noteworthy feature is its perfect Kharoṣṭhī inscription in bold distinct characters.

¹ Thomas (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh, p. 46 ff.) contended with much learning and ingenuity that the Greek title ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥ was to be restored here. In *J.R.A.S.*, 1881, p. 526, he suggested ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ—no doubt on the analogy of the coins of Mäus.



COINS OF THE WESTERN KSATRAPAS.

CHIEFLY FROM THE COLLECTION OF COLONEL BIDDULPH.

The Pandit's statement (on p. 641) that the title *Chaharāta* used by Nahapāna occurs also "on the Taxila copper-plate dated in the seventy-eighth year of the great king Moga," must be accepted with some reservation. Hofrath Dr. G. Bühler, in his edition of this copper-plate inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, iv, p. 54 ff.), while admitting (p. 55, note 7) that the reading *Chaharātasa* was "not absolutely impossible," preferred to read the passage as *Chahara[sa] Cukhsasa ca Chatrapasa*, and to interpret it as meaning that "Liaka ruled as Satrap over the districts of Chahara and Cukhsa." It is, therefore, not yet satisfactorily proved that we know of any other ruler of the Kṣaharāta family besides Nahapāna. My account of the Kṣaharātas, in *Indian Coins*, § 78, should be amended accordingly. The statement, moreover, that Nahapāna is "known as a Śaka from the inscriptions of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta" should be qualified. The fact is merely that Uṣavadāta himself—not Nahapāna—is, in all probability, but still not quite certainly, called a Śaka in one of the Nāsik inscriptions (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 101, note 3).

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Kṣaharāta family is to be identified with the Khakharāta family, which the Andhra king Vāsīṭhiputa Puṣumāyi boasts of having destroyed, in the Nāsik inscription dated in the nineteenth year of his reign (*id.*, p. 108). In another inscription the title appears as Khaharāta (*id.*, p. 101, No. 6).

Nahapāna is styled Rāja Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa in an inscription dated in the year 42, and having a postscript in which the years 41 and 45 are mentioned (*id.*, p. 102, No. 9); but he appears as [Rāja] Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi in an inscription of his minister Ayama dated in the year 46 (*id.*, p. 103, No. 11). He seems to bear the higher title only on this inscription, and on no coin hitherto discovered. It is, perhaps, scarcely safe to conclude from this one piece of evidence, that, on the assumption of the higher title Mahākṣatrapa, he discontinued the use of his family-name Kṣaharāta.

GHSAMOTIKA.

From the coins of Caṣṭana we learn that he was the son of Ghsamotika. This would seem to be the Indian transliteration of some foreign—probably Persian—proper name; but until this point can be definitely decided, the alternative may be borne in mind that *Ghsamotikaputra* may possibly be some title formed on the analogy of *rājaputra*, *devaputra*, and the like. If Ghsamotika be a proper name, it is somewhat strange that it is unaccompanied by any title whatsoever. All the genealogical tables given in the inscriptions begin with Caṣṭana, and no mention whatever is made in them of his father. This is to be explained, according to our adoption of one or other of the alternative suggestions just mentioned, as due to the fact either that the father was a private person without any titles, or that *ghsamotikaputra* simply means 'son of the feudal lord,' 'knight,' 'esquire,' or something of the kind.

In Thomas's article on the "Epoch of the Guptas," in the *Journal* for 1881, p. 524, he says: "Mr. Burgess informs me that a coin of the father of Caṣṭana has lately been found. The name appears in its archaic form as $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ +, स्यमोतिक्, *Syamotika*." A very slight correction in this reading would, of course, give us Ghsamotika. Unfortunately, this interesting coin has disappeared. Dr. Burgess tells me that he distinctly remembers seeing it in the Paṇḍit's collection, and being told that it came from Kāthiāwād. The Paṇḍit's collection is now in the British Museum, but all attempts to find this particular coin have been in vain.

CAṢṬANA, SON OF GHSAMOTIKA (*Bh.*, p. 643).

[Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa: no dated coins or inscriptions.]

¹*Obv.* Bust to r., [ANN[IW]IAT[P] [C]I]ACTANCA

¹ As the types of the silver coinage of the Kṣatrapas remain the same from this time to the end of the dynasty, it will not be necessary to repeat the description of them in every case.

The Rev. H. R. Scott informs me that there is a specimen of Caṣṭana's coinage, similar to the one here described, in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. It is "thinner than the ordinary Kṣatrapa coin, a little broader, and a few grains less in weight."

Rev. Caitya; r., star; l., crescent; *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa* (Brāhmī); *Caṣṭanasa*¹ (Kharoṣṭhī).

Col. Biddulph.

·6, wt. 30·5 grains; Pl. 2.

The importance of this coin as being the first to afford a clue to the explanation of the fragmentary obverse inscriptions in Greek characters has already been pointed out (sup., p. 359).

The suggestion (*Bh.*, p. 644) that "the name of Caṣṭana may possibly denote that he belonged to the Caṣṭa or Cutsa tribe, which is mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate grant," cannot be entertained since Bühler has shown (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, p. 56) that the true reading is *Cukṣa*² or possibly *Cuṣka*.

As the Paṇḍit (*Bh.*, p. 644) remarks, there are two types of reverse on Caṣṭana's coins:—(1) a crescent and a star or rayed sun, and (2) the *caitya* accompanied by these symbols. This latter type is universal for the silver coinage from this time until the end of the dynasty. Of the former there appears to be no specimen in England, and none has been published anywhere. We have in the Bhagvānlāl Collection only a *cliché* in lead, from which the cast photographed in the Plate has been made. We have no information where the original coin, from which this *cliché* was taken, is at present.

Rev. R., star; l., crescent; *Rājño Kṣatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa* [. . . .] (Brāhmī); [.]³ (Kharoṣṭhī) B.M., Bh. Coll. Pl. 3.

The sum-total of our knowledge of Caṣṭana's reign is indeed meagre. From this coin,⁴ and possibly from another,

¹ The reading of the second syllable as *-ṣa* is not quite certain on any of the coins, but it is more probable than any other. The last syllable *-sa* on this coin is also very peculiar. Want of space is, perhaps, a sufficient explanation of these abnormal characters.

² Dowson's original reading, *J.R.A.S.*, 1863, p. 231.

³ There is no certain trace of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. It is inferred on the analogy of other coins. There is certainly not room enough for the whole inscription. It may possibly have been *Rājño Caṣṭanasa* or even *Rājño Chatrapasa Caṣṭanasa*.

⁴ The actual name of Caṣṭana does not occur on this coin, but there can scarcely have been another Ghsamotikaputra.

we learn that he reigned as Kṣatrapa, while all the other coins and all the inscriptions in which he is mentioned give him the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa. In the inscriptions of his successors, he is universally regarded as the founder of the dynasty; but we have no dates on coins or inscriptions to aid us in determining the limits of his reign.

The other coin just mentioned as possibly attributable to Caṣṭana as Kṣatrapa is assigned doubtfully by the Paṇḍit (*Bh.*, p. 645) to his son and successor, the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman. Its reverse inscriptions are—

Rājño Kṣatrapasa [. . . .] (Brāhmī):
Raño Cha [.] (Kharoṣṭhī).

So far as the epigraphy is concerned, the missing name may be restored as *Caṣṭanasa* or as *Jayadāmuṣa* with equal probability.

There are, however, some points in favour of an attribution not only to Caṣṭana, but also to an early period of his career.

(1) As the Paṇḍit remarks (*Bh.*, p. 645), "The coin is in many respects like those of Nahapāna; both style and letters are similar."

(2) In these early coins there is a distinctly noticeable tendency to curtail the Kharoṣṭhī inscription. On the coins of Nahapāna it is quite full and of equal importance with the inscription in Brāhmī characters. On the coins of Caṣṭana, as Mahākṣatrapa, on the other hand, the bare name, without any titles whatever, appears in the Kharoṣṭhī transliteration. If we are to assign the coin in question to Jayadāman, we must suppose that the Kharoṣṭhī, after a period of decline, had again risen into importance. It is more reasonable, surely, to assume that the gradual disuse of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription finds its explanation in changed conditions of time or place, and that, after the time of Caṣṭana, the Kharoṣṭhī inscription, if it occurred at all, might be expected to contain merely the name, without any of the titles.

(3) The portrait is certainly not unlike those on the undoubted coins of Caṣṭana.

For these reasons we shall probably be justified in transferring the coin to Caṣṭana, and in supposing that, as Kṣatrapa, he issued silver coins of both his reverse types.

JAYADĀMAN, SON OF CAṢṬANA (*Bh.*, p. 645).

[Kṣatrapa: no dated coins or inscriptions.]

A most interesting coin was published by the late General Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 6, pl. i, 7, and attributed to Jayadāman. This attribution cannot, unfortunately, be regarded as quite certain until the reading of the name is confirmed by further specimens; but it is, in itself, not improbable, and, if it can be proved, it will supply an important link between the coins of Ujjain¹ and the Kṣatrapa coinage.

General Cunningham's description of his coin requires correction. It should be—

Obv. Elephant to right: [.]yada(?)ma(?)[.].

Rev. Four circles joined by a cross—the symbol of Ujjain.

The oft-quoted passage of Ptolemy (vii, i, 63), 'Ὁξὺν βασιλεὺς Τιαστάνου, leaves very little room for doubt that Ujjain was Caṣṭana's capital, or rather, perhaps, one of his capitals; and if this coin, undoubtedly bearing the symbol which is characteristic of nearly all the ancient coins found at Ujjain, can be proved to bear also the inscription *Jayadāmana*, it will be practically certain that Ujjain continued to form part of the kingdom of his successor, the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman; and, at the same time, we may with great probability assign the Ujjain coinage, from which this symbol appears to be borrowed, to a period anterior to that of the Kṣatrapa coinage.

¹ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 94, pl. x.

DĀMAGHSADA (OR DĀMAJADAŚRĪ), SON OF RUDRADĀMAN
(*Bh.*, p. 648).

[Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa: no dated coins or inscriptions.]

Hitherto only coins of this prince ruling as Kṣatrapa have been known. He appears, however, as Mahākṣatrapa on a specimen in the Cunningham Collection—¹

*Rev. Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudradāmna(h) putrasa Rājño
Mahākṣatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya(h).*

B.M., Cunn. Coll.

·65, wt. 30.

No adequate explanation has yet been given of the second part of this name. We seem to have here an undoubted instance of a hybrid formation. The first part is Sanskrit and the second apparently Persian. Is it possible that *-ghsada* or *-jada* is simply the Persian *zāda* 'son'? There are three princes bearing this name, and this explanation would give a satisfactory meaning in two cases out of the three—(1) son of Rudradāman, (2) son of Dāmasena; but the third case—Dāmajadaśrī, son of Rudrasena—defies any such solution. Some other explanation must, therefore, probably be sought for. It is much to be wished that some competent Persian scholar would decide whether or not these names occurring in the earlier Kṣatrapa dynasty—Ghsamotika, Caṣṭana, Dāmaghsada—can be traced to Persian sources.

The final syllable of the name is always spelt with the lingual *ḡa* by Bhagvānlāl; but on the coins it is not easy to recognize any difference between it and the initial dental *Dā*. This may, of course, be due to the fact that the letters are too small to allow of the distinction, which is often not very great, being represented. On stone inscriptions it would be unmistakable, but, unfortunately, not one of them seems to contain this particular name.

¹ "Of Rudradāman's son, Dāmajadaśrī, we have two coins, neither with date, and both call Dāmajada Mahākṣatrapa." (Rev. H. R. Stott.)

RUDRASIMHA, SON OF RUDRADĀMAN (*Bh.*, p. 650).

[Kṣatrapa : coin dated 102 and inscription dated 103.

Mahākṣatrapa : dated coins 103–110. Kṣatrapa

(second time) : dated coins 110–112. Mahākṣatrapa

(second time) : dated coins 113–118.]

Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, has hitherto been placed after Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada, but a revision of the dates leaves no possible doubt that this order must be reversed.¹

About Rudrasimha a considerable amount of new information has been obtained. When Bhagvānlāl wrote he was generally known to have ruled as a Kṣatrapa on the evidence of an inscription only.² This evidence is now supplemented by a coin in the Cunningham Collection, dated 102, the obverse inscription of which has been referred to above (p. 361). The reverse inscription is—

*Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudradāmaputra[sa] Rājñ[o]
Kṣatra[pasa] Rudras[i]hasa.³*

In the following year, 103, Rudrasimha appears as Mahākṣatrapa, and retains this title on all the coins dated between this year and 110. Of those dated 110 some bear the title Mahākṣatrapa and some the title Kṣatrapa. For some cause or other, then, Rudrasimha abandons the superior and assumes the inferior title within the year 110. None of his coins in our collections seems to be dated 111, but he retains the title of Kṣatrapa on all the coins as yet found

¹ For the facts see the following paragraph on Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada.

² The date of this inscription is 103 as stated in *Bh.* There is no doubt on the subject, as the date is given both in words and figures. The reading on the facsimile of this inscription, given in *Bhānagar Inscriptions*, pl. xvii, is undoubtedly [sa]rre trintaraiate = 103. Bühler, however, read *deyuttaraiate* = 102. His statement (*Ind. Ant.*, x, p. 157) that the date (102) is no new one, as it occurs on the coins, was no doubt the result of his own observation; but it appears not to have been published. The Rev. H. R. Scott tells me that a coin in the Watson Museum at Rajkot appears to be dated 102.

³ *Rudrasimha* seems to be the regular form of the name on the coins, though the vowel *i* is not always visible. The same form is found in inscriptions, cf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, x (1881), p. 157.

bearing the date 112. He appears again as Mahākṣatrapa on all the coins as yet found bearing the date 113, and keeps this title until the year 118, which is the last year of his reign appearing on the coinage.

These facts in the history of Rudrasimha are of great interest, in so far as they add to the data which we already have for determining the relations which existed between the offices of Mahākṣatrapa and Kṣatrapa within this dynasty, and perhaps between this dynasty and some other power claiming and sometimes exercising a sort of suzerainty over it. At a later period it seems probable both that the dynasty was independent and that the title Kṣatrapa was given—as will be seen from Colonel Biddulph's table (*inf.*, p. 407), not regularly, but frequently—to the heir-apparent, who became Mahākṣatrapa in due course on the death of the sovereign. But it is doubtful whether such was the case originally. Bhagvānlāl assumes throughout that these princes were at first feudatories of some greater power. There seem to be certain indications that this was the fact, but it can scarcely be said to be proved, and some of Bhagvānlāl's historical deductions cannot be maintained. The whole question of the history of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, their relation to each other, and the relation of both to the Andhra power, requires careful re-examination in the light of the available inscriptions. Too much has hitherto been taken for granted. It must suffice here to state the facts which are known as to the use of the titles Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa by the earlier members of the dynasty:—

- (1) Nahapāna and Caṣṭana bear both titles, proceeding from the lower to the higher; (2) Jayadāman is Kṣatrapa only; (3) Rudradāman is Mahākṣatrapa only, and boasts in his great inscription of having won this title for himself; (4) Rudrasimha proceeds from Kṣatrapa to Mahākṣatrapa, then for between two and three years uses the title Kṣatrapa only, and eventually resumes the title Mahākṣatrapa. From all this it seems very probable that these princes originally won the higher title for themselves, as Rudradāman boasts of doing, and were forced to take the lower when their

power suffered a temporary eclipse. We know from the inscriptions that Nahapāna and Rudradāman came into conflict with the Andhras, and it is extremely probable that this feud was carried on, according to the Indian fashion, almost year by year with varying fortune. The title Mahākṣatrapa may possibly have depended on this fortune, and may perhaps originally have been attached to some particular province wrested from the Andhras. This suggestion is put forward merely as possible, and as apparently not contradicted by anything we know.

The probable Persian character of the earlier names occurring in this dynasty has been referred to above (p. 374). Can it be that these princes are to be identified with the *Pahlavas* of the inscriptions? It is doubtful if we have sufficient evidence on which to decide this question; but indications in favour of the identification are as follows: (1) The work commemorated in the inscription of Rudradāman was executed by the "Pahlava minister Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa" (Arch. Surv. West. Ind.: *Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, p. 130); (2) the Andhra king Vāsīṭhiputa Puṣumāyi boasts that he "humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kṣatriyas . . . destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas . . . entirely destroyed the Khakharāta race . . . restored the fame of the Sātavāhana race" (id., *Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 109). Some sort of explanation can be given of all the other names here mentioned; and this makes it not improbable that the remaining name, Pahlavas, is here used to designate the Kṣatrapa power, with which the Andhras are known to have been sometimes at feud.

In the reverse type of the Kṣatrapa coins, the star or rayed sun almost invariably appears to the right of the *cāitya* and the crescent to the left. On the available coins¹ issued by Rudrasimha in the year 110, *after* the diminution of his power described above, this order is reversed. Whether this fact is merely curious, or whether it has some

¹ Two in the B.M.: Cunningham, 94, 5-7, 679; and Bh., 91.

significance, it is difficult to say.¹ No coins bearing the date 111 have yet been published, but on those dated 112, while Rudrasīṃha still bears the title of Kṣatrapa, we find a reversion to the usual arrangement—star to right and crescent to left.

JĪVADĀMAN, SON OF DĀMAJADA (*Bh.*, p. 649).

[Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 119, 120.]

The Paṇḍit's statement that the only date found on the coins of Jīvadāman is 100, needs correction. An examination of the four dated specimens now in the British Museum gives the following results:—

(1) *Bh.*, 18, dated 1xx. Only traces of the 100 figure are now visible; but there is nothing to show that a decimal and a unit figure were not also intended.

(2) *Bh.*, 17, dated 11x. The decimal figure 10 can be restored with certainty. The tail of the unit figure can be seen, so that it must have been undoubtedly one of the figures from 4 to 9. As Jīvadāman's predecessor was ruling in 118, the date on this coin may be restored as either 118 or 119.

(3) *Bh.*, 20, dated 119. There can be no doubt about this date. The reverse of the coin has been double struck, so that the designation *Dāmajadasa putrasa* appears twice, while the name *Jīvadāmana* is altogether absent. It is just possible, therefore, that this coin may belong to Satyadāman, the other known son of this Dāmajada. This is, however, extremely improbable, because of (1) the date, and (2) the fact that Satyadāman's coin-legend is in pure Sanskrit.

(4) *Cunn.*, 94, 5-7, 676, dated 120. There can be no doubt about this date.

There is, therefore, no proof of the existence of the date 100. What has been so read should be given as 1xx. On the other hand, the dates 119 and 120 may be regarded as certain.

¹ So far as has been noticed, only one other instance is known, on a coin of Mṛ. Svāmi Rudrasena, son of Mṛ. Svāmi Rudradāman, published by Newton in the *Journ. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, 1862, p. 9, fig. 9.

SATYADĀMAN, SON OF DĀMAJADAŚRĪ.

[Kṣatrapa: coin dated 1xx.]

Obv. Traces of date 1xx, and of inscription in Greek characters.

Rev. *Rājño [Ma]hākṣatra[pa]sya Dāmajadaśrīya[h] putrasya
Rājño Kṣatrapasya Satyadāmna[h].*

Colonel Biddulph.

·6, wt. 29 grs. ; Pl. 4.

This most interesting and important coin was brought to me by Colonel Biddulph in April 1897. It reveals to us a member of this dynasty of whom no other record has yet come to light. Unfortunately, there are traces only of the hundred figure in the date on his coin, and we are, therefore, unable to determine his position with absolute certainty. There is nothing to show definitely whether he was the elder or the younger son of Dāmajadaśrī, and, as will be seen from Colonel Biddulph's table of Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas (inf., p. 407), there are several gaps in the line of Kṣatrapas which might quite possibly have been filled by him. With our present data, the easiest solution of the problem seems to be to suppose that he was the younger son of Dāmajadaśrī, and that he was Kṣatrapa at the time when his elder brother Jivadāman was Mahākṣatrapa, i.e. during the years 119 and 120. This position may be provisionally assigned to him for the present; but of course it must be borne in mind that future discoveries may quite possibly show that he was Kṣatrapa at some time during the two periods 103-110 and 113-118, when his uncle Rudrasimha reigned as Mahākṣatrapa, or even earlier still during the reign of his father Dāmajadaśrī.

Satyadāman's coin-legend forms an exception to the general rule. It is written in Sanskrit, whereas all the others are written in Prakrit. All its genitive forms, for instance, are quite regular. The *sandhi* in *Rājño Kṣa°*—found also in inscriptions, cf. Hoernlé, *Ind. Ant.*, xii (1883), p. 32—is the only point in which it at all varies from the ordinary usage of Sanskrit.

RUDRASENA, SON OF RUDRASIMHA (*Bh.*, p. 652).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 121; Mahākṣatrapa: dated inscription 122?, dated coins 125-144.]

For our knowledge that Rudrasena held the position of Kṣatrapa we are again indebted to Colonel Biddulph, who first called attention to the following coin in his collection:—

Obv. Date 121; remains of inscription in Greek characters.
Rev. *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudras[ī]hasa putrasa Rājño Kṣatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*

Colonel Biddulph. .6, wt. 32.5 grs.; Pl. 5.

There are now two other specimens in the British Museum on which Rudrasena appears as Kṣatrapa. The date of one of these—Cunn., 94, 5-7, 680—seems undoubtedly to be 121. On the other—Bird, 54, 5-29, 18—the unit figure is indistinct. On one of Bhagvānīāl's coins, No. 109, the date is apparently, though still not quite certainly, 122; but the inscription is incomplete, and it is impossible to say whether it is a coin of Rudrasena as Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa.

It may be inferred from what the Paṇḍit says about a stone slab bearing an inscription of Rudrasena that he was reigning in 122 as Mahākṣatrapa. A further examination of this inscription is much to be desired. The two points on which more precise information is required are—(1) Is the date undoubtedly 122? and (2) is Rudrasena undoubtedly called Mahākṣatrapa? Regarding this inscription, Dr. Burgess most kindly wrote to me as follows:—“The *Mulcāsar* inscription (I think the J.R.A.S. spelling is wrong) was either the first or second Kṣatrapa inscription I got a copy of—how long ago I cannot remember; but it was on thin calico—a tracing made by some political or police officer who had come across it in Okhamandal. I gave the tracing to General Cunningham in 1870 and heard no more of it. But before leaving Bombay in 1889,

I saw the stone in the lobby at the foot of the stairs of the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library. It is very much weather-worn, and would hardly yield an estampage or any other sort of copy: the reading of it is difficult, as the large letters have got worn to mere irregular depressions. . . . Mulwāsar is on the Gulf of Kachh, W.N.W. from Dwārka, if my memory serves me." It is to be hoped that the letters are still sufficiently clear to enable some scholar who has access to the original to determine the date and title. It is important to verify the Paṇḍit's statements as given in the Journal for 1890, as this article was compiled by me from his rough notes, and it is quite possible that I may sometimes have been mistaken in my representation of his views.

An inscription, published in *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 23, pl. xix, is attributed to the time of a Mkṣ. Rudrasena, and the date read as 232. This reading is certainly not correct. The decimal figure seems undoubtedly to be 20. The question remains whether the hundreds' figure may not possibly be 100. From the facsimile, which is, unfortunately, not a very good one, this numeral seems at first sight to be 200; but, on closer examination, it will be seen that the short line attached to the right, which appears on the facsimile, may well be due either to a flaw in the stone or to some imperfection in the squeeze. A similar line, undoubtedly a flaw, is seen to be attached to several other characters in this inscription—e.g. to the numeral 20 in the date. The difficulties in the way of accepting a date 222 for another Rudrasena are so considerable, that on the whole it seems extremely probable that the correct date of this inscription is 122. If so, this date must be added to our list of Mahākṣatrapas.

Colonel Biddulph has pointed out to me that Sir E. Clive Bayley, in his article "On the Genealogy of Modern Numerals" (J.R.A.S., 1882, p. 373), assigns a date 122 to Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, but gives no information as to whether he bears the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa on the coin in question.

The coins dated 125 are still the earliest on which Rudrasena is known with certainty to appear as Mahākṣatrapa. A coin in the British Museum, Bh. Coll., No. 29, has the date 144 or 146. The dates of Saṅghadāman and Dāmasena show that the former must be the correct reading.

SAṆGHADĀMAN, SON OF RUDRASIMHA (*Bh.*, p. 652).

[? Kṣatrapa; Mahākṣatrapa: dated coin 144.]

According to Bhagvānlāl, "on a coin belonging to the Naeb Dewan of Bhaunagar, Saṅghadāman bears the title of Kṣatrapa." Now, curiously enough, the inscription on the coins of Saṅghadāman is very liable, in the case of imperfect specimens, to be mistaken for that of the Kṣatrapa Yaśodāman, son of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha, who lived nearly a hundred years later. A minute examination of the lettering would, indeed, in all cases, dispel any doubt as to the correct attribution, even if the syllables composing *Saṅgha-* or *Yaśo-* were not clear; but only those who have had much to do with these coins can realize how very easy it is to confuse the two. As instances in point, it may be mentioned that we originally attributed one of Colonel Biddulph's specimens to a Kṣatrapa Saṅghadāman, and that a similar mistake was made in arranging the series in the British Museum. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl may possibly have fallen into a similar error. In the absence of positive proof one way or the other, it will be safest for the present to add a note of interrogation to Saṅghadāman's name in the list of Kṣatrapas.

No query need be added to the date 144 as the reading of the coin on which he appears as Mahākṣatrapa, although, as Bhagvānlāl remarks, the unit figure is somewhat indistinct. The fact is that traces of a cross line show that the unit figure must either have been a 4 or a 6. The date can scarcely have been 146, as Dāmasena began his reign as Mahākṣatrapa in 145 (v. inf.). There can, therefore, be practically no doubt whatever that the unit figure on Saṅghadāman's coin must be restored as a 4.

PRTHIVĪSENA, SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 653).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 144.]

The Paṇḍit believed his specimen to be unique, but Colonel Biddulph has since acquired another specimen.

Obv. Date 144; portion of inscription in Greek characters.

Rev. Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudra[senasa putrasa Rā]jño
Kṣatrapasa Prthivīsenasa.

Colonel Biddulph. .55, wt. 21.5 grs. (much worn); Pl. 6.

Colonel Biddulph informs me that he received from the State of Junāgaḍh the photograph of yet another specimen of this coinage.¹

DĀMASENA, SON OF RUDRASIMHA (*Bh.*, p. 653).

[Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 145-157.]

There seems to me to be no possible doubt that the Paṇḍit's reading, 148, as the earliest date appearing on Dāmasena's coins should be corrected to 145. He probably regarded the curve to the right, which is characteristic of the figure 5, as a fragment of the usual inscription in Greek characters. On careful examination, however, this curve is seen to be connected with the other part of the numeral, and the whole constitutes a 5 of quite normal character. The limits of Dāmasena's reign as given by the coins should, therefore, be corrected as above.

DĀMAJADAŚHĪ, SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 654).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 154, 155.]

Sir E. Olive Bayley (*J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 374) gives 155 as the date of one of his coins of this Kṣatrapa. As he used this coin for the form of the figure 5 given in his

¹ "We have a specimen in this Museum in fairly good preservation, with inscription as figured in your plate, in well-shaped letters . . . date 142." (*Rev. H. R. Scott.*)

plate of numerals, there seems to be no reason for doubting the correctness of his reading. This date should, therefore, be added to the one previously known.

It may be worth while to state that, on incomplete or badly preserved specimens, there is considerable risk of confusion between this Kṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī, son of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena, and the Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī, son of the Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena, who ruled later (v. inf., p. 389). Our Kṣatrapa has accordingly, in consequence of this confusion, been supposed to have reigned also as a Mahākṣatrapa. There is, however, as yet no really good specimen to prove this. The probability is that he does not occur as a Mahākṣatrapa on the coinage.

IŚVARADATTA (*Bh.*, p. 656).

[Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 'first' and 'second' year.]

That this monarch belonged to the Ābhīra tribe, as conjectured by Bhagvānlāl, is extremely probable. The causes which led to his intrusion into this dynasty are still as mysterious as ever. All that is certain is that the period hitherto assigned to him can now no longer be supported. As will be seen from our discussion of the coins of Dāmajadaśrī, son of Dāmasena (inf., p. 390), the gap which was formerly supposed to exist between the reigns of the Mahākṣatrapas Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī—from 171 to 176—has been shown by newly-discovered coin-dates not to exist. Iśvaradatta can, therefore, no longer find a place here.

All that we know of him directly from his coins is that he reigned as Mahākṣatrapa for two years. The reverse inscriptions are dated in words either as "in the first year" or "in the second year"; and it is almost certain that the discovery of more complete specimens will show that these dates are repeated in numerals in the usual place on the obverse. Two coins in the British Museum, *Bh. Coll.*, Nos. 708 and 46, seem to show distinct traces of the numerals — and 二 respectively.

From a glance at the dated list of Mahākṣatrapas it will be seen that there are several gaps in the chronology as at present fixed by the coins and inscriptions. It remains to ascertain what evidence there is in favour of any one of these possible dates for Īśvaradatta.

At first sight the most tempting view is that the degradation in rank of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman, during the period from the year 110 to the year 112 was due to the rise of this Mahākṣatrapa; but, as will be seen, this view cannot be maintained. Other gaps which might possibly have been partly filled by Īśvaradatta's reign are between Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada, and Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha—120 to 125;¹ and between Dāmasena, son of Rudrasimha, and his son Yaśodāman—157 to 161. The gaps which occur after the decline in the style of the coinage which sets in towards the end of the reign of Vijayasena (v. inf., p. 389) need not be considered, as it is quite certain that the coins of Īśvaradatta show no signs of this decline, and are, therefore, earlier than the latter part of the reign of Vijayasena (162?–172?).

The evidence derived from considerations of portraiture and epigraphy is as follows:—

(1) The treatment of the eye on the coins of Īśvaradatta is such as we have seen to prevail during the period from about the year 127 in the reign of Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, as Mahākṣatrapa, to about the year 170 in the reign of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena (v. sup., p. 367, fig. 3).

(2) Bhagvānlāl supposed (*Bh.*, p. 656) that the bust on the obverse of Īśvaradatta's coins was imitated sometimes from that of Vīradāman (Kṣatrapa, 156–160), and sometimes from that of Vijayasena (Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, 160–172?). Newton also notices the general resemblance in portraiture and epigraphy between the coins of Īśvaradatta and Vijayasena—"The coins of Īśvara Datta bear a striking resemblance to those of Vijaya Sāh (v. Vijayasena); some apparent differences in the character of the legends being accounted for by the circumstance that on Īśvara Datta's

¹ It is extremely doubtful, however, whether such a gap exists (v. sup., p. 380).

coins the difficulty is to extend the legend over the space allotted to it; but on Vijaya Śāh's to compress it within that space. I do not doubt that the reigns of the two kings were not separated by any long interval."¹

The degree of resemblance between the different portraits of these three—or four, if we add another ruler of the period, Yaśodāman (Kṣatrapa, 160; Mahākṣatrapa, 161)—is no doubt to a great extent a matter of opinion. What remains certain is that these four portraits have in common a likeness, which distinguishes them from those of rulers whom we know to have been earlier or later in date.

(3) In judging of the date of Kṣatrapa coins from their epigraphy, three characters—*kṣa*, *pa*, and *ha*—are especially serviceable for comparison, both because their different changes in form can be dated with a fair amount of accuracy, and because they all appear on every complete specimen. The change from one form of *ha* to the other—from 𑀓 to 𑀔 —comes in very early,² and does not concern us here.

The form of *kṣa* occurring on Īśvaradatta's coins is 𑀕𑀲 with a very distinct sharp curve at the bottom. This form seems to come into use during the reign of Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, but probably not until after the year 130—it does not occur on his coins as Kṣatrapa (121) and apparently not on the earlier coins (125–130) struck by him as Mahākṣatrapa. It is very distinct on the coins of Pṛthivisena (144), Dāmasena (145–157), Viradāman (Kṣatrapa, 156–160), and Vijayasena (160–172?). After this date the curve tends to become more rounded, but the sharp curve does not disappear entirely until after the reign of Bhartṛdāman (2xx–214). The evidence of this letter, therefore, only helps us to determine the earliest possible limit for Īśvaradatta's reign. He can scarcely have come between Jivadāman and Rudrasena, even if they were separated by an interval (120–125).

¹ *Journ. Bomb. Br. R.A.S.*, 1862, p. 9.

² Generally after the time of Caṣṭana; but the earlier form still appears occasionally on coins of a later date (*inf.*, p. 327).

The letter *pa* on Īśvaradatta's coins is distinctly rounded at the bottom, like a capital U; at a later period it becomes quite angular, like a V; and it is possible on the coinage to trace the transition between the two forms. There seems to be no instance of the pointed form before about the year 159. On the coins of Viradāman (Kṣatrapa, 156-160) the rounded form is by far the more common, and wherever the date can be read it seems to be either 159 or 160 on the specimens on which the pointed form appears. Yaśodāman's coins (160 and 161) have both, and so have the earlier coins of Vijayasena; but the 'rounded' form at this period so nearly approaches the angular that it is not always easy to distinguish between them. There can be little doubt, however, about the very definitely rounded form which occurs on the coins of Īśvaradatta. It almost certainly signifies that his date is before the year 160.

It will be seen then that the evidence derived from broad features of resemblance and from minute details of portraiture and epigraphy alike points to the same conclusion—that the most probable position of Īśvaradatta is between Dāmasena and Yaśodāman (157-161), and that he was Mahākṣatrapa while Viradāman was Kṣatrapa.

VĪRADĀMAN, SON OF DĀMASENA (*Bh.*, p. 654).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 156-160.]

Here again a revision of the readings of specimens previously known necessitates a considerable change in the chronology. The coin, of which Bhagvānlāl read the date doubtfully as 176, is unquestionably dated 156. The limits of Viradāman's career as Kṣatrapa are, therefore, according to the coins, 156 and 160. This emendation simplifies matters greatly. The suggested date 176, which can now no longer be upheld, was a fruitful cause of difficulty. Since both Yaśodāman and Vijayasena appear as Kṣatrapas in the year 160, we were driven to the supposition either that Viradāman, after being deposed, had regained his

position, or else that there were two or more Kṣatrapas reigning at the same time (*Bh.*, p. 655). To the same source we may trace the assumption (*Bh.*, p. 657), that while the interloper Īśvaradatta had usurped the position of Mahākṣatrapa, "the Kṣatrapa Viradāman remained unmolested all through this period (i.e. 171, 172), as testified by the dates on his coins." Apart from this conjectural date, the coins testify to nothing of the kind.

YAŚODĀMAN, SON OF DĀMASENA (*Bh.*, p. 655).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 160; Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 161.]

The Paṇḍit's account requires slight correction. There are eight coins of this Yaśodāman in his collection—five as Kṣatrapa and three as Mahākṣatrapa.

VIJAYASENA, SON OF DĀMASENA (*Bh.*, p. 655).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 160; Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 162?, 163-171, 172?]

As we have just seen, the hypothesis that "Viradāman, Yaśodāman, and Vijayasena, sons of Dāmasena, were all Kṣatrapas—probably governors of provinces—at the same time," is now no longer necessary. They all strike coins as Kṣatrapas in the same year, 160, but there is no reason whatever for supposing that they did not hold that office successively.

Bhagvānlāl gives the dates as—Kṣatrapa, 160-162; Mahākṣatrapa, 163-171. But there is some doubt on the subject. On the coins available for examination, the only certain date borne by coins struck by Vijayasena as Kṣatrapa is 160. The dates 161 and 162 are merely possible on some incomplete specimens. On the other hand, a coin struck by Vijayasena as Mahākṣatrapa has the remains of a date which can scarcely have been 163, but may quite possibly have been 162. It is the custom in Vijayasena's time to arrange the three short strokes, which represent

the numeral 3, in a vertical line, thus \equiv ; and the numerous good specimens with the date 163 give ample evidence of the space usually occupied by these strokes. On the coin in question there seems not to be space enough for all three, but there is certainly sufficient to admit of the two lower ones, if the date had been 163. On the other hand, there is probably not sufficient space to show the upper of the two strokes which would have denoted 2, \equiv ; while the stroke still visible seems to be too low down to have been intended for 1, the stroke for which seems regularly to occupy the midway position. It is not improbable, then, that this coin affords us evidence of the fact that Vijayasena was reigning as Mahākṣatrpa in the year 162.

For similar reasons it is probable that the date 172 should be restored on another coin, Bh. Coll., No. 206.

The Paṇḍit remarks that "all the years from 160 to 171 inclusive are represented with the single exception of 169." If the view propounded above (p. 363) as to the representation of 8 and 9, is to be accepted, viz., that $\text{३} = 8$, and $\text{४} = 9$, we may say that, with the doubtful exception of 161, every year between these two limits seems to be represented.

So far as concerns workmanship and distinctness in the representation of inscriptions and dates, the coins of Vijayasena are the most satisfactory in the whole series. But already in his reign, about the year 167 or 168, we note the beginning of a gradual degeneration in style, which continued until the end of the dynasty.

DĀMAJADAŚRĪ, SON OF DĀMASENA (*Bh.*, p. 658).

[Mahākṣatrpa: dated coins 172 (or 3?)–176.]

On the chronology of this Mahākṣatrpa, some additional light has been thrown by General Cunningham's coins. Bhagvānlāl only reads one date, 176, on his coins, and this remains the extreme limit assignable to his reign from

this source. But the new coins undoubtedly prove that the reign began earlier than has been hitherto supposed. The date on Cunn., 94, 5-7, 702, is certainly to be restored as either 172 or 173. Here again, as in the precisely similar case of a coin of Vijayasena discussed above, the balance of probability is in favour of 172—the solitary stroke visible seems to be too low down to be intended for 1, and the space above it too great to admit of its being the lowest stroke of a 3.

With regard to other dates of this Dāmajadaśrī—175 is certain on five of General Cunningham's coins, and 174 is possible as an alternative to 176 on one of Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's own specimens, No. 365.

The probability, therefore, is that this Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī, son of the Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena, began his reign as early as the year 172; and, as we have seen, his predecessor and brother Vijayasena was reigning in 171. The Paṇḍit had supposed an interval of five years (171-176) to have elapsed between these two reigns, and this was the chief reason for placing the usurper Īśvaradatta here (*BA.*, p. 656).¹ Another reason was derived from considerations of style and fabric. The Paṇḍit saw a great difference in these respects between the coins of the two reigns; and it must be confessed that the contrast between the best coins of Vijayasena and the ordinary coins of Dāmajadaśrī is sufficiently striking. But, as we have seen, the process of degeneration had already begun during Vijayasena's reign, and the difference in point of art between his later coins and those of his successor is so slight as to be scarcely appreciable.

The question of the probable position of Īśvaradatta is discussed elsewhere (p. 384).

¹ The Rev. H. R. Scott says: "We have a coin of Dāmasena's son Dāmajadaśrī which appears to be dated 173, in which case the gap mentioned by the Paṇḍit would be filled up and no room left for Īśvaradatta between Vijayasena and this king."

RUDRASENA, SON OF VĪRADĀMAN (*Bh.*, p. 658).

[Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 17x (6-9)—194.]

Both of the limits of this reign (180-190) as given by Bhagvānlāl must be corrected in accordance with coins in the collection of Colonel Biddulph.

Obv. Date, 17[x].

Rev. Rājñah Kṣatrapasa Viradāmaputrasa Rājño Ma[hā]-
kṣatrapasa Rudra[senasa].

Colonel Biddulph. .55, wt. 28.5 gra.; Pl. 7.

Obv. Date, 194; traces of inscription in Greek characters.

Rev. Rājñah Kṣatrapasa Viradāmaputrasa Rājño [Mahā]-
kṣatrapasa Rudra[se]nasa.

Colonel Biddulph. .55, wt. 32 gra.; Pl. 8.

As Rudrasena's predecessor Dāmajadaśrī was reigning in 176, the date of the former of the two coins here described must be between 176 and 179. Another of Colonel Biddulph's specimens affords the date 19x, probably = 191.

According to the Rev. H. R. Scott, there is a coin of Vīradāman in the Rajkot Museum dated 196 (or 194) and another 192. If the date 196 can be proved, it will, of course, necessitate the extension of the reign by two years; but it must be remembered that 6 and 4 are very easily mistaken on these coins.

VIŚVASIMHA, SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 658).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 19x, 199, 200, 2[xx]; Mahākṣatrapa:
no legible dates.]

The dates on the coins of this prince and his brother Bhartṛdāman are in a most unsatisfactory state. Bhagvānlāl gives the limits of Viśvasimha's dated coinage as 198 and 203. It is quite possible that the unit figure, of which traces are to be seen on many specimens, may have been an 8; but it seems to me that the only certain unit of all

the coins dated 19x is undoubtedly a 9. The Paṇḍit's reading is perhaps due to the confusion which has so often been made between these two numerals (v. sup., p. 363). On the other hand, I cannot think that his reading 203 can be absolutely proved for any of his specimens in the British Museum. There are numerous specimens in which the figure 200 is probably followed by another, but what that other is, is quite uncertain.

Our knowledge of the fact that Viśvasiṃha also reigned as Mahākṣatrapa is again the result of Colonel Biddulph's investigations. He possesses four specimens on which Viśvasiṃha bears this title—in the case of three of them quite certainly, in the case of the fourth most probably.

Obv. Date illegible.

Rev. *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Viśvasiṃhasa.*

Colonel Biddulph.

55, wt. 31 grs.; Pl. 9.

The British Museum also possesses two specimens—one (Bh., 502) quite certain, and the other (Bh., 468) more or less doubtful. Unfortunately not one of these coins has a legible date.

As has been already remarked (p. 375) *-siṃha* regularly appears as *-siha* on the coins. It may be added that most frequently no distinction is made between the *i* of *Viśva-* and the *i* of *-siha*. On the greater number of specimens (cf. Bh., Nos. 54, 461, 481, 498, 501) the name appears as *Viśvasiha*; but the proper distinction is sometimes made between the two vowels (e.g. on Bh., No. 515).

The coin, dated 198 (*recte* 199), to which the Paṇḍit refers as reading *Rājñah Kṣatrapasa* (sic) *Rudrasenaputrasa*, etc., is probably his specimen, No. 53. It would indeed be remarkable if this reading could be proved. Rudrasena, as we know from his own coins, was certainly Mahākṣatrapa from 17x to 194, and it would be passing strange to find his son describing him afterwards, in 199, as a Kṣatrapa. The reading cannot, however, be supported; and it is quite

easy to explain how the Paṇḍit fell into this mistake. The letters *Mahā-* certainly do not appear on the coin, since, in consequence of the manner of striking, only portions of those letters can be seen which reach beneath the line. There is, however, ample space for them, and there is no reason whatever to doubt that the reading is *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa*. On the coins of Viśvasiṃha the correct *sandhi* is preserved in the writing of his own title *Rājñah Kṣatrapasa*; and the Paṇḍit was probably confirmed in his reading by two of the cluster of dots which occur on this portion of the coin, and might easily be mistaken for the *visarga* (*h*).

Hitherto, some doubt has been possible as to the order of succession of Viśvasiṃha and his brother Bhartṛdāman. Indeed, it has seemed most probable that Bhartṛdāman was the earlier. But the dates, incomplete as they are, seem to prove, so far as they can be certainly deciphered, that the opposite was the case. The evidence in favour of this order is supported, in a very curious and interesting manner, by an argument derived from the treatment of the eye in the portraiture of Kṣatrapa coins (v. sup., p. 367).

BHARTṚDĀMAN, SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 658).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 2(*xx*); Mahākṣatrapa: dated coins 2(*xx*), 203–214.]

Bhartṛdāman was known only as a Mahākṣatrapa until Colonel Biddulph obtained the following coin on which he appears as Kṣatrapa.

Obv. Date illegible.

Rev. *Rājño [Mahākṣatrapasa] Rudra[sena]putrasa Rājñah Kṣatrapasa Bhartṛdāmanah.*

Colonel Biddulph. ·55, wt. 27·5 grs.; Pl. 10.

I subsequently went over all the numerous specimens of Bhartṛdāman's coinage in the British Museum, and found several on which he appears as Kṣatrapa—e.g., Eden, 53, 3–1,

309; India Office Coll., No. 927; Bh. Coll., No. 459—and others on which the same reading is most probably to be restored—e.g., Bh. Coll., No. 451.

The Rev. H. R. Scott says: "We have three coins of Bhartṛdāman's styling him Kṣatrapa; one of these has date apparently 204." This suggested reading must, surely, be incorrect, as Bhartṛdāman appears as Mahākṣatrapa on a coin—Bh. Coll., No. 441—of which the date seems to be without doubt 203. But if it can be proved, it starts a problem, the solution of which is not apparent. He also mentions a coin of Bhartṛdāman as Mahākṣatrapa, on which the date "appears to be 220, but is not very clear." This is much more probable, but this date must remain very doubtful until a better specimen is found.

With regard to the name of this prince, there has been a division of opinion among scholars. Newton and Thomas read the name as Atri; the reading Bharṭṛ is that of Prinsep, Stevenson, and Bhagvānlāl.¹ There are two points to be decided—(1) Is the first *akṣara* अ or भ? (2) Is the second चि or त्रि? With regard to the former, it must be admitted that very often on these coins the character looks quite as much like a as *bha*, but there are instances (e.g., on two coins of Bhartṛdāman's son Viśvasena in the British Museum—Stenart, 53, 4-5, 56 and 61) of what seems to be an undoubted *bha* of the ordinary form; with regard to the latter, there is no doubt on most specimens as to the reading *rtṛ* (often with the superscript *r*, but sometimes without) as opposed to *tri*. If, then, the possibility of a doubt be admitted as to the initial character, the second is surely sufficient of itself to decide the question. *Atri अत्रि* can surely never have been written *Arṭṛ अर्तृ*. The probability, therefore, is in favour of the name Bharṭṛ generally written with a somewhat abnormal initial *bha*.

Some specimens of Bhartṛdāman's coinage, both as Kṣatrapa and as Mahākṣatrapa, have traces of the hundreds'

¹ Cf. Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1850, p. 68.

figure (200) of a date; and, in some cases, it seems probable that there was nothing following this. But as this is not quite certain, it will be best to write this date as 2(*xx*).

? SIMHASENA, SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 659).

The evidence on which this Mahākṣatrapa is admitted into the dynasty is so extremely unsatisfactory that it is a question whether it will not be safest to omit him altogether. At all events, if he is provisionally retained in the list, his name should always be accompanied by a note of interrogation, and it should always be borne in mind that his existence depends on the evidence of a single coin, the reading of which is most uncertain.

The Paṇḍit admits that "the style of his coin differs considerably from those immediately preceding" (*Bh.*, p. 659). This fact is by itself sufficient to throw doubt on the attribution proposed. But in addition to this the lettering is also different. Both style and lettering belong, in fact, to an earlier period, when the rounded *pa* U had not as yet given place to the pointed *v* (cf. the inscriptions as given in my lithographed plate attached to the Paṇḍit's article).

Let us now examine the legend of this coin. The Paṇḍit's reading is—

Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Simhasenasa.

Now, in the first place, the name of the father is more probably spelt *-sahasa*, i.e. *-sīhasa*, or *-sīṃhasa* (v. the lithographed plate referred to above); and, secondly, the name of the reigning Mahākṣatrapa himself is altogether doubtful. The first two *akṣaras* are quite uncertain; the last three are probably *-sīṃhasa* or *-senasa*.

From these considerations—the form of the letter *pa*, the name of the father, and the termination of his own name—it follows that we have here the coin of some Mahākṣatrapa,

who was the son of Rudrasimha, son of Rudradāman (v. sup., p. 375), and whose name ended in *-simha* or *-sena*.

We know the following as sons of Rudrasimha—Rudrasena, Saṅghadāman, and Dāmasena. The second is quite out of the question here; and the corrupted letters can scarcely have been intended to represent any *akṣaras* reaching below the line such as the *Ru* and *dra* of the first. The last is just possible; but it must be admitted that the beautifully neat letters of Dāmasena's ordinary coinage offer a striking contrast to the straggling characters on this specimen. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the difference between the two consists not in form but in the degree of finish. They almost certainly belong to the same period. Either, then, this is a coin unusually badly struck of Dāmasena, or it belongs to some other son of Rudrasimha.

VIŚVASENA, SON OF BHAKTĪDĀMAN (*Bh.*, p. 659).

[Kṣatraps: dated coins 216–225.]

The limits of date, as given by Bhagvānlāl, were 216 and 223. There are, however, two coins in the British Museum—Steuart, 53, 4–5, 56, and one from Prinsep—which read quite clearly 225.

The Rev. H. R. Scott mentions two coins of Viśvasena in the Rajkot Museum with probable dates 224 and 226. It is to be hoped that new specimens will be found to place the latter date beyond suspicion.

RUDRASIMHA, SON OF SVĀMĪ JĪVADĀMAN (*Bh.*, p. 660).

[Kṣatraps: dated coins 22x–231, 233 (?).]

The limits hitherto accepted are 231 and 240, but an examination of the specimens in the British Museum and those in Colonel Biddulph's cabinet shows that there are undoubted instances of a date 22x.¹ The traces of the unit figure are invariably those of one extending below

¹ Confirmed by the Rev. H. R. Scott's account of the coins in the Rajkot Museum.

the line, i.e. from 4 to 9; and, as we know that Viśvasena was Kṣatrapa in 225, our choice here is limited to those between 5 and 9.

Obv. Date, 22x (5-9); traces of Greek inscription.

Rev. Scāmi J[i]vadāmaputrāsa Rājñah Kṣatrapasa Rudrasimhāsa:

Colonel Biddulph. .55, wt. 32.5 grs.; Pl. 11.

It seems doubtful whether the two dots : so generally found at the end of this coin-legend are a misplaced *visarga*, or simply intended as a stop.

The revival of the older form of the letter *ha* ḥ on some of these coins is interesting. It is also important, as at this period the two characters for *ha* and *na* have become so very similar, that, without its evidence, we might have been in some doubt whether to read the name of this Kṣatrapa as Rudrasimha or Rudrasena.

Bhagvānlāl gives the latter limit of date as 240, and it is quite possible that he may have had good reasons for this. It must be said, however, that from the coins now available to us, we can be certain neither of this reading nor of the reading 234 also given. The latest probable date on the specimens in the British Museum is 233, and the latest certain date 231.

YAŚODĀMAN, SON OF RUDRASIMHA (*Bh.*, p. 660).

[Kṣatrapa: dated coins 240-249.]

Quite a number of new dates have been discovered on coins of this Kṣatrapa, since Bhagvānlāl wrote. Colonel Biddulph's collection supplies the dates 242, 244, and 246?; and the British Museum the dates 243 (*Cunn. Coll.*, 94, 5-7, 731) and 249 (*Bird*, 54, 5-29, 15). The description of the last mentioned is as follows:—

Obv. Date, 249.

Rev. Rājñā[h] Kṣatrapasa Rudras[i]haputrāsa Rājñā[h]
Kṣatrapasa Yaśodāmna[h].

B.M., Bird. .55, wt. 31.5 grs.; Pl. 12.

RUDRASENA, SON OF RUDRADĀMAN (*Bh.*, p. 661).

[Mahākṣatrapa : dated coins 270-298, 300 (?).]

Colonel Biddulph points out to me that Sir E. Clive Bayley¹ reads the date of one of his coins as 300. There is little reason to doubt this, and we shall be justified in regarding the reading as probably correct until it can be definitely proved.

No coins have yet been found of Rudrasena's father, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. His reign must have filled some part of the great gap which is now left in our list of Mahākṣatrapas between the years 214 and 270—the latest of Bhartṛdāman and the earliest of Rudrasena; but as yet we can give no certain answer to the questions how he came into this dynasty and what relation he bore to his predecessors. The dotted line in Colonel Biddulph's genealogical table (p. 406) denotes that the position there assigned to him as a son of Svāmi Jivadāman is purely conjectural, and remains to be proved or disproved by subsequent discoveries and researches. There are, of course, other possibilities—he may have been the brother or son of Yaśodāman, or he may have been related in some way to the old line which seems to us to end with Viśvasena (216-225), son of Bhartṛdāman.

The reading of the name as *Rudrasena* and not *Rudrasimha* seems to be undoubtedly correct. On the greater number of these coins it is not easy to distinguish the letters *ha* and *na*, but some specimens, e.g. *Bh. Coll.*, Nos. 554, 563, 574, 580, have the name *Rudrasena* without any possibility of doubt.

SIMHASENA, SISTER'S SON OF RUDRASENA (*Bh.*, p. 660).

[Mahākṣatrapa : dated coin 304.]

Very important alterations have to be made in our account of this Mahākṣatrapa. In the first place, Bhagvānlāl's coin is no longer unique. There are now two others from the

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 274.

Cunningham Collection in the British Museum, and Colonel Biddulph possesses a fourth. One of the Cunningham coins, 94, 5-7, 331, published by General Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 8, pl. i, 14, undoubtedly bears the date 304. It is, therefore, necessary to place Simhasena some forty or fifty years later than was contemplated by Bhagvānlāl, who supposed him to be a nephew of Rudrasimha, son of Jivadāman, and a cousin and successor of Yaśodāman (Kṣatrapa, 240-249). That he should have reigned for fifty-five years after the latest date on his predecessor's coins might be possible, but would be, to say the least, remarkable. But there is another difficulty in the way of this supposition, which is noted by Bhagvānlāl himself. Rudrasimha is known from his own coins and those of his son Yaśodāman only as a Kṣatrapa. He would appear, if this attribution were correct, on those of his nephew as a Mahākṣatrapa.

General Cunningham, seeing these difficulties, supposed him to be the sister's son of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha, son of Satyasimha, who himself strikes coins in the year 310 (*Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 4). This correction does not make matters altogether plain. It gives us a Mahākṣatrapa who strikes coins in 304 and calls himself the sister's son of another Mahākṣatrapa who reigns *after* him in 310! Suppositions of revolution and counter-revolution will always suggest a way out of these little chronological difficulties; but they are quite unnecessary here.

The plain fact is that Simhasena is sister's son of *Rudrasena*, not of *Rudrasimha*. The difficulty of distinguishing between the letters *ha* and *na* on these late coins has been previously referred to; and it may be granted that it is next to impossible to discriminate between the two on the Cunningham coin figured in *Coins of Med. Ind.*, pl. i, 14, and on the Pandit's own specimen (cf., for instance, the *ha* and the *na* of the word *Simhasenana* as it appears in the facsimile in my lithographed plate to the Pandit's article). On Colonel Biddulph's coin, however, and on the Cunningham coin given in *Med. Ind.*, pl. i, 15, a distinction between

the two characters is certainly made in this word (*Siṃhasenasya* on the Cunningham specimen); and if the other proper name—absent, unfortunately, from Colonel Biddulph's coin—be examined in the light of this distinction, the remaining traces of the character in question certainly show that it was *na* and not *ha*.

The description of the specimen still unpublished is as follows:—

Obv. No distinct traces of date or inscription.

Rev. *Mahārāja-kṣatra*[*pa*]

Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Svāmi Siṃhasenasya.

Colonel Biddulph. 55, wt. 26 grs.; Pl. 14.

There is, therefore, some positive evidence in favour of the change of the old reading *Rudrasimha* to *Rudrasena*; but, even if the confusion of the two letters *ha* and *na* were quite hopeless, we should be justified in making this change on purely chronological grounds.

In addition to this, the inscriptions of all these coins as hitherto given require correction. The readings of Bhagvānlāl (*Bh.*, p. 660) and Cunningham, *Med. Ind.*, p. 8, pl. i, 14, should be amended by the substitution of *svasriyasya* or possibly *svasriyasya*, स्वस्त्रियस्य or स्वस्त्रीयस्य, for the impossible form *svasryasya* स्वसृयस्य (*Bh.*), and for *svasriyasa* (*Cunn.*). The distinction between *r* and *ra* (*ri*, *ri*) appended to a consonant is almost invariably observed on these coins.

According to General Cunningham's reading of his other coin (*Med. Ind.*, p. 8, pl. i, 15), *Siṃhasena* is called the son of *Rudrasimha* (*recte* *Rudrasena*). It would indeed be strange to find the same person described sometimes as the son and sometimes as the nephew of another! But this is not the case. The reading is wrong. It should be—

Mahārāja-kṣatrapa-svāmi-Rudrasena-svasriya[*syā*] *Rājño*
Mahākṣatrapasa Svāmi-Siṃhasenasya.

The impartial use of the Prakrit and Sanskrit genitive terminations on these coins is curious.

It will be noticed that the two classes of Simhasena's coins show that Rudrasena bore the titles sometimes of Rāja Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi and sometimes of Mahārāja Kṣatrapa Svāmi. Whether there was any difference in rank denoted by these two designations is not certain.

[? RUDRA]SENA, SON OF SIMHASENA.

[Mahākṣatrapa: no dated coins or inscriptions.]

Colonel Biddulph's recently acquired specimen of this Mahākṣatrapa is at present unique.

Obv. No date visible; remains of Greek characters.

Rev. *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Svāmi-Simhasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Svāmi-[? Rudra]senasa.*

Colonel Biddulph. .55, wt. 29.5 gra.; Pl. 13.

Unfortunately we cannot be quite certain of the first part of the name of this Mahākṣatrapa. The first syllable is probably *ra* or *ru*, or perhaps some compound of which one or other of these forms the second portion. The second syllable seems more like *tr* or *dr* than *dra*. It is possible that the name may prove to be *Trātṛasena*, or some such form; but, on the whole, it is perhaps more probable that the name is Rudrasena, with the second character of a somewhat peculiar shape.

RUDRASIMHA, SON OF SATYASIMHA (*Bh.*, p. 662).

[Mahākṣatrapa: dated coin 310.]

The date 310, quoted by Bhagvānlāl on the authority of Dr. Bühler and General Cunningham, is quite beyond doubt. It occurs on two of the Cunningham coins—the one published in *Med. Ind.*, p. 7, pl. i, 13, was held to be somewhat doubtful until the discovery of the other (*Cunn.*, 94, 5-7, 744) dispelled all doubt as to the correctness of the reading. The only question now is whether the date may not have been 312.

The Mahākṣatrapa Satyasimha is still unrepresented in our collections by any coins of his own. His relationship to his predecessors is therefore doubtful, and the position provisionally assigned to him in Colonel Biddulph's table is purely conjectural. Between the years 304 and 310 (or perhaps 312), we find no fewer than four Mahākṣatrapas—Simhasena and his son [? Rudra]sena, Satyasimha and his son Rudrasimha. The most probable conjecture is that Satyasimha was a brother of Simhasena.

The Billon Coinage.

There is very little to add to what has been already published about the billon and lead coinages. These classes have never been properly collected and studied, and it is probable that they are as yet only very partially known to us.

The billon coins are of two kinds:—

A. *Obv.* Humped bull to r., inscription in Greek characters; (when more perfect specimens are discovered we may reasonably expect to find the date as on the silver coins).

Rev. *Caitya*; r., star; l., crescent; inscription as on the silver coins, but without the father's name.

Examples of this class are:—

(1) The coin figured by Prinsep (*Essays*, ed. Thomas, vol. ii, pl. xxxvii, 14), now in the British Museum. Unfortunately the inscription is only *Rājño Mahākṣatra* [.., and we are, therefore, not able to determine its attribution very accurately. The clear, bold characters seem, however, to justify us in assigning it to an early period.

(2) Cunningham, *Coins of Med. Ind.*, p. 7, pl. i, 9. A coin of Rudrasimha wrongly attributed to Rudradāman. The inscription, which is quite distinct, should be thus corrected—*Rājño [mahā]kṣatrapasa Rudrasihasa*. The coin, therefore, belongs to one of the two periods—from 103 to 110, and from 113 to 118—during which Rudrasimha reigned as Mahākṣatrapa.

(3) Id., p. 7, pl. i, 8. A coin of Jivadāman, Mkṣ., 119, 120.

B. *Obe.* Elephant to r.

Rev. Usual type, but without inscription; date beneath *caitya*.

The known dates on specimens of this class are—147, 14x, 153, and 15x. General Cunningham (op. cit., p. 7, pl. i, 10) read the date on one of his specimens as 120; but the unit figure is almost certainly 8, and there is some doubt about the decimal figure. It is certainly not a 20 of the usual form, and may possibly be a corruption of some other numeral, perhaps 50.

It seems reasonable to suppose that class B is later in date than class A.

The Lead Coinage.

No new dates have as yet been discovered on the square coins of lead belonging to this dynasty. The dates on the specimens—all from the collection of Colonel Sykes—published by Thomas in this Journal (1850, p. 61, pl. ii, 27–31), include all the years from 280 to 286, and, if the date on figure 32 should be read reversedly as Thomas suggests, 294.

All the specimens in the British Museum belong to the Bhagvānlāl Collection. The only legible date on them is 284.

Colonel Biddulph possesses specimens dated 284 and 285, the latter of which is here described.

Obe. Humped bull to r.

Rev. *Caitya*; r., star; l., crescent; date, 285.

Colonel Biddulph.

55; Pl. 15.

It will be noticed, then, that all the dates hitherto found on these leaden coins fall within the reign of Mkṣ. Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman (270–300?).

The use of a currency in lead is common to the Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas; but, whereas in the case of the

former it extended over a very considerable period, it is confined in the case of the latter—so far as we know at present—to a few years. It seems quite possible that a leaden currency may have been characteristic of some particular district, the possession of which passed temporarily from the Andhras to the Western Kṣatrapas.

NOTE ON THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF MAHĀKṢATRAPAS AND KṢATRAPAS.

By Colonel J. BIDDULPH.

What knowledge we have of these rulers is almost entirely derived from their coins. The earlier coins are undated, and, of the later ones, the dates are often illegible. Were it not for the practice of each one putting his father's name on his coins as well as his own, we should often be at a loss to discover the order of their succession. Even with this assistance there appears at first sight to be much confusion. The dates often overlap. Some rulers bore the title of Kṣatrapa only, others bore the title of Mahākṣatrapa only; some bore both titles at different times. Others, again, figure as Mahākṣatrapas whose fathers were only Kṣatrapas.

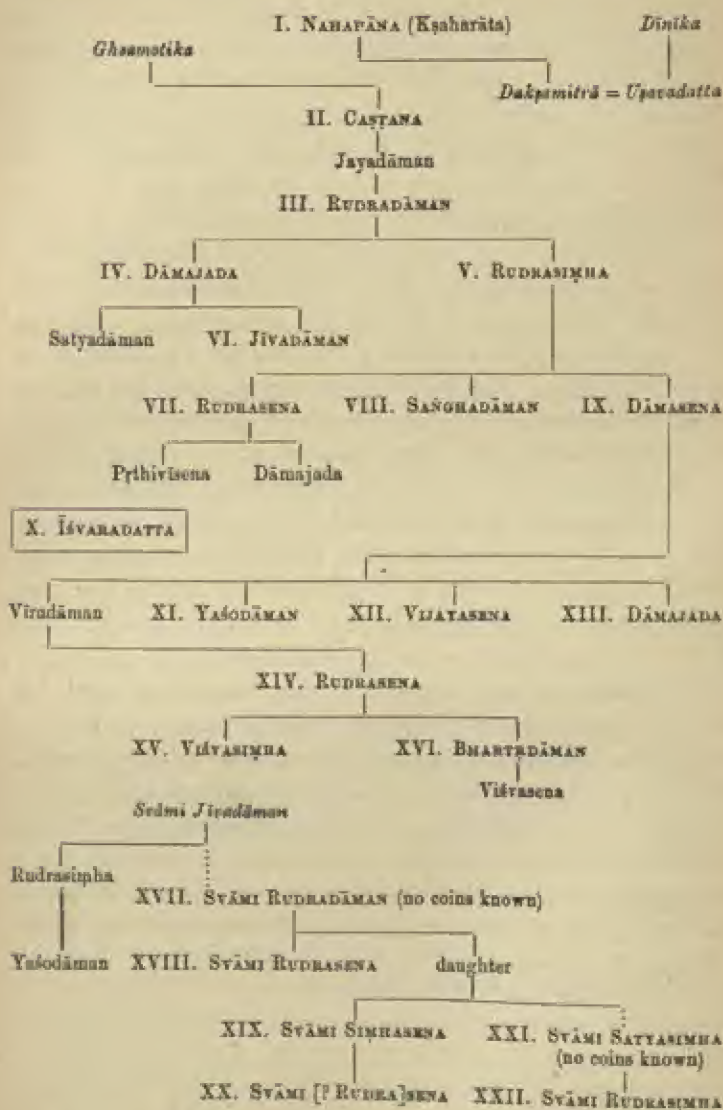
A very simple rearrangement of their names seems to give the clue to the relations that existed between the Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas. By placing all the Mahākṣatrapas on one list according to dates when they bore that title, and excluding them and others while bearing the title of Kṣatrapa, there is no longer any overlapping of dates, and we have a succession of rulers who cover the period from Caṣṭana to the latest ascertained date of Bhartīdāman, viz. 214. In the same manner, by placing all with the Kṣatrapa title on a separate list according to date, we find the whole period fairly covered, but with occasional gaps, from Caṣṭana down to the last Kṣatrapa Yaśodāman, whose latest ascertained date is 249. The inference is clear,

that the heir of the ruling Mahākṣatrapa bore the title of Kṣatrapa, and had coins issued in his name during his father's lifetime. The fact that some of the Kṣatrapas before Bhartṛdāman, viz., Jayadāman, Satyadāman, Prtibīśena, Dāmajada, and Viradāman never assumed the higher title might easily be accounted for by their having died before their fathers, or it may be that they reigned for so short a time that none of the few coins they can have issued as Mahākṣatrapas have yet been discovered.

After Bhartṛdāman a disturbance in the direct succession apparently occurred, and the title of Mahākṣatrapa seems to have remained in abeyance for many years. His last known date is 214, and he is depicted on his latest coins as an old man. His son Viśvasena only held the title of Kṣatrapa eleven years after Bhartṛdāman's latest date, and from 214 to 270, the next ascertained date of a Mahākṣatrapa, we have only one intervening Mahākṣatrapa, Rudradāman, of whom no coin has been found, and whose parentage is therefore unknown. At the same time we have two Kṣatrapas, Rudrasīṃha and Yaśodāman, father and son, in succession to Viśvasena, but not directly descended from any of their predecessors, so far as is known.

The evidence is in favour of the supposition that for nearly sixty years the title of Mahākṣatrapa remained in abeyance. After Rudrasena's comparatively long reign, 270-298, 300?, we have certainly one, if not two, breaks in the direct descent, and, of the four Mahākṣatrapas known to us in the ensuing ten or twelve years, one is known from a single coin only, another is known only from his son's coinage, while of the remaining two hardly a dozen coins have been found. During the same period no evidence exists as to the use of the title of Kṣatrapa.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS.



N.B.—The names of Mahākṣatrapas are printed in capital letters; those of Kṣatrapas in ordinary Roman type; and those of individuals, who are not known to have held either office, in italics.

ORDER OF WESTERN KṢATRAPAS, WITH ASCERTAINED DATES.

A. D.	KṢATRAPAS.		MAHĀKṢATRAPAS.	
120	Nahapāna, Kṣaharāta (inscription)	41 B, 42	Nahapāna, Kṣaharāta (inscription)	46
	Caṣṭana.		Caṣṭana.	
150	Jayadāman.		Rudradāman (inscription)	72
180	Dāmajada.		Dāmajada	
	Rudrasimha	102, 103	Rudrasimha	103-110
	Rudrasimha	110-112	Rudrasimha	113-118
	Satyadāman	12x	Jivadāman	119, 120
199	Rudrasena	121	Rudrasena	122?, 125-144
222	? Saughadāman.		Saughadāman	144
	Prthivīśena	144	Dāmasena	145-157
232	Dāmajada	154, 155	Īśvaradatta	? ? two years
	Viradāman	156-160		
238	Yasodāman	160	Yasodāman	161
	Vijayaseṇa	160	Vijayaseṇa 162?, 163-171, 172?	
			Dāmajada	172 (B)-176
			Rudrasena	17x (6-9)-194
	Viśvasimha 19x, 199, 200, 2(xr) (1-3)		Viśvasimha (dates not legible)	
	Bhartṛdāman	2(xr)	Bhartṛdāman	2(xr), 203-214
	Viśvasena	216-225		
	Rudrasimha	22x-231, 233?	Srāmi Rudradāman (no coins)	
	Yasodāman	240-249	Srāmi Rudrasena 270-298, 300?	
382			Srāmi Simhasena	304
			Srāmi [? Rudra]śena.	
388			Srāmi Satyasimha (no coins)	
			Srāmi Rudrasimha	310

ART. XIII.—*Yet More Light on 'Umar-i-Khayyām.*

By E. G. BROWNE, M.R.A.S.

As Mr. Beveridge has referred to my criticism (which is in reality not mine, but Professor A. Müller's, cited by Professor Houtsma in a footnote on pp. xiv-xv of his edition of al-Bundārī's History of the Seljūqs) on the now familiar story of 'Umar's covenant with the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk and Ḥasan-i-Šabbāh, I should be glad to have an opportunity of stating that my recent reading has shown me that this tale at least reposes on more ancient and respectable authority than either the *Rawḍatu-ṣ-Ṣafā* or the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, namely, on that of the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh* of Rashīdu'd-Dīn, who was put to death in A.H. 718. The passage, cited from f. 292^b of the British Museum MS., Add. 7,628, runs as follows:—

وعداوت و وحشت را میان ایشان سبب آن بود که سیدنا
و عمر ختّام و نظام الملک به نیشاپور در کُتّاب بودند، چنانکه
عادت ایام صبی و رسم کودکان باشد قاعدهٔ مصادقت و مصافات
معمّد و مسلوک میداشتند تا غایتی که خون یکدیگر بخوردند
و عهد کردند که از ما هر کدام که بدرجۀ بزرگ و مرتبۀ عالی رسد
دیگران را تربیت و تقویت کند، از اتفاق بموجبی که در تاریخ آل
سلجوق مسطور و مذکورست نظام الملک بوزارت رسید، عمر
ختّام بخدمت او آمد و عهود و مواعیق ایام کودکی با یاد داد،
نظام الملک حقوق قدیم بشناخت و گفت تولیت نیشاپور
و نواحی آن تراست، عمر مرد بزرگ حکیم فاضل عاقل بود،

گفت سودای ولایت داری و امر و نهی عوام مرا بر سبیل مشاھره و مسانہ ادراری و وظیفہ فرمای ' نظام الملک اورا دہ ہزار دینار ادرار کرد از محروسہ نیشاپور کہ سال بسال بی تنقیض و تنقیض ممضی و مجری دارند ' و همچنین سیدنا از شہری بخدومت او رفت و گفت الکرم اذا وعد وفا ' نظام الملک گفت تولیت ری یا از آن اصفاہان اختیار فرمای ' سیدنا ہمتی عالی داشت بدان مقدار قانع و راضی نشد و قبول نکرد چہ توقع شرکت در وزارت می داشت ' نظام الملک گفت یکجندی ملازمت حضرت سلطان نمای و چون دانست کہ طالب وزارت است و قصد جہاد و مرتبہ او دارد ازو احتراز و احتذار می نمود ' بعد از چند سال سلطان را از نظام الملک اندک مایہ وحشتی ظاہر شد ازو رفع حسابات خواست '

"Now the cause of the enmity and mistrust which existed between them [i.e. the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk and Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ] was this, that 'Our Master' [*Sayyidnā*, the title given to Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, as explained earlier, by his followers] and 'Umar-i-Khayyām and the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk were at school together in Nishāpūr, and, as is the custom of boyish days and the way of children, they inaugurated and pursued a rule of friendship and devotion which culminated in their drinking of each other's blood and swearing a solemn oath that whichever of them should attain to high rank and lofty degree should patronize and help the others.

"Now it chanced, by a train of circumstances fully set forth in the 'History of the House of Seljūq' [*Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Saljūq*], that the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk attained to the position of Prime Minister. 'Umar-i-Khayyām waited upon him and reminded him of the vows and covenants of their boyish days. The Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, recognizing these old claims, said, 'The government of Nishāpūr and the surrounding

districts is thine.' But 'Umar, who was a great man, and withal an eminent philosopher and a man of sense, replied, 'I have no desire for the government of a province or for the restraining of the people by command and prohibition. Rather assign to me an allowance or stipend of the nature of a salary or pension.' So the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk assigned him an allowance of ten thousand dīnārs from the treasury of Nishāpūr, to be paid and delivered to him year by year without diminution or charge.

"In like manner 'Our Master' [Ḥasan-i-Šabbāh] came from the city of Ray to wait on him, and said, 'The noble man, when he promises, performs.' 'Choose,' answered the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, 'the government of Ray or that of Isfahān.' 'Our Master,' being a man of high ambition, was not contented or satisfied with so much, and refused to accept it; for he cherished hopes of participating in the office of Prime Minister. So the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk bade him attend the King's Court for a while; but, perceiving that he was desirous of the post of Prime Minister, and was aiming at his position and office, avoided him, and continued on his guard against him. After some years the King conceived a slight mistrust of the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, and required of him a statement of the revenue accounts." [The remainder of the narrative agrees substantially with that of the spurious *Waṣāyā*, the *Dabistān*, and the histories of Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, given by Whinfield on pp. ix-xi of the Introduction to his *Quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām* (Trübner, 1883), and familiar to all of that large and increasing class who interest themselves more or less seriously in the Astronomer-Poet.]

An older and better authority than even the *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārikh* for the history of the Assassins and their founder (with which the history of 'Umar-i-Khayyām and the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk is so closely linked in the tradition above cited) is the *Jahān-Kushā*, the author of which, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī, was present with Hulāgū Khān at the capitulation of Alamūt, the chief stronghold of the Persian Assassins, in A.H. 654, and was entrusted with the

task of examining the books of the sect preserved in that place, with a view to the destruction of all such as savoured of heresy. Amongst these books, as he informs us (British Museum MS., Or. 155, f. 255*), he found a volume containing the biography and adventures of Ḥasan-i-Sabbāḥ, called by them [i.e. the Assassins] 'the Adventures of Our Master' [*Sar-guzasht-i-Sayyidnā*], from which he derived most of the particulars which he gives of the career of that remarkable man. These particulars, which are very full, and are illustrated by numerous citations from the 'Adventures,' include Ḥasan's genealogy—

الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن جعفر بن الحسين بن الصباح الحميري

and a good many dates, including the following :—

A.H. 464. Ḥasan takes the Ismā'īlī oath of allegiance at the hands of the *dā'i* Amīr Ḍarrāb (who, according to the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*, succeeded Nāṣir-i-Khusraw as head of the Ismā'īlī propaganda in Khurāsān), or Bū Najm-i-Sarrāj, or 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Aṭṭāsh. [My notes are here too scanty to enable me, in the absence of the MSS., to say with certainty which of the three is intended.]

A.H. 469. Ḥasan starts for Egypt, which he reaches in —

A.H. 471 (Safar 18 = Aug. 30, A.D. 1078), after a journey lasting a year and a half.

A.H. 473. Ḥasan returns from Egypt to Isfahān.

A.H. 483. Alamūt seized by Ḥasan and his followers. [The curious coincidence that the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the full name of the castle, *Ālūh-āmūt* (آلِه آموت) gives the date of its capture by Ḥasan ($1+30+5+1+40+6+400=483$) is noticed by Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī in his *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*. The name is generally explained (even in the two old histories now under consideration) as meaning "the Eagle's Nest" (آشیانه عقاب), but I think there can be no doubt that

Ibnu'l Athīr is right in saying (cf. Defrémery's *Histoire des Seldjoukides et des Ismaéliens ou Assassins de l'Iran, extrait No. 5 de l'année 1848 du Journal Asiatique*, p. 116, n. 2) that its real meaning in the Daylamī dialect is "the Eagle's Teaching" or "Showing" (تعليم العقاب), for *aluh* = eagle (cf. Nöldeke's *Geschichte d. Artakhshīr-i-Pāpakān*, p. 59, n. 2), while *āmū't* is merely the dialectical form of *āmūkht*, this dropping of the quiescent *č* after a long vowel being of constant occurrence in the dialects.]

- A.H. 485. Amīr Arslān Tāsh is sent to attack Alamūt by Malikshāh, the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk having resolved to extirpate the Assassins. The siege is unsuccessful, and the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk is assassinated on the 10th of Ramaḍān in this year (= Oct. 14, A.D. 1092).
- A.H. 487 (10th of Dhu'l-Hijja = Dec. 21, A.D. 1094). Death of Mustanṣīr, the eighth Fāṭimid Caliph, after a reign of 60 years; and disputed succession between his sons Musta'li (who actually succeeded him) and Nizār (whose cause was espoused by all the Persian Ismā'ilīs, but who was bricked up alive by his brother).
- A.H. 493. Propaganda in favour of Nizār inaugurated at Isfahān, and alarm of Barkiyāruq the Seljūq.
- A.H. 495. Assassination of Musta'li.
- A.H. 518 (Wed., the 6th of Rabi' II = May 23, A.D. 1124). Death of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ.

I now propose to examine the dates which Mr. Beveridge attempts to establish, and to show that some at least of them are untenable, if that be admitted which appears an obvious canon of historical criticism, viz. that *caeteris paribus* the older account of any transaction is entitled to greater credence than the more modern, especially when it can be definitely traced back to a writer of repute and intelligence who was contemporary, or almost contemporary, with the events he describes, or who had at his disposal sources of unusual authority. Thus, Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand,

the author of the *Chahār Maqāla*, was personally acquainted with 'Umar-i-Khayyām, and therefore is more likely to give correct information about him than late writers such as those cited by Mr. Beveridge, and this writer (of whose *Chahār Maqāla* I have made a complete translation, which will, I hope, appear in the next two numbers of the *Journal*) relates two anecdotes concerning 'Umar in the chapter consecrated to Astrologers.

The first of these (Ṭīhrān lith. of A.H. 1305, pp. 130-131) relates to 'Umar's prognostication, made in A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) at Balkh, in the Street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amīr Abū Sa'd, in the presence of Khwāja Mudhaffar-i-Isfizārī and the author, that the trees should shed their blossoms (not roses, as the "Omarites" do falsely suppose; for *gul* in Persian means not only the rose, but any flower, and the sequel shows that the blossoms whereby the prognostication was fulfilled were those of pear-trees and peach-trees—*amrūd u zardālū*) on his grave. This story shows clearly that 'Umar was alive at least a year after the date (A.H. 505) in which Mr. Beveridge would like to place his death, and probably several years later, for the writer continues:—"When I arrived at Nishāpūr in the year A.H. 530 (= A.D. 1135-1136), it being then some years since that great man [i.e. 'Umar] had veiled his countenance in the dust, . . . I went to visit his grave."

The second anecdote (Ṭīhrān lith., pp. 131-133) relates to an astrological prediction made by 'Umar "in the winter of the year A.H. 508" (A.D. 1114-1115), *three* years after the date assigned to his decease by Mr. Beveridge. The latter, therefore, cannot, in my opinion, be defended, and there seems to be no reason for abandoning the date (A.H. 517: see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 546) hitherto generally accepted.

As regards Hasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the date A.H. 518 is given as that of his death, not only by the *Jāmī'n't-Tacārīkh*, but also by *Ibnū'l-Athīr* and the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*.

As regards the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, the date of so important an event as his assassination was not likely to be forgotten,

and we find, in point of fact, all reputable authorities at one in placing it in Ramadān, A.H. 485. Ibnu'l-Athīr definitely states, in recounting his death, that he was born in A.H. 408; while his age is stated by the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh* to have been at the time of his death not, as Mr. Beveridge asserts (on what authority I know not), "about seventy-five," but "over eighty," which agrees very well with Ibnu'l-Athīr.

I think, therefore, that we may take it for granted—

- (1) That the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was born in A.H. 408 (= A.D. 1017), or thereabouts, at the very latest.
- (2) That it is exceedingly improbable that 'Umar-i-Khayyām and Ḥasan-i-Šabbūh, both of whom died natural deaths in the years A.H. 517–518 (= A.D. 1123–1124), were more than a hundred years old at the time of their decease.
- (3) That even if we assume both 'Umar and Ḥasan to have been centenarians, and consequently place their births about A.D. 1023, they would still have been six years younger than the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, and the three could hardly have been 'boys' or 'children' together, as is implied in the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*.
- (4) That the story is exceedingly improbable, though not absolutely impossible, and, did it rest merely on books like the spurious *Waṣāyā*, the *Dabistān*, etc., would scarcely merit serious consideration; but that the testimony of the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*, both on account of its early date, and the repute of its author as a historian, cannot be dismissed so lightly.

It must, however, be borne in mind that no great lapse of time is needed for the growth even of legends of a far more surprising character. The spurious Autobiography of Nāšir-i-Khusraw, regarded by Ethé as "a fabrication of the ninth or tenth century of the *hijra*, unworthy of serious attention," is hardly richer in marvels than the notice given by Qazwīnī in his *Āthāru'l-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 328–9, s.v. نیشابوری), written in the first half of the

seventh century of the *hijra*, not more than 200 years after the poet's death. It would, I believe, be worth while to make a careful examination and analysis of the spurious Autobiography, with a view to determining which portions were, or might be, genuinely historical, which were absolutely fictitious, and which could be traced to a confusion of identities. I am almost convinced, for example, that that portion of the narrative which deals with the adventures of Nāṣir amongst the *Malāhida* ('Heretics,' a term especially used to denote the Assassins, who, of course, did not exist at this epoch, since their power in the Caspian provinces began with the seizure of Alamūt by Ḥasan-i-Sabbāḥ in A.H. 483, and he himself, their founder, was, as we have already seen at p. 412 *supra*, converted to the Ismā'īlī doctrines by Nāṣir-i-Khusraw's successor, Amīr Ḍarrāb) arose from a confusion of him with the celebrated philosopher Naṣir-i-Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 655), who actually did compose the first edition of his well-known *Akhlaq-i-Nāṣiri* for the Ismā'īlī governor of Qubistān, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm b. Abī Mansūr. (See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 441-2.) It is also worth noticing that the anecdote given in the spurious Autobiography, and translated at pp. 479-480 of my *Year amongst the Persians*, concerning the rending in pieces of one of Nāṣir's disciples by the orthodox at Nishāpūr, is also given in the short notice of Nāṣir's life prefixed to the selections from his poems in the India Office MS. No. 132 (Selections from six old Persian poets, dated A.H. 714), and is therefore of considerable antiquity.

As I have had occasion to mention Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, I should like to declare my complete agreement with the view held by Dr. Ethé and the late M. Schefer as to the identity of the poet and the traveller. The case for the dual theory is most clearly stated by Professor Rieu (*Pers. Cat.*, p. 380), but nearly all his objections to the identity of the poet with the traveller can be met; for—

- (1) I have read carefully through the whole *Diwān* of the poet (Tabriz lith. of A.H. 1280) and find no single

allusion to Isfahān, but a great many to Khurāsān, amongst which the following clearly shows that it was the poet's birthplace (p. 241):—

‘گرچه مرا اصل خراسانی است’ از پس پیری و مہمی و سری
‘دوستی عترت و خانہ رسول’ کرد مرا ہمگی و مازندری

“Although my origin is from Khurāsān, after spiritual leadership, authority, and supremacy

Love for the Family and House of the Prophet have made me a man of Yamgān and Māzandarān.”

- (2) The chronological difficulty presented by the dates found in some copies of the *Rawshand'i Nāma* (A.H. 420, Gotha MS.; A.H. 343, Leyden MS.) is to be overcome, as maintained by Ethé, only by a rejection of these dates as clerical errors; for no one has hitherto ventured to maintain that the *Dicān* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and the *R. N.* are by different authors, and—
- (3) As pointed out by Ethé, the author of the *Dicān* explicitly states (Tabriz lith., p. 110) that he was born in A.H. 394, and that, after spending the first part of his life in worldliness and dissipation, he began to “seek after wisdom” at the age of 42 (elsewhere, speaking in round numbers, he speaks of his age at this turning-point in his life as 40, e.g., Tabriz lith., p. 217), i.e. about A.H. 436.
- (4) In the *Safar-nāma* (ed. Schefer, p. r), in relating the dream which caused him to set out on his travels to search for Truth, he says that he had “awakened from a sleep of forty years”; and, a few lines lower down, he gives the date of his departure on his journey as Thursday, 6th of Jumāda II, A.H. 437; all of which very closely and strikingly corresponds with the above deductions concerning the author of the *Dicān*.

- (5) In the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh* (British Museum MS., Add. 7,628), besides the reference to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (f. 290^v) as the head of the Ismā'īlī propaganda in Khurāsān, he is again mentioned on f. 286^v as follows:—

و ناصر خسرو بآوازه مستنصر از خراسان بمصر آمد و هفت سال
در آنجا ساکن بود و هر سال بحج میرفت و بمصر رجوع میفرمود
و آخر براه حج ببصره آمد و با خراسان گشت و ببلخ دعوت
علویان مصر میکرد، اعدا قصد او کردند، بر کوه سمنگان متواری شد
و تا بیست سال بر آنجا بعاند و آب و گیاهی قناعت می نمود،
و حسن بن صباح حمیری یمنی از عجم بصورت نجار پیش المستنصر
بالله [رفت] و در خواست که دعوت تو در بلاد عجم کنم، او را
اجازت داد و او بخلوت از مستنصر رسید که بعد از تو بر که دعوت
کنم، گفت بر فرزندم نزار آنکه بهتر است، باین سبب اسمعیلیه
بامامت نزار قایل اند، و میدنا اختیار قلاع قهستان کرد چنانکه
بعد ازین خواهیم گفت.

"Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, attracted by the fame of al-Mustanshir, came from Khurāsān to Egypt, where he abode seven years, performing the pilgrimage every year and returning to Egypt. Finally he came, after performing the pilgrimage, to Baṣra, and returned to Khurāsān, where he carried on a propaganda for the 'Alids of Egypt' [i.e. the Fāṭimid Caliphs] in Balkh. His enemies attempted to destroy him, and he became a fugitive in the mountain of Simingān, where he remained for twenty years, content to exist on water and herbs. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the Himyarite, of Yemen, came from Persia before al-Mustanshir bi'llāh disguised as a carpenter, asking his permission to carry

on a propaganda for him in the Persian permission having been accorded to him, secretly of al-Mustanşir in whose name the should be carried on after his death. 'In the my son Nizār,' replied the Caliph, 'who is th For this reason the Ismā'īlīs [of Persia] Imāmate of Nizār. And 'Our Master' [i.e. Sabbāh] chose [as the centres of his propa Castles of Quhistān, as we shall presently relate."

Now in his *Safar-nāma* Nāṣir-i-Khusraw mentions visiti Mecca for the fourth time in A.H. 442 (ed. Schefer, p. 14), and returning thence to Baṣra in A.H. 443 (p. 10), Isfahān in Muḥarram, A.H. 444 (p. 12), and Khurāsān in Jumāda II, A.H. 444, all of which agrees pretty well with the above. At this last date he must have been about 50 years of age (since seven years elapsed between his departure for Egypt, at the age of 42, and his return thence, Twenty years more in Simingān (see B. de Meynard' *Diet. . . de la Perse*, pp. 317, 318, s.v. سیمینگان) would bring him to the age of 70. In his *Diwān* he incidentally mentions his age in numerous passages; e.g., age 40 and 42 (Tabriz lith., pp. 217 and 110); age 50 (pp. 20, 219, 230, 263); age 50 and odd (p. 78); age 60 (pp. 24, 79, 102, 164, 173, 179, 199, 244); age 62 (pp. 166, 171); age 60 and odd (p. 70); and he also gives the period of his pilgrimages and stay in Egypt as six years (p. 113). As the author of the *Safar-nāma* reached Egypt in Safar, A.H. 439, and came to Baṣra on his homeward journey in Sha'bān, A.H. 443, his sojourn in the West was, in fact, only four years and a half, but he appears to have reckoned from the date of his departure from Khurāsān (Jumāda A.H. 437) to his return thither (Jumāda II, A.H. 444), w was exactly seven years. As he performed the pilgrim so far as practicable, every year during this seven v absence from home, it is easy to see w the

Tamārīkh that he

2 LIGHT ON 'UMAR-I-KHAYYĀM.

Therefore, that there can be no doubt as to the
the poet Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and the traveller
Khusraw, and that the dualistic theory must be
abandoned. Indeed, it seems to have been necessi-
tarily by the statements of late biographers, like
[illegible] who drew their information from the spurious
[illegible] and other equally untrustworthy sources.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. TORRES STRAITS LANGUAGES.

*Grand Hotel, Thursday Island,
Torres Straits.*

Nov. 8, 1898.

MY DEAR SIR,—As you will see by above address, I acceded to Professor Haddon's request that I should accompany the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Leave was granted me from my school studies. We have been enabled to make a very interesting study of the natives of the Torres Straits Islands, and of the Hood Bay, Port Moresby, and Yule Island natives in New Guinea. You will be interested to know of the philological material which I have been able to gather:—

1. Grammar and Vocabulary of the Murray Island language.
2. Grammar and Vocabulary of Mabuiag and other dialects of Western Torres Straits.
3. Grammatical notes of :
 - (a) Hula and Keapara (Hood Bay).
 - (b) Sinangoro (inland from Kapakapa) and Aloma (east of Hood Bay).
 - (c) Cloudy Bay.
 - (d) Grammar of Nara or Pokan language (east of Hall Sound).
 - (e) Roro (Yule Island), Mekeo (St. Joseph River).
 - (f) Kiwai (Fly River).

- (g) Note on language of Cape York tribe (No. Queensland).
 (h) Grammatical note on Koitapu language (Port Moresby).

I find that there is a great advantage in making inquiries as to language on the spot, and have received much help from missionaries.

SYDNEY H. RAY.

2. PĀLI MSS. IN NEPAL.

Kathmandu, Jan. 1, 1899.

DEAR DAVIDS,—You will be interested, and doubtless also other Pāli scholars, to hear that I have found in the Maharāja's library here, in a bundle of unrecognized fragments, three palm-leaves in Gupta character, evidently from a large book, and containing an index to some Pāli suttas, and giving the beginning of each sutta in Pāli. Of course, I have no Pāli reference-books here, and cannot say whether the leaves were at the end of a MS. of one of the Nikāyas; but I have photographed them, so we can work this point out at leisure. But it is satisfactory to find that in this country, which one considered hitherto exclusively Mahāyānist, the Hīnayāna literature was known in early times. It is only another proof (if proof were needed) to show how absurd it is to call the Hīnayāna 'Southern,' and to identify Pāli literature exclusively with Ceylon, Burma, and the South. In the same bundle were some fragments of a Sanskrit Buddhist work written in a character hitherto only known in Central Asia, and called by Hōrnle 'Central Asian Nagari.'—Yours truly,

C. BENDALL.

3. BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM TAKHT-Ī-BAHĀĪ.

The two panels of carved stone represented by the accompanying photographs were found, after the Malakhand expedition of 1897, in the ruins of Takht-ī-Bahāī, an ancient city which is situated in the Yusufzai country near





BUDDHIST CARVING FROM TAKHT-I-BAHI.



Hoti-Mardan on the N.W. frontier, and in which a number of other Buddhistic sculptures had previously been unearthed. The panel with the large central figure of Buddha was dug up in the ruined monastery of the town in December, 1897. It was found lying face downwards about five feet below some débris, having apparently fallen from a wall above. The other panel was found in the same ruins. Both are carved in a soft blue micaceous slate. Along with the larger panel was dug up a copper coin representing on one side a lion and on the other a man riding an elephant. This coin has been identified by an authority on Indian numismatics as one of King Huvishka's, dating from about 100 A.D. The stones are in the possession of Miss J. E. Hume, at present resident at Hurbunswala, Dehra Dun. The original photographs by Mr. F. Giles, C.S., were enlarged by Sands, Hunter, & Co. These enlargements are here reproduced on a smaller scale.

Both panels evidently represent scenes from the life of Buddha, who is identifiable in both cases by his halo. In the larger panel he forms the central figure, and is distinguished by his great size as well as his halo. He seems to be receiving an offering from the two *Nāgas* on his left, whose serpent nature is represented by the snakes rising up from between their shoulder-blades. The altar behind which they are standing resembles that represented on p. 96 in Grünwedel's *Buddhistische Kunst*. The figure to the right holding a *vajra* in his left hand is probably Māra. Behind and to the right of him in the air is a *Gandharva*, who, recognizable by his garland and the *vinā* in his left, is holding up a fruit in his right hand. Those who are more familiar with Buddhistic legends than I am will probably be able to identify the scenes depicted on these two carved stones. The sculptures are probably to be assigned to the first century A.D., the early period of Buddhistic art in which Greek influence is more marked; but others will be able to pronounce on the question of their approximate date with more knowledge than I possess.

A. A. MACDONELL.

4. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT ATTRIBUTED TO FAKHRU'
DDĪN RĀZĪ.

Strassburg,

Feb. 11, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—The Aja Sofia in Constantinople has a copy of the work described by Mr. Nicholson in your January number. It is contained in a work numbered in their catalogue No. 3,694, and bearing the title حفظ البدن.

Also the "Four Discourses," Chahār Maqāla, of Arūdhi, mentioned by Mr. E. G. Browne, on p. 40 of the same issue, is in Stambul, in the Ashir Effendi Library, in the MS. No. 285, 116 foll.

Several of the works referred to in Professor Ethé's sketch of Persian literature in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" as unique, must also now lose that distinction since the publication of the catalogues of the Constantinople libraries.

Since I saw how much of the celebrated medical compendium, "The Treasure of Khvārezmshāh," was drawn from older sources, especially Avicenna (see my paper in the Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morg., iv, 131-143), I have very small confidence in the originality of all such Persian handbooks of general medicine. And it is not likely that so great an encyclopaedist as Rāzī was altogether original in his medical work. The extracts given in my article just referred to would, I think, convince Mr. Nicholson of the very close connection between Rāzī's work and the "Treasure of Khvārezmshāh." And as the latter is older than Rāzī, Rāzī may have used it; and may even possibly be referring to its author, Isma'il ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al Ḥusaini al Jurjāni, when he speaks of 'the Saiyid,' son of Imām Isma'il. Perhaps Mr. Nicholson would be so kind as to give us a further communication on this point.

May I be allowed to take this opportunity of calling attention to another point which has hitherto, I think, escaped attention.

Naimā tells us (Stambul edition of A.H. 1281, vol. ii, p. 220, at the end) how the soldiers went to بابا جعفر زندان and set free the prisoners there. Were a scholar to undertake a learned inquiry as to who this Baba Ja'far was, taking him as the builder of the prison, he would go wrong. It is soldiers' slang. As German soldiers call the place of detention 'Vater Philip' (see my book "Die deutsche Soldaten-sprache," Giessen, 1899, p. 121), so the Turks call it Baba Ja'far. So the Turks call a recruit عجم اوغلان. This also has its analogy in the slang of the Bavarian soldiers, who call a recruit a 'Russian' (loc. cit., p. 36). We should not be surprised that so exclusive a cast as the Janissaries should have developed a jargon of this kind; and no doubt other Orientalists will have come across other instances of this interesting slang in the course of their reading.—Believe me, sincerely yours,

PAUL HORN.

To Professor Rhys Davids.

5. THE PEPPÉ INSCRIPTION.

Asiatic Society of Bengal,

57, Park Street, Calcutta.

Feb. 10, 1899.

SIR,—I have just read Mr. V. A. Smith's note on the Śākya Inscription from Piprāhwā in the last July number of your Journal. Owing to the importance of this document, as also to the fact that I had an opportunity of examining the original urn, which, together with the other relics, is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I beg to ask for your permission to state my opinion on some minor details in regard to the inscription.

(1) Mr. V. A. Smith says that "the final character of *bhagavato* looks like *te*, with a stroke to the left, but must be read either as *to* or *ta*." In my opinion, the word is *bhagavate*, and I do not see any reason for correcting this. For in Māgadhi, Pāli *bhagavato* must become *bhagavate*, as the rule that final *o* changes to *e* holds good throughout.

(2) *sa bhaginikanam*, if correct, would be very puzzling indeed, for the change of dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, though common enough in the literary Prākṛits, is unknown to epigraphical Pāli or Māgadhī. But, from an examination of the original urn, I can confidently assert that what has been taken for the upper cross-bar of *ṇi* (𑀭), is merely a small particle of stone peeled off when the writer engraved the *i-mātrā* of *ni*. Hardly any photograph or impression will show this clearly, but on the original urn there remains no doubt whatever.

(3) I am glad to confirm the correctness of the reading *saputa*, instead of Mr. Smith's *saputra*, pointed out by you in a foot-note. Mr. Smith probably has been misled by the fact that one stroke of *t* is prolonged a little down below the bottom line of the letter, thus *ṭ*. But, if this be *r*, it ought to be a serpentine line, and not a straight down-stroke, as, e.g., we have { *dra* in one of the Bharhat Stupa inscriptions.

My reading of the inscription, from the original, accordingly stands thus:—

yanam

iyam salilanidhane budhasa bhagavate saki sukitibhatinam
sabbhaginikanam saputadalanam.

This inscription is in one line only, round the hemispherical lid of the urn, with the exception of the two syllables *yanam*, which stand above *saki*.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

T. BLOCH,
Philol. Secr. A.S.B.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

6. THE GOSINGA KHAROṢṬHI MS.

As our readers are aware, fragments of an old birch bark MS. in Kharoṣṭhi characters found their way in 1896 to Paris and St. Petersburg. The MS. was found about

thirteen miles from Khotan, at or near the site of the ancient Gosinga Vihāra, and is the earliest known Indian MS. M. Senart has published in the *Journal Asiatique* facsimiles of the seven leaves which, together with numerous fragments, form the Paris portion of this important discovery; and has added to the great services he has rendered to the reconstruction of Indian history by a masterly decipherment of the contents of these leaves, with numerous valuable notes.

The little work is an anthology, a Dhammapada, a collection of religious verses. From what sources was the collection made? As is well known, there is a similar anthology included, under the name Dhammapada, in the Buddhist canon. M. Senart has shown that the majority of the verses included in this new collection are found also in the old one, but not in the same order, or in the same connection; and that a number of others in the new MS. are not in the older collection at all. This would seem to point to the supposition that the new anthology has not been compiled from the Pāli one; but rather from the sources from which the latter was itself compiled.

Besides M. Senart's references I have noted the following:¹

11. 4 Sutta Nipāta, 333, and Thera Gāthā, 653, 1005.
11. 5 Milinda, 379.
15. 2 The MSS. of the Dhp. read often Hīna-Dhammam.
16. 4 Samyutta, 1. 157; Divyāvadāna, 300; Milinda, 245; Netti, p. 41 of my MS.
17. 5 Thera Gāthā, 257.
18. 7 Jātaka, 5. 72.
19. 1 Thera Gāthā, 676.
20. 2, 3 „ „ 677-8.
21. 6 Milinda, 213.
25. 12 Jātaka, 5. 99.
26. 14 Thera Gāthā, 883.

¹ The figures on the right give the page and verse of the tirage & part of M. Senart's paper.

40. 9 Saṃyutta, 1. 73; Milinda, 399.
 41. 11 Thera Gāthā, 2 (for mantabhāṇī).
 48. 23 Itivuttaka, p. 42; Thera Gāthā, 1032; Mahā-
 vastu, iii, 422.
 50. 26 Saṃyutta, 1. 182.
 53. 32 Itivuttaka, 45.
 54. 34 Jātaka, 5. 99.
 56. 38 Sutta Nipāta, 950.
 57. 39 Divyāvadāna, 339; Udānavarga, 185.
 74. 6 Jātaka, 1. 314.
 85. 33 Itivuttaka, 48; Vinaya, 3. 90.
 89. 43 Thera Gāthā, 636.
 90. 3 Saṃyutta, 1. 97; Netti, 95; Lalita Vistara, 328.
 95. 16 Udāna, 1. 5; Divyāvadāna, 561.
 102. 31, 32 Saṃyutta, 1. 77; Jātaka, 2. 140.
 108. 43 Saṃyutta, 1. 83.
 108. 44 M.P.S., vi, 16; Saṃyutta, 1. 193; Gāthaka,
 No. 95, etc.

Professor Oldenbourg, of St. Petersburg, is editing the other and larger portion of this Gosinga MS.; and when we have the whole text before us we may be able to draw some more certain conclusion as to the probable method of its compilation. At present it is uncertain whether the compiler translated into his native dialect from the Pitakas, or whether he drew from previous translations of the Pitaka books, or whether he translated from one or other of the other anthologies, different from the Pāli Dhammapada, which (from the lists of books extant in China or Tibet) we know must have existed in the centuries preceding the Christian era. As the MS. comes from a district afterwards predominantly Mahāyānist, it is interesting to note the fact that it contains no trace of Mahāyāna doctrine.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

7. THE THEORY OF SOUL AND THE INITIATIVE OF THE AVESTA.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—With regard to Professor Mills' paper on the Avesta, and your own on the Upanishads, will you allow me to make the following observations.

Against M. Darmesteter's later views as to the age of the Avesta may be urged—firstly, the archaic nature of the language of the book, many of the Gāthās differing little from pure Sanskrit; and secondly, the fact that the parallelisms between Vēdic and Avestic thought are found precisely in those passages of the Avesta and the Rig-Veda which, alike by Iranian and Indian scholars, are admitted to be the oldest. I refer especially to such as deal with ethical concepts, with Rita and Asha, Rijū and Ratu, Vrijinā and Vareza, and to those Gāthās and Sūktas which represent the moral aspects of the Ādityas and Amesha Špeñtas.

As to the absorbing question of Zarathustra, despite all that has been said to the contrary, there seems little reason to doubt that he was born at Ragha, not far from Īhrān, and appeared as the prophet of Magism under King Vistāspa. Amongst future chroniclers there will doubtless be sceptics who will contend that the great English statesman who has lately left the sphere of his labours was but a pillar of Hercules or the Stone of the glory of Heaven (*Ἡρακλῆς* = Svargaśravas), and this by the same arguments as Prof. Kern seeks to show that the Iranian prophet was only a humanized Hesperus!

Turning now to your own article, may I venture to suggest that it would have been helpful had you in each case given us the Sanskrit term to which you referred. We find at least four equivalents of 'soul' in the Upanishads, namely, *jīva*, *sūkṣma-śarīra*, *puruṣa*, and *ātman*. All friends of folklore will be particularly grateful for the mode of dealing with the subject adopted by you. And though my own interest in these ancient treatises is for the most part a philosophical one, I should like, from your standpoint, to institute a comparison between the Upanishad doctrine and that of the Avesta.

The words used to express 'soul' in the Avesta are five: *Fravashî*, *ushtāna*, *aghva*, *baodhağh*, and *urvan*.

Of the first of these, namely, *Fravashî*, there is no exact counterpart in the Upanishads, though in some respects it may be compared with *sūkṣma-śarīra*. Phonetically it is equivalent to *praviddhi*, and would seem to indicate the expansion of the supreme spiritual principle. It is the spiritual archetype of every man, without beginning and without end, attaching itself to the body at birth, wholly independently of *urvan* and *baodhağh*, and leaving it at death. There is a mystical utterance about children in the New Testament which may well remind us of the *Fravashîs*. The Master said: "Their *angels* do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

The term *ushtāna* (= Skr. *utthāna*) is the vital principle which maintains the functional activities of the senses, and corresponds to *jīva*. It is an enlargement of *ushta*, 'health, well-being, salvation,' from \sqrt{sta} and *ud*, and implies full enjoyment of all the faculties. In close conceptual relationship to this is the word *aghva*, which is the Bactrian form of *asu*, and sometimes means self, but oftener the seat of life, as *prāna* is used in the Upanishads.

Baodhağh is partly *vijñāna* and partly *manas*, but in either case it represents man's psychical force and nature.

Lastly, we have *urvan*, which expresses the characterizing individuality, the consciousness of responsibility in man. At death the Urvan has to give account of itself on the Cinvad bridge, and, according to the verdict of the Judges, goes either to heaven or to hell. The word comes from \sqrt{var} , 'to wish, choose,' so that we should not be far wrong in describing it as the faculty of volition. In the Avesta there is a great deal about the Geus Urvan or Animal Soul. The song contained in the 29th *Hā* of the Yasna consists of a dialogue between Geus Urvan (Goshurun), the Ox-Soul, the personification of life, here appearing as the guardian of all things living, on the one side, and Ahura and Asha on the other. The soul of the ox complains to the Creator of the persecution suffered by all creatures here below at

the hands of demons; whereupon Ahura Mazda turns to Asha for advice on the subject. The latter then declares that he himself is supreme ruler and Lord of all, but there is no consolation until Ahura Mazda announces to Goshuran the coming of Zarathustra. Though not wholly satisfied with this, Goshuran nevertheless thenceforth submits to the will of Ahura.

In conclusion, it is worthy of note that, among other Vêdic and Avestic contrasts, whereas according to the Upanishad doctrine the soul when in deep sleep goes into *Searga* or *Brahma-loka* (heaven), according to Zoroastrian lore it goes into *avisto aghus* (hell), because in the one case sleep is attributed to the Good Spirit and in the other to the Bad.—Yours faithfully,

HERBERT BAYNES.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[Mr. Baynes raises a large question. Dissatisfaction with the ordinary soul theory led, no doubt, in widely separated countries, to its being supplemented by other theories. In India, also, there were such other theories, and about 1,500 years after the date of the books I was discussing these were worked up into an elaborate system by Śāṅkara. If in the Avesta similar theories had already been worked up into a similarly elaborate system, that would be very suggestive as to the date of the Avesta. Of the five Avesta words explained by Mr. Baynes, only *urvan* seems to belong to the soul theory proper. It would be very interesting, if documents are available, to have a history of all five; and also of the four Indian terms referred to. The *sūkṣma-śarīra* was not born till many centuries after the time I was dealing with. *Jīva* does occur at that time in the sense of 'alive, living'; or, as substantive, 'life.' Jacob gives five passages from the Chāndogya and one from the Kāṭhaka. In none of them does the word mean 'soul'; in three of them the reference is to a tree. *Puruṣa* occurs frequently in the sense of 'man, human.' The word whose meaning I discussed was *ātman*.—RH. D.]

8. EARLY COMMERCE BETWEEN INDIA AND BABYLON.

Mr. Kennedy concludes his learned and valuable article on this interesting topic (above, 1898, p. 273) with a discussion as to the date of the knowledge of the monsoons, and with the remark that "the true trade route to India—that is, from Persia—was discovered when the black-hulled merchant ships first plunged through the salt sea spray and ploughed their eastward course, under the stars, amid the open ocean."

In preparing my forthcoming translation of the Dialogues of the Buddha, I have come across the following passage in the Kevaddhu or Kevattua Sutta of the Digha (fifth century B.C.). The Buddha says:

"Long ago ocean-going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea, on board a ship, taking with them a shore-sighting bird. When the ship was out of sight of land they would set the shore-sighting bird free. And it would go to the East and to the South and to the West and to the North, and to the intermediate points, and rise aloft. If on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would go. But if not, then it would come back to the ship again. Just so, brother, etc."

Such a simile would scarcely be made use of, in ordinary talk, unless the habit referred to were of some standing, and matter of general knowledge. It is, I think, the earliest reference in Indian books to ocean-going ships out of sight of land.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PROFESSOR G. DALMAN. DIE WORTE JESU, MIT BERUECKSICHTIGUNG DES NACHKANNONISCHEN JUEDISCHEN SCHRIFTTHUMSUND DER ARAMAEISCHEN SPRACHE. Vol. I: Einleitung und wichtige Begriffe, nebst Anhang. Messianische Texte. (Hinrichs: Leipzig, 1899.)

In this work, of which the first volume has just appeared, Professor Dalman is making practical use of the extensive Aramaic studies which he has pursued hitherto with such singleness of purpose and success. It appears now that they were merely the preparatory work, the scaffolding for a totally different structure. All these philological researches had, as their ultimate aim, the purpose to penetrate behind the Greek form of the words and the statements ascribed directly to Jesus, chiefly in the three Synoptic Gospels, and to recover, if possible, by means of an accurate study of the language spoken in Palestine the very original form of those sentences of Jesus. Did he speak Hebrew or Aramaic? Which of these two would explain more easily the peculiarities of the Greek forms, and which would give a more accurate meaning to those words as used by Jesus? This question, which is bound to touch upon extremely delicate theological problems, and is of incalculable importance for the criticism of the Synoptics, can be dealt with in these pages only and solely from the strictly philological point of view. Needless to say that the prominent feature of this first volume, dealing with the Introduction and some of the "Principal Notions" in

the Gospels, is to prove that the language spoken by Jesus was not Hebrew, as has been suggested by many great scholars, the last of whom is Resch, whose great work on this very question has just appeared, but the Aramaic of Galilee. Only, if retranslated into that special dialect, many of the forms and terms used obtain a clear and precise meaning. Such is the contention of Professor Dalman, who, with extreme learning and profound acumen, discusses seriatim each of these notions, and tries to retrace the original Aramaic form. There are a few points, however, which remain unanswered. The ground for assuming the language of the people to have been Aramaic in Palestine in the time of Jesus is not convincing. The fact remains that the language of the Prayers and the language of the Literature at that period was purely Hebrew, though of a somewhat different character from that of the Bible. A nation that speaks at one and the same time two languages is an ethnographical fiction. It is not likely that the people should have accepted a totally different language for their religious and another for their daily life, except in cases where the sacred literature had been introduced from elsewhere, as is the case with the Latin in the Catholic Church of Europe. The literature of the people would represent much more that language, and such is the case with the literature of the contemporaries of Jesus. Assuming, then, the literary language to have been Hebrew, how is it, then, that the primitive Gospel, also a literary product, should not have been written in the sacred Hebrew language, but in Aramaic? And if the three Synoptics have translated a Semitic original into Greek, have they not stood under the same influences under which the translators of the LXX stood, and was not the 'Koinē' used in Palestine, a kind of Greeko-Semitic language, and which would thus not prove much for the original form of the language, either of the Primitive Gospel or of Jesus himself. Professor Dalman himself has to admit such influences when he tries to explain certain Hebraisms in the language of Luke. He says that Luke stood under the influence of

the Greek translation of the Bible. But as Professor Dalman refers constantly to the Hebrew forms of words and the notions prevalent at that period, as retained in the oldest texts of rabbinical literature, and supplies his Aramaic examples with very numerous parallels, he facilitates the critical examination of his thesis. He brings to bear to his task an unrivalled knowledge, at first hand, of these languages and literatures. The retranslation of whole sentences into Aramaic must, however, be declared as laboured and artificial, whilst the examinations and elucidations of the "Principal Notions" are models of accurate and profound investigation, full of keen insight into the spiritual life of the people of that period and of extreme value from a philological point of view. The supplement consists of eleven texts, which, according to Professor Dalman, are of Messianic import, commencing with the Sibyllinian Oracles and finishing with an Aramaic hymn, which seems to me to be of comparatively modern date, originating probably from the circle that had gathered round the new kabbalistical school in Tiberias in the sixteenth century, where many such hymns were written in the same language. The so-called Palestinian recension of the Eighteen Benedictions is merely a local variant unsupported and practically contradicted by the mass of similar texts which have recently come to light among the fragments brought from Egypt. Nor do I understand the reason for adopting the vocalization of the Yemen MSS. for the other Hebrew texts when we have at least as perfect texts in old and excellent MSS. with the usual vocalization. Those MSS. vary also considerably between one another, and for that reason alone it would have been more advisable to retain the version which appears in the Liturgies of the known rites. A text, which I have been able to reconstruct, from Egyptian fragments as old as those from which the so-called Palestinian Version has been published—all are of Palestinian origin for that—differs considerably from the one published by Professor Dalman, and agrees much more with the oldest known

version, that of Saadya, of the beginning of the tenth century, if not older. Professor Dalman ought to have taken this as basis, and in a similar manner the Kaddish as given by Maimonides is at least as archaic in form and structure as any other known; moreover, the Yemen Liturgy has adopted this form from Maimonides. But, in spite of these deficiencies, the book stands as an important contribution to the literature of that period.

M. G.

ECLIPSES OF THE MOON IN INDIA. By ROBERT SEWELL.
(London, 1898.)

This continuation of the "Indian Calendar" gives a list of the lunar eclipses from A.D. 300 to 1900, which will prove of great use to those who have to calculate or verify dates of Indian inscriptions. It is mainly based on Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, but possesses a value of its own, inasmuch as Mr. Sewell, for the date of every eclipse, has given not only the week-day, but also the Hindu lunar month in which the eclipse took place (or will take place). This may best be shown by an example.

The Nanyaurā plate of Dhaṅgadeva mentions a lunar eclipse on *Sunday*, the 15th of the bright half of *Kārttika* of the [Vikrama] year 1055. We know that this date must fall in either A.D. 997 or 998, and from Mr. Sewell's list we see, without any calculation, that there was a lunar eclipse on the 6th November, A.D. 998, which was a *Sunday*, and which did fall in the month *Kārttika*. We also see from it that the eclipse was total, and from the times given (which have been taken from the *Canon*) we may say at once that the eclipse was visible everywhere in India.

To test the accuracy of Mr. Sewell's part of the work, I have recalculated the *data* given by him for about fifty lunar eclipses mentioned in Indian inscriptions, and have found only one instance where Mr. Sewell is wrong. The eclipse of Monday, the 9th October, A.D. 1139, which is mentioned in a plate of Govindacandra of Kanauj, took place in the month Āśvina, not in *Kārttika*.

Besides the list of lunar eclipses, Mr. Sewell's new work contains some minor additions to the "Indian Calendar," which it seems unnecessary to specify here.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA. By Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., LL.D., Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Volume I: "To the Overthrow of the English in the Spice Archipelago." (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1899.)

The author tells us in his Introduction, that this book completes a task which has occupied thirty-four years of his life. The Archives of England, Portugal, and Holland have been consulted by him personally.

The book, presented by the author to the Society, is the first volume of a series, and has been published in the present year; the remaining volumes will follow. It is dedicated by permission to H.M. the Queen-Empress, and is illustrated by four maps:

- (1) General Map of India.
- (2) Ancient and Mediaeval Trade Routes to India.
- (3) The Indian Peninsula, Portuguese period.
- (4) The Eastern Archipelago.

In the ten chapters of this volume the history of British India is brought down from 1516 A.D., when the old trade routes from India to the West were closed by the barbarism of the newly-established Turkish Empire, to 1603; the end of the struggle between the English and Dutch, culminating in the tragedy of Amboyna.

There is much new material; there is a judicious absence of an attempt at literary brilliancy; there is a sweeping away of certain familiar historic delusions, which hitherto prevailed. A certain historical philosophy dominates the narrative. The conquest of British India by the population of a little island in the extreme West is but the last scene of the great drama of the conflict between Asia and Europe, which had gone on for centuries long before the Christian era.

Great Britain endured much during a century and a half of struggle, ere it entered into its inheritance. "Qui dura vince" is an Italian proverb, aptly illustrated in this case. If it be argued, that the conquest of India was the result of brute force, this is not denied, but there was persistent self-sacrifice as well on the part of the conquerors.

The author does not withhold well-deserved praise from the Portuguese and their leaders; they were noble fellows, but the political resources and population of Portugal did not form a sufficiently large basis for so magnificent a structure as an Asiatic Empire.

As Portugal disappeared, Holland appeared on the scene, and her resources also proved insufficient for the task.

In these pages there is an absence of Chauvinism and Egoism, which often degrade the modern history of any particular country, written for the benefit of so-called patriotic readers; a judicial spirit reigns throughout, but one feature transpires, that the British authorities had even in those early days a care for the interests of the people committed to their charge, as is the case in British India to a remarkable extent at the present day. The Portuguese had no conception of the nature of the duty, which attended the task of ruling conquered provinces. The Dutch *then*, and *now*, looked upon Colonies and subject populations as the platform of a financial speculation, which must be made at any cost to bring profitable returns to the Mother-Country; they cared not for the advancement of the subject races.

The volume before us ends at a period, when the British prospects had fallen very low in the struggle with Holland, but it must be recollected that the bone of discord with Holland was not so much the Peninsula of India as the islands and coasts of the Indian Archipelago: the Dutch adventurers were supported by the whole strength of the Dutch Government; the British East India Company had to depend on its own resources. The author brings out the strong and weak features of the two contending nations, and with great success.

We look forward with great interest to the forthcoming second volume: we trust not to have to wait too long; it will bring the reader down the stream of time to a period, with the environment of which he is more familiar. It is well to study the genesis of Empires, as well as of Natural Phenomena. The Twentieth Century, into which we are entering, may develop organic dangers and the germ of decay of Empires, unheeded and unthought of by the surface-student of History. The question may be raised in Parliament, whether the Empire of India is worth retaining, if any prodigious sacrifice had to be made by the Mother-Country. The reply of an old Anglo-Indian official, who helped to extend the North-Western frontier from the Satlaj to the Indus and beyond, and to rule subject races firmly, yet sympathetically and lovingly, is, that if Great Britain by mischance, or misconduct, lost the Empire of India, it would cease to be one of the Great Powers of the World, and, following the example, fall to the political level of Spain.

The author suffered the great mortification of the loss of the main part of his materials and manuscripts collected in India, when the homeward-bound steamer, to which they were entrusted, went to the bottom of the sea, but his unflagging zeal and dauntless energy did not sink under this great calamity; to a certain extent he has modified the plan and scope of his enterprise, and we think wisely so.

In the first place, "*Μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κάκον*"; the present work must consist of several large volumes: if the author had carried out his intention of "preparing a complete history of India from the invasion of the Aryans" (p. 18), the size of the work would have been indefinitely extended.

In the second place, what was the presumable date of the Aryan Invasion? Anterior to Alexander the Great, anterior to the birth of Buddha, which are dates fixed with tolerable certainty. The earliest date of the Book under review is 1516 A.D. The Birth of Buddha carries us back 2,100 years, and there is an abyss of centuries

beyond before we reach the possible and probable date of the Aryan Invasion. Besides, such a subject opens out a new and distinct world of ideas, facts, speculations, and doubts, and postulates an amount of peculiar study and accumulated knowledge not to be found in the fourteen fascinating volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. No one is so familiar as the author with the physical, racial, and intellectual features of the three hundred Millions of British India of the Nineteenth Century after the Christian era, and we are glad that he has restricted the orbit of his labours into a compass, where we can trust him implicitly, and without a doubt. Our critical attitude would necessarily be modified, if in one of his volumes we had to consider the questions: At what date was the Phœnician Alphabet imported into India? What are the dates of certain Inscriptions, and Manuscripts? The Twentieth Century may bring a solution to this and other questions: the Nineteenth has not done so. The author's narrative floats down a stream of absolute historic calm and certainty: let him be satisfied.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,
Hon. Sec. of Royal Asiatic Society.

March 10, 1899.

PARSER PRAKĀSH; being a record of important events in the growth of the Parsi community in Western India, chronologically arranged, from the date of their immigration into India to the year 1860 A.D. Compiled by BOMANJEE BYRAMJEE PATELL, Gujarāti. 4to; pp. xvi and 1052. (Bombay, 1888.)

This chronicle of the doings and progress of the Indian Parsis, so far as they have been recorded down to 1860, could have been compiled only by patient and enthusiastic research, and have been so conveniently arranged only by judicious appreciation and thorough knowledge of the wants of inquirers. Each event is briefly recorded, but with all necessary particulars, from the best available document and under its proper English date. And, if the document bears

a Parsi or Hindu date, that is also recorded; while the nature of the document and, sometimes, remarks as to its authenticity are added in footnotes. As the chronicle is intended chiefly for the information of the Parsi community, it is written in Gujarātī; but the preface is also given in English, and the original text of English documents is often quoted in the footnotes.

Among the authorities quoted are printed and manuscript books, statements of old travellers, legal and government records, family papers, newspapers, rivāyats, and inscriptions. Formerly it was the custom for priests to keep records of deaths and remarkable events occurring in their vicinity, or among their neighbours, but this class of record was never easily accessible, and is now supposed to be fast disappearing, so that it will probably be altogether lost if copies be not collected during the present generation.

This work was published originally in eleven parts, appearing at intervals extending over the ten years from 1878 to 1888. Including a supplement of additional information, which accumulated during the publication, the book records about 3,180 distinct events, and mentions the names of about 5,370 Parsi men and 360 Parsi women. It is also provided with a perfect index of subjects, and another of Parsi names, probably the most complete that exists.

As a specimen of this chronicle it will be sufficient to report its mode of dealing with some of the earlier events. It commences by recording the emigration of the first party of Parsis from Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, to the island of Dīw, south of Kāthiāwār. This is stated on the authority of the *Qiṣṣah-e Sanjān* (completed 22nd November, 1599, o.s.), but no dates are mentioned, because those stated in that book are very uncertain. In the *Hādesā-nāmu* (Bombay, A.D. 1831) Dastūr Frāmji Aspandīārji Rabāḍi quotes them as follows:—The emigrants first fled into Kohistān, where they remained a century, and afterwards travelled to Hormuz, where they dwelt fifteen years, and then sailed to Dīw, where they stayed nineteen years,

and again sailed in stormy weather to Sañjāñ. Here they were permitted to settle by the Hindū Rājā Jādirāñ, who granted them a considerable tract of land on certain conditions.

The date of their arrival is uncertain, but the footnotes state that the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson thought that the Rājā might have been Jaydev, who reigned in Gujarāt A.D. 745-806 (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1872). Though Dastūr Aspandīārji Kāmdinji, of Bharuc, in his *Kadim Tārikh Pārsio-ni Kasr*, p. 149 (A.D. 1826), states that the Parsis landed at Sañjāñ in Saṁvat 772, Śrāvan sud 9, on Friday the second day Bahman of the fourth month Tir, A.Y. 85; but in 1870 Seth K. R. Kāma, in his *Yazdajardi Tārikh*, showed that these two dates did not correspond. The Indian Parsi date, second day of fourth month A.Y. 85, was really Friday, 25th September, 716, but the Hindu date seems to have been two or three months earlier, and this discrepancy can hardly be explained as a mere copyist's blunder. In his supplement, p. 837, the compiler gives further information about this date; in an old copy of the *Qisṣah-e Sañjāñ*, among the records belonging to the Udvārā assembly, there was written, in Saṁvat 1872 (A.D. 1816), a memorandum that the day of the landing of the Parsis at Sañjāñ was Saṁvat 895, on the first day of the fourth month, on a Sunday. This date, the first of the fourth month, A.Y. 208 (Indian reckoning), was 24th August, A.D. 839, which day was really a Sunday. All that can be said for this latter date is that it is more reasonable than the former one.

As Parsi priests are accustomed to recite the names of their ancestors on certain occasions, it would seem an easy matter to ascertain the average number of generations by which the present priests are separated from any common ancestor; and this is no doubt the case when the interval is not more than four or five centuries; but further back this traditional memory is often imperfect. An extensive pedigree of the Bharuc Dastūrs and their posterity was compiled by one of their descendants born in 1833; and

from this pedigree, with the assistance of some information contained in known colophons, it is possible to approximate to the date when Neriosang Dhawal (the Parsi priest who translated most of the Yasna and part of the Khurdah Avesta into Sanskrit) must have flourished; a matter which the compiler of the *Parsi Prakāsh* has not attempted to decide.

In a colophon appended to the Pahlavi Yōsht-i Fryāno in Haug's MS. 6 at Munich, the copyist, Peshyotan Rām Kāmdīn, writing in 1397, gives his pedigree for ten generations¹ back to Rāmyār, the father of Hormazdyār, who is generally recognized as the first cousin of Neriosang Dhawal. These ten generations, detailed in a document 500 years old, have been a valuable extension, or confirmation, of the oldest portion of the pedigree. Another colophon, appended to the Pāzand-Sanskrit Arjā-Virāḥ in Haug's MS. 18 at Munich, was written by Rām Kāmdīn, the father of the aforesaid Peshyotan, in 1410.

The pedigree itself informs us that Peshyotan was an ancestor of its compiler in the nineteenth generation, and that its compiler was born in 1838; while the colophons state that Peshyotan wrote one MS. in 1397, and his father Rām wrote another in 1410. With these data it is easy to calculate the average length of a generation with great exactness. As nineteen generations of 24 years and 25 years would extend over 456 and 475 years respectively, or back from 1838 to 1382 and 1363 respectively, it is evident that the average generation must have been between these limits, and most probably about 24 years and 3 months, because in that case Peshyotan would have been 20 years old in 1397, and Rām 57 years old in 1410; the son being just old enough to be trusted to copy Pahlavi MSS., and the father just young enough to write without spectacles, which were very rare anywhere in those days.

Returning to the pedigree, corrected by the insertion of the three names accidentally omitted in the English translation

¹ All mentioned in the Pahlavi text, but three have been accidentally omitted in the English translation.

of Peshyotan's colophon, we find that Hormazdyār, the first cousin or contemporary of Neriosang, lived eight generations earlier than Rām, and eight generations of 24 years and 3 months take us back 194 years from the birth of Rām in 1353 to the probable time of the birth of Hormazdyār, or of Neriosang, about A.D. 1159. This leads to the conclusion that the Yasna must have been translated into Sanskrit about A.D. 1200, when Neriosang may have been 41 years old. The pedigree mentions only three generations before Neriosang, so it begins about A.D. 1086 with Sheheriyār and his son Shāhpur, from whom most of the priestly families trace their descent. Many early priests have probably been omitted, but whether before or after these two names is quite uncertain.

Shortly after their arrival at Sanjān, the immigrant Parsis built a fire-temple, and furnished it with the necessary apparatus for worship, which they had brought with them from Khurāsān. The date of its consecration, being doubtful, is given in a footnote as generally supposed to have been in Sainvat 777, on the ninth day of the ninth month (A.Y.), which is a common mode of writing old dates in Indian Parsi MSS.; and this is the date on which its anniversary is still celebrated. But in some writings the 26th day of the second month is mentioned. These two dates are equivalent to 27th February, 721, and 18th August, 720, respectively.

The next events recorded are the visits of Parsis to the Kūpheri Caves in Salsette, where they inscribed their names and the dates of their visits, in Pahlavi characters, nearly nine centuries ago. The dates given in the Parsee Prakāsh are not quite accurate, as they were published before these inscriptions had been fully translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, pp. 265-8. There are four Pahlavi inscriptions still fairly legible, and, if the dates are inscribed according to *Indian Parsi* reckoning, they are as follows:—The earliest inscription is unfinished, but gives the names of fifteen Parsis who had come to the place on the first day of the seventh month, A.Y. 378 (10th October, 1009). The second

inscription (over a tank) gives a complete list of the same Parsis, with one additional, and is dated the 16th day of the eighth month, A.Y. 378 (24th November, 1009), probably the date of intended departure; but a second extra name is added, as if the person had died more than a fortnight later. Both these inscriptions must refer to one protracted visit. A third inscription, dated the 24th of the seventh month, A.Y. 390 (30th October, 1021), contains ten names, of which four also occur in the preceding inscriptions. The fourth inscription, on a stone found among the ruins of a built *dāgoba*, gives merely the year A.Y. 390 and the name Māh-Farnbag, the first mentioned in the third inscription, being evidently a record of the same visit. The names resemble those used in the later Sasanian times, and for the next six centuries, by the Parsis in Persia.

From Sanjāñ the Parsis spread to Bharuc, Khambāt, Aklesar, and other places in Gujarāt; and, according to a memorandum in an old book about the inheritance of property belonging to the Meharji-Rāñā family, their ancestor Kūmdīn Zarathosht arrived at Nāgmañdal on the 24th of the first month, A.Y. 511 (3rd April, 1142). He remarked that its climate was like that of Sāri in Māzen-darān, the home of his ancestors, and hence he called his new home Nawsāri, or 'the new Sāri.'

Under the date A.D. 1184 a statement is quoted, from the preface to Westergaard's *Zendavesta* (1854), regarding an ancient colophon, found copied in the old Vendidād, with Pahlavi, at Copenhagen, from which it appears that a preceding copy of the same text was written in Sagastān, or Sistān, for a Parsi priest named Māhyār, from the district of Aucak, on the bank of the water of Sind (probably Uch in the Panjāb), who had been six years in Sagastān, studying religious matters for his friends in India, and was about to return home with the information he had collected and this copy of the Vendidād, presented as a righteous gift. The epoch from which the date of this colophon was reckoned is not mentioned, but as we have only a copy of a copy of the original colophon, the epoch was probably

omitted by one of the copyists. The Iranian Parsi calendar completes its year thirty days earlier than the Indian one, and in old dates the years were usually reckoned in Iran from the *death* of Yazdakard, that is, from A.Y. 20. The date given in the colophon is the 17th of the fourth month of 554, and this would be 16th May, 1185, if reckoned from Yazdakard's accession, or 11th May, 1205, if reckoned from his death. Nothing further appears to be known of this colony of Parsis which existed at Uch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Many priestly families are next traced to their ancestors in the footnotes; and the building of a brick *dokhmu* at Bharuc, by Seth Peshatanji, is mentioned as being recorded in an old book by a bard of Baroda. The date given is Samvat 1365, Jeth sud 2 (A.D. 1309); and the *dokhmu* appears to be still standing, though in a ruinous condition.

One of many documents, found in a collection of manuscript papers in the Meharji-Rānā library at Nawsāri, is an affidavit, signed by twenty-six Parsi laymen of Valsār, certifying that they had obtained a resident priest from the Nawsāri assembly. This document is dated Samvat 1471, Vaisākh sud 11 (A.D. 1414).

Shortly after this, Sultān Maḥmūd Begara, of Aḥmadābād, sent his kinsman Alafkhān, with a force of 3,000 men, to attack Sañjān, whose Rājā induced the Parsis to assist him with 1,400 men, under a leader named Ardeshr, who at first defeated the Musulmāns; but the latter, being reinforced, afterwards defeated the Parsis, killed Ardeshr, and captured Sañjān. These events are mentioned only in the *Qiṣṣah-e Sañjān*, and their date is doubtful, but the compiler, in his footnotes, gives reasons for placing them in the interval, 1458-1493, and probably near the beginning of it.

The same uncertain authority states that the surviving Parsis fled from Sañjān, with their families and sacred fire, into the hills of Bāhrot, where they remained twelve years, and then moved into the Vānsrā jungle for fourteen years longer, after which Cāngā Āsā, the chief Parsi layman at Nawsāri, induced them to take their sacred fire to Nawsāri

and settle there. An old Yasna, written at Nawsāri, A.D. 1658, was copied at Valsār, A.D. 1800, and in this copy it is stated that the Sanjān sacred fire arrived at Nawsāri on the 29th of the sixth Parsi month, in Samvat 1475 (28th June, 1419), which is not easy to reconcile with the preceding dates, and is probably not based upon a contemporary record, but upon mere tradition. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakāsh*, however, suggests (in p. 5, note 2) a means of approximately ascertaining the true date of the arrival of the Sanjān fugitives at Nawsāri by reference to information contained in the earliest Persian Rivāyats still extant. These Persian Rivāyats contain religious information and epistles, from Parsi priests in Persia, addressed to Parsis in India, in reply to written inquiries which the latter sent to Persia by special messengers from time to time. The earliest Rivāyats, of which copies are known to survive, were two brought back to India by Narēmān Hoshang, from the vicinity of Yazd, in 1478¹ and 1486,¹ and a Kitābat or epistle brought from the same neighbourhood, by four Iranian Parsi traders, in 1511.¹ In all three documents Cangah-shūh is mentioned as the chief layman at Nawsāri, and a Herbad Khurshēd, mentioned in the first Rivāyat as an important priest at Nawsāri, is further defined as Khurshēd of Sanjān in the other two documents. Both parties were evidently resident in Nawsāri for fully thirty-three years, but neither name is found in the next Rivāyat, written in 1527. From this we learn that an important priest from Sanjān had arrived at Nawsāri before 1478, and it is known that Sultān Maḥmūd came into power at Aḥmadābād in 1458, so that the capture of Sanjān must have been after that date. If we suppose that the Parsis were driven out of Sanjān about 1460, and took refuge at Nawsāri about 1470, they would have dwelt ten years in the jungly hills, instead of the legendary twenty-six. This

¹ These are the dates if reckoned from the accession of Yazdakari, but they would each be twenty years later if reckoned from his death, in which case the fugitives may have remained in the jungle for the full traditional period of twenty-six years, say from 1460 to 1486.

occasional correspondence with the Iranian Parsis continued for more than another century, and has contributed several lists of Indian Parsi names to the compiler's chronicle.

The first Parsi who settled in Bombay was Dorābji Nānābhāi, who came from Samāri-gām at Surat, A.D. 1640, and remained in the service of the Portuguese authorities; being afterwards employed by the English to collect a tax levied on the cooly fishermen. He was the ancestor of the Kāwasji Patel family, and died in 1689. His younger son, Rustamji Dorābji, succeeded to his father's appointment, and in 1692, when all the Europeans and garrison were dying from a severe pestilence, and the Sīdi of Jañjirā had landed troops and taken the Duñgeri Fort, he collected a number of cooly fishermen, and drove the enemy out of the island, which he held for a few days, till the arrival of reinforcements from Surat. For this good service the Patelsnip of Bombay was made hereditary in his family. He died on the 27th of the sixth month, A.Y. 1132 (11th April, 1764), aged 96, having been one of the principal members of the original Parsi Pañcāyat from its commencement.

Regarding Rustamji's wife and her family a tale, worthy of romance, is told under the date A.D. 1808. Her parents were Siyāvakhsh bin Dīnyār and his wife Firañgij, Iranian Parsis who had been forcibly converted to the Muslimān faith. They had two daughters, whom they had secretly brought up as Zoroastrians, and were intending to send them for marriage to the Parsis residing in India, when a German traveller appeared, who was a very respectable man; so Siyāvakhsh begged his assistance, and proposed to intrust him with his daughters, for conveyance to India and delivery to some trustworthy Parsi there, who would undertake to have them married. The German offered to marry one of the girls himself, and to deliver the other as requested. To this the girls and their parents assented, and the former travelled to Bombay with the German. Thence the German took one girl with him to his own country, leaving the other with a respectable Parsi shopkeeper, to give away

in marriage to some Parsi householder. His choice fell upon Rustamji Dorābji, to whom the girl, named Firojā, was married. She had four sons, three of whom died before her, at ages varying from 37 to 55; and she survived her husband nearly 44 years, dying on the 11th of the fifth month, A.Y. 1177 (15th February, 1808), aged 80.¹ It is rare for the combined lives of a man and his wife to extend into three centuries, as in this case, beginning in 1677 and ending in 1808, a period of 131 years; but the husband must have been 60 years older than his wife. From the age of the eldest son, at the time of his death, it is easy to see that the marriage took place in 1743, which is one step towards identifying the German traveller, if he were a man of any importance.

These desultory remarks will be sufficient to show that Mr. B. B. Patell has succeeded in collecting much valuable historical information regarding the Indian Parsis, which he should endeavour to extend and improve as opportunity offers. Wherever old and trustworthy documents survive, the influential Parsis should assist him to obtain permission to inspect them and note their contents for future compilation. He has nearly exhausted the documents with which I am acquainted, but some remaining information may be mentioned.

Perhaps the oldest document in India, containing a contemporary record of Parsi names, was one of the copper-plates of the Kottayam grant, made to the Syrian Church by a local Rājā in Travancore, probably early in the ninth century A.D., a facsimile of which was published in J.R.A.S., o.s., Vol. VII, p. 344. Fortunately this facsimile is fairly legible, as the plate, bearing the names of the witnesses, is said to be now lost. Ten of these witnesses signed their names in cursive Pahlavi, and all call themselves *Magaēōko*,

¹ The compiler has probably found these facts recorded in family papers, and not in any newspaper, as supposed by M. D. Menant in his recent book entitled *Les Parsis*. In the *Parsee Prakāsh* there are two footnotes, referring to the *Bombay Courier* for other events recorded on the same page as this tale, with which latter they have no connection; and the *Bombay Courier* for 1808 has been searched in vain for any reference to this tale.

or Magian. The cursive character of the writing makes the names difficult to decipher, but the following translation is probably nearly correct:—

“I, the Magian (*Magavōko*) Yakrāno-r . . . -shifas, son of Shikōn-zarīr, am a witness. I, the Magian Ātarē-māhāg, son of Vēh-zufōn, am a witness to it. I, the Magian rejoicing the just (*arshān-shādak*), Marjo-vēh, son of Fulānik, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Gīlūmat, son of Bag-vēh, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Sūvag, son of Yākōpo, am a witness to it. I, the Magian . . . , son of Marjo-vēh, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Zarag, son of Yunānōn (the Greeks), am a witness. I, the Magian of the religion of Magianism, Farn-bag, son of Vindād-Aūharmazd, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Marjo-yakrāno, son of Bun-rashīdo, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Khūpo-marjo, son of Aharāl, am a witness to it.”

Two of the names are partially lost, owing to breakages of the copper-plate; and two of the Parsis, Sūvag, son of Yākōpo, and Zarag, son of Yunānōn, appear to have been sons of converts from the Greek or Syrian Church.

The colophons of MSS., besides furnishing dates, are fruitful fields for exploration, not only with regard to the names and ancestors of copyists, but also as to those of their employers in some cases. It is only within the last few years that the name of the man to whom the Parsis owe the preservation of the Pahlavi Yasna, Vendidād, and some other miscellaneous texts, has been discovered in some old MSS. His name was Cāhil, son of Sāngaṇ, a Parsi layman of Khambūt, probably a trader, who must have died before A.D. 1323, after providing for two copies of each of the texts above mentioned, as a good work. A *roznāmah* is also appended to two of the colophons, mentioning the names of six of his ancestors and other dead relations, and the dates when they should each be kept in remembrance.

A complete list of copyists and their ancestors, with approximate dates for each name, might be both interesting and useful; and abundance of such materials accumulate in

the course of time. The Persian Rivāyats have been nearly exhausted, so far as names of Indian Parsis are concerned ; but they also contain long lists of Iranian Parsis living at certain times, and some attempts at estimating their numbers.

March, 1899.

E. W. WEST.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA, from the Earliest Times to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. By C. MABEL DUFF (Mrs. W. R. RICKMERS). (Archibald Constable and Co., 1899.)

This remarkable compilation possesses the qualities which such a book should possess—a clear and well-considered plan steadily adhered to, a matured presentment of the matters entered, an informed selection of the authorities. A work on Chronology to be of use must, on its own merits, command respect and confidence as to general accuracy, and to my mind there is no doubt that Miss Duff's book (to give the author her best-known name) is entitled to both. The methods adopted for ensuring accuracy are unimpeachable, and the sources of information as nearly so as existing conditions admit. The references to the authorities are ubiquitous and of the highest value. The list of those who have actively assisted the author is of itself a guarantee of the care, knowledge, and research brought to bear on the subject.

The general plan of the work is “a table of events in chronological order” of ascertained facts and dates only, supplemented by an extremely valuable Appendix, consisting of Lists of Indian Dynasties, in which are included all the known names of the kings, with the dates of those only, as to whom positive information is available. There are also collated lists of the Pauranic Dynasties—Śāisunāga, Maurya, Śuṅga, Kāṇva, Andhrabhṛitya. These Lists and Tables are made to work in together, so as to form a kind of index of dates to each other, in a highly commendable manner. In addition, there is a very long, complete, and most laborious index to the whole work.

To say that such a book supplies a need, and will be of assistance to students, is to put the case too mildly, as it will, on account of its carefulness and completeness within its limits, be of inestimable value to those whose studies take them into matters connected with Indian history, and will save them an infinite amount of troublesome and thankless search in the verification of details; for Miss Duff's admirable industry and patience have not only now placed the desired facts within easy reach, but have also supplied the necessary references to the authorities, by which her statements can be readily verified. One student, at any rate, of things Indian, tenders her his hearty thanks in anticipation for much future trouble saved.

The preface hints at the present work being intended only as a preliminary edition, and, though no one could wish to compel an author to undertake so great and so careful a labour, as is involved in the book before us, more than once in a lifetime, one cannot but hope that should research, current and to come, cause, as it ought, another edition to early succeed the present one, the work will fall to the competent hand so successful on this occasion. But whenever the time comes for such another edition, it is to be hoped that, just as the Sinhalese Chronology has been now introduced as germane to the Indian, circumstances will have rendered it possible to introduce the Burmese also. The connection of the various Burmese and Peguan Dynasties with, at least, Buddhist India was much closer than many suspect, and the present writer feels convinced that an intimate study of Burmese Chronology will serve to throw light on that of early India. The epigraphic data available for the purpose are quite as numerous and trustworthy as those for India, and the vernacular literary data are also very many and far from untrustworthy. Unfortunately, both these sources of correct information still await the attention of competent students.

This is one direction in which Miss Duff's labours might in future be enlarged with advantage, should the state of research permit. Here is another. The Chand Dynasty of

Kumaun, the Kāngrā Dynasty, and some Nēpālī Dynasties are given in the Appendix. There are genealogies existing in MS., which should be procurable through the political agencies, of Chambā, Jammūn, Nāhan, and many another Himālayan 'kingdom,' the value of which, when historical inquiries are necessary, can be demonstrated by a reference to the prefaces of the various semi-historical tales from the Hills to be found in the *Legends of the Panjab*. I once had, even if I have not now, put away in some forgotten place of safety, authentic vernacular copies of several of these in my own possession: and if I recollect rightly, some of them found a corner in *Panjab Notes and Queries*. All such lists require a good deal of verification, of course, but, though the facts they purport to relate truly might never find their way into the Tables, they might be usefully included in the Lists of the Appendix.

As to the limits that the author has imposed upon herself, personally I should like to see the work continued on to the year 1700 A.D. or thereabouts, so as to include the chief facts of the earlier European struggles in India.

With these remarks and hints, thrown out for what they may be worth, I take leave of one of the most praiseworthy efforts at the compilation of a good book of reference it has been my fortune to come across.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE BOOKLET OF COUNSELS. (Urmi, 1898.)

It is desirable to call attention to this work, modestly called the "Booklet of Counsels," recently issued by the Men of the Archbishop's Mission to Assyrian Christians, in Syro-Armenian characters. Its purpose is to provide the Syrians with a series of characteristic selections from their classical literature, embracing the earliest as well as the latest authors. The editors have laid several printed books under contribution, but they have also published many new texts and introduced Syriac scholars to new authors. Nearly every extract is preceded by a brief notice in Syriac

of the author's life, and, where there are unusual expressions, accompanied by notes. As is customary with texts printed in the Nestorian character, the extracts have been fully vocalized, and the editors have come well through the test to which, this process has submitted their scholarship. There are few or no misprints.

There is no reason why this book should not be used as a Chrestomathy in Europe, and the quantity and diversity of the matter make it compare very favourably with any that has been issued. There are many new specimens in it of artificial poetry, a form of composition illustrated in Cardahi's *Liber Thesauri*, which, however, having the comments in Arabic, is not accessible to many readers. There is a considerable extract from the *Scholia* of Theodore Bar Kunai, a work of which M. Pognon in the recently published second part of his "Coupes de Khonabir" has published another fragment; the Urmi extract contains a harmony of apparent discrepancies in the Gospels. For the date and probable sources of this writer M. Pognon's work should be consulted. There are some new Homilies of Isaac of Nineveh and of Narsai; extracts from unpublished works of Yohannan Bar Zu'bai, Yohannan of Mausil, Ishak Eshbednaya, 'Amanuel Malfana, Simon of Shanklabad, Elias of Anbar, and others; while in one or two cases the extracts given appear almost simultaneously with the publication of the original, e.g. in the case of the extract from the *Ethikon* of Barhebraeus, the whole of which has recently been published by Bedjas, accompanied by the *Liber Columbae*, which, curiously, appeared about the same time in Rome. It is to be feared that even this new accession to Syriac literature will do little to save it from the charge of "mediocrity," levelled against it by Dr. Wright; but the editors, Messrs. Jenks and Irving, have accomplished a work which reflects great credit on themselves, their press, and their mission.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

FIRST STEPS IN ASSYRIAN. By L. W. KING, M.A.,
Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian
Antiquities, British Museum. pp. 538. (Kegan Paul,
Trench, & Co. 15s.)

Every intelligent attempt to extend the knowledge and deepen the interest of English students in Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology deserves a cordial welcome. The subject is too large and too important to be treated by its experts in any kind of 'close-corporation' spirit. With 100,000 tablets in our own National Museum, the tens of thousands elsewhere, and further additions being continually made to these stores, our present number of readers cannot possibly keep pace with their work. The Deluge Tablet sent home by Mr. Rassam had lain unrecognized for years until it came under the notice of the late Mr. Geo. Smith. The Chedorlaomer Tablets for sixteen or eighteen years had attracted no special attention until Mr. Pinches discovered their contents. What further surprises of a similar character await us, who can divine? Moreover, there is urgent need for an immediate renewal of the work of excavation by our own countrymen; others are moving whilst our hands are slack, and Arabs are plundering and destroying. To facilitate the study of Cuneiform is therefore to render to every branch of the subject as it stands service of the utmost value, and to prepare the way for future work.

Mr. King's book is in many respects admirable, and supplies a genuine need. It is, as he describes it, "A Book for Beginners," and he has done well both in making a plentiful use of the script and in exemplifying plentifully by its aid various important points of grammar. It is perhaps the general excellency of the work and its adaptation to the end proposed which excite the greater attention to its defects. One cannot help asking why in a "book for beginners" the bulk should have been so swelled out, and the cost proportionately increased? We have only 70 pages of actual grammar out of a total of

538 pages, while with Sign-list, Vocabulary, etc., we have only 222 pages. The remainder is the "Reading Book," containing forty-two fully transliterated and translated texts, and a few texts not so treated. The proportion of texts is excessive, with so large a number accessible on every hand, and must have more than doubled the expense of publication. Moreover, all the texts are in the Assyrian character, which is most unfortunate. If we had had a few Babylonian texts in the Babylonian character, with the Assyrian equivalents given where difficulty was likely to be experienced, it would have greatly increased the value of the book by introducing the student to a wider range of Cuneiform literature; but to put Khammurabi's language in Assurbanipal's script is an inexcusable anachronism, if not an absurdity.

With reference to the Grammar, it is difficult to understand upon what principle the moods and tenses of the verb are jumbled together into one. We are told that "The Assyrian verb possesses five *tenses*: the Preterite, the Present, the Imperative, the Participle, the Permansive, and the Infinitive"; and after learning that the Imperative and Infinitive are tenses, we get the contradictory statement that "the Permansive expresses a state or condition." It is much to be regretted also that the bad precedent of previous writers should have been followed in the treatment of the paradigm of the verb. Why should we not have had at least one verb given completely and in the original script? What Hebrew tutor would think of giving his students the Kal conjugation alone, and leaving them with only a few hints to fill up the rest as best he could? With nothing but Mr. King's book it is very doubtful whether any 'beginner' would be able to write out even the simplest of the regular Assyrian verbs in full. Surely a little more type and space here would have been well employed.

It would seem indeed as if Mr. King was in too much hurry to get his work off his hands. He is a busy man, no doubt, and others have to suffer for it. But a little more deliberation would not only have prevented certain

needless repetitions and other blemishes in his English, but enabled him to bestow more pains on the arrangement of the Vocabulary, and to improve on the arrangements of his predecessors. If we *must* have our Vocabularies and Lexicons arranged according to the order of the Hebrew letters, then why should א stand before אב (albeit א may be understood as a vowel), and עכת before אבן? Or if according to the order of the English letters, why should *aibu* stand before *abu*, and *abbuttu* before *abahu*? As things are, our Lexicographers follow neither order, and our Lexicons are in inextricable confusion. Mr. King is not to be blamed for the precedents he has followed, although it is to be regretted that it should not have occurred to him to break with them and to set a new precedent, especially in a book for beginners. This alphabetical difficulty created by our Lexicographers is further increased by the practice of placing each derived word under its supposed root—a practice which cannot be consistently observed, because the root of every word is not certainly known. Mr. King has wisely endeavoured to mitigate the inconvenience it occasions by placing the word in some cases in its alphabetical position and referring the student to the other place for its meaning. But the practice itself has hardly anything to commend it, and would be better entirely abandoned.

The fact is that these confused arrangements are at bottom sheer pedantry. The impossibility of following consistently any order excepting that of the English equivalents of the Assyrian syllabary appears on every page of every vocabulary or lexicon in which the attempt is made. Mr. King attests it by feeling compelled to place words with the initial vowels 'E,' 'I,' and 'U' between the letters א and א: hence we have Alephs, Hēs, Waws, Cheths, Yodhs, and Ayins all mixed up together. A vocabulary or lexicon is necessarily chiefly used to find the meanings of words we do not recognize, and when once the value of the first Cuneiform character can be determined the rest ought to be easy. But when the task is to discover the

meaning of a derivative, especially a derivative of a root weak of the second or third radical or both, the student and even the experienced reader may have to turn from root to root, and in the end only find what he wants by accident. Who that has ever used Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* has escaped this exasperation? Why should not the common-sense plan be adopted for the Assyrian which everybody employs in English, French, German, and other dictionaries, of placing the word in its alphabetical position, with the root in brackets in explanation of it?

For Mr. King's book we wish a wide circulation, and a speedy demand for a new and improved edition.

J. T.

HANDBOOKS TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. By MORRIS JASTROW, JUN., Ph.D. (Boston, U.S.A. : Ginn & Company, 1898.)

In this volume of over 700 pages, the author gives a very complete account of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as far as it is now known to us. In reviewing such a theme as this, it is necessary to state, at the outset, that it is an exceedingly complicated subject, requiring a good knowledge of the inscriptions, much critical acumen, and likewise plenty of courage to attack.

After a chapter treating of "the land and the people," in which he leaves the Akkadian question entirely open, he treats of the Babylonian gods prior to the days of Hammurabi (2300 B.C.), during which period numerous divine names are found, of which he gives the list.¹ At the head of these he places the god Bêl, or En-lil.² Professor Jastrow is of opinion that En-lil or Bêl was originally a different deity from Marduk or Merodach, but was eventually identified with him on account of the ever-increasing influence of the city of Babylon, the centre of Merodach's worship. The author is no doubt right in

¹ The readings, he points out, are to be taken with reserve.

² Better Enlila, and also pronounced Elilla.

attributing his deification to the fact that he was originally a "powerful chieftain, armed with mighty weapons, but engaged in conflicts for the ultimate benefit of mankind."

When treating of the Babylonian pantheon of the days of Hammurabi, the author gives a longish account of the goddess whose name is generally read by the German Assyriologists as Sarpanitum, which reading he also adopts, notwithstanding that the only authorized one is Zirpanitum or Zerpanitum. He points out the process of her identification with the goddess Erûa, and her assimilation with Bêltu or Beltis (why use the construct form Belit rather than the nominative Bêltu?) is referred to incidentally on pp. 224 and 684. Of course, every goddess could be designated *bêltu*, 'lady,' just as all the gods could bear the title of *bêlu*, 'lord,' but there was one Bêl and one Bêltu, *par excellence*, the consort of Bêl, identified with Sarpanitum (Zerpanitum) probably at the time that En-lil (Ellilla or Bêl) was identified with Marduk.

It is to be noted in connection with the name of Merodach, that Josef Grivel's attempt to identify him with the Biblical Nimrod (which has been accepted by Sayce) is not by any means so unsuccessful as it was, to all appearance, formerly thought to be. There is no proof that Gilgamesh (with whom Nimrod was formerly identified) was a great hunter, but of all the hunters of the universe, Marduk must assuredly be held to be the greatest, for it was he who, when all the other gods turned back in fear, chased and entrapped with his net the mighty dragon of Chaos, Tiamtum, and put an end to her existence. Moreover, just as Nisroch is none other than a changed form of Aššur (compare the Greek forms *Ἑσδράχ* and *Ἑσράχ*, which omit the initial *n*, and *Νασράχ*, which restores the original *a* in the first syllable), so, by the same process of adding *š*, has the original Amarudu (for an earlier Amarudug¹) become in Hebrew Nimrod. Nisroch, or, as once given in Greek, Esorach, is

¹ Semiticized Amaruduk, then Maruduk, and ultimately (seemingly) Marduk, unless this last form be a man's name, abbreviated from Marduka, 'he of Merodach.'

a disfigured form of the name of Aššur with the ending *-uk*, which appears as *-uk* in the full form of the name of Marduk, namely, Amuruduk.¹

Not only does the author treat at length of the various gods, but he also describes fully the religious literature, including the incantations and charms. Besides this, the various legends are treated in full, as well as the cosmology, "the Zodiacal System," the Babylonian view of life after death, and the temples and worship. Of these, it is probably the chapter treating of the various legends of the Babylonians and Assyrians that will be read with the greatest interest. In his concluding chapter, the author gives some remarks upon the religion of the Babylonians in general, and its influence on the beliefs of the world. After referring to the shortcomings of such a religious system as the Babylonians and Assyrians had—how, in later times, "the priests of Marduk set the fashion in theological thought"—he points out that the ancient traditions and myths were reshaped so as to contribute to the glory of that deity. It was the antiquity of Babylonian literature that prevented the cult from becoming uniform in all parts of the empire, and as each district, led by the priests, its natural theological leaders, held to the teaching, such as it was, of the tablets which they revered so much, everything tended to preserve religious opinions and teaching in the various provinces unchanged, so that uniformity could never be attained. The religion remained, therefore, the worship of various deities, differing (as to the chief deities) in each district, and a certain number of good and evil spirits and demons, and the demonology, as is well known, influenced greatly not only the beliefs of the Jews in that direction, but also, as the author points out, Christian beliefs as well, the most notable instance being the Book of Revelation,

¹ It is noteworthy that both Nimrod and Niroch have, in Hebrew, the same vowel-points, showing that the forms have been, so to say, 'doctored.' Apparently some of the Hebrew scribes had a disinclination to record unchanged the names of heathen gods, and the form *Abed-Nego* for *Abed-Nebo* has been attributed, probably rightly, to this.

chapter 12, and to this might be added also the description of the locusts with human heads and wings and tails of scorpions (which remind one of the 'scorpion-men' of the legends and the cylinder and other seals) referred to in chapter 9 of the same book.

On page 684 the author refers to a 'pilgrimage' that Aššur-bani-āpli made to Ê-sagila to restore a statue that a former king of Assyria had taken from its place, and this reminds one that there are certain fragments of tablets of the nature of omens which refer to pilgrimages of a more real nature, and the benefits that might be expected to result from making them. On these fragments we find such entries as "If one go to the Temple of the Hero, he will escape evil"; "If one go to the Temple of the Seven Gods, he will have peace"; "If one go to Niffer, trouble of a day, peace of a year."

Notwithstanding the rather voluminous work of Professor Jastrow, there is still much to be learned and much to record about the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Nevertheless, it is a most valuable and useful work, and may be regarded as giving a fair estimate of the subject, treated from a rather different standpoint than that of the well-known and still most suggestive and valuable Hibbert Lectures of Professor Sayce, to whom the author from time to time refers. On reading the book through, one feels that there is a certain loss of continuity in the method employed by the author of splitting up his description into periods, and that to deal with the history of the worship of each god separately, in a continuous manner, whilst still carefully indicating the periods into which he has divided the work, would have been better, because it would not have separated and placed in widely sundered parts of the book subjects that ought to form one continuous whole. This, however, will probably be found by others to be no disadvantage at all, and is, in any case, a mere matter of arrangement.

T. G. PINCHES.

DE WĀQIDII LIBRO QUI KITĀB AL MAGĀZI INSCRIBITUR
COMMENTATIO CRITICA QUAM SCRIPSIT JOSEF HOROVITZ,
Dr. Phil. 8vo; pp. 48. (Berlin: Mayer & Müller,
1898.)

The problem the author has endeavoured to solve is the assignment of Al Wāqidi's *Kitāb al Maghāzi* to its proper place among the older works of Muhammedan tradition. He also investigates the sources used by him as well as his method of sifting the material collected. Whoever has had to deal with questions connected with the *Hadith*, knows only too well what slippery ground this is, and how few and uncertain are the means of criticism. Al Wāqidi having written at the time when Ibn Hishām was busy editing Ibn Ishāq's biography of Muhammed, it is of special interest to find out the relation which existed between these two oldest authors of the early history of Islām. As Ibn Hishām's work must be studied by comparing it with Al Tabari's great "History," so also much light is thrown on Al Wāqidi by the same author. Although Sprenger regards Al Wāqidi's *Kitāb al Tarikh* as an independent work, it was considered identical with the *Kitāb al Maghāzi*, and it is probable that Dr. Horovitz is right in the inferences he draws from the statement of the *Kitāb al Fihrist*, that Al Tabari's quotations were originally taken from the *Kitāb al Maghāzi*. The incongruousness of these quotations with Al Wāqidi's text, as handed down to us, is another difficulty which Dr. Horovitz tries to overcome by suggesting that Al Wāqidi himself published a second and rectified recension of his work, and it was this which Al Tabari made use of.

As to the critical method applied by Al Wāqidi, it compares rather unfavourably with Ibn Ishāq's manner of reproducing traditions. The latter does not lay so much stress on other versions of the same tradition as the former, and it is altogether interesting to observe how cautiously Ibn Ishāq often narrates traditions of miraculous character, or which were not supported by good evidence. Apart

from the instances mentioned by Dr. Horovitz, it is especially Ibn Ishāq's reproduction of the Bahīrā legend for which he, by frequently interspersing the words *زعموا فيما* or *زعموا* (I. Hish., pp. 115-17), evidently declines every responsibility. It is well known that Al Wāqidi is not free from a certain bias. He shows several of the characteristics which distinguish the later and less reliable traditionists from the earlier ones, notably broader style, and an increased display of Muhammed's prophetic and military achievements. This is forcibly illustrated by the lists of the expeditions handed down by Ibn Ishāq as well as Al Wāqidi, and which Dr. Horovitz has done well to place side by side. Needless to say that Al Wāqidi's is by far the larger.

Dr. Horovitz has managed to steer clear of the many difficulties of his extremely abstruse subject, and has embodied in his little book a surprising amount of reading and sound criticism. There is no doubt that he has furthered the general knowledge of the matter, and the essay will be useful to students of Muhammedan tradition. As a trifling correction, I should point out that the beginning of Sura ix is not *albarrāda*, but *barā'a*.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN GROUP OF TRIBES. By M. V. PORTMAN. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1898.)

This is a heavy quarto, 390 + 191 pica pages, printed in a type easy to read, but in a confused manner for a work of this kind, which requires the judicious use of varied founts to bring out the points clearly for the reader. The blame for this fault no doubt does not lie with the author, from what one knows of the vagaries of a Government Press.

It is a work of exceeding interest to myself for many reasons, and perhaps I ought not to have undertaken to

notice it for this Society, as it frequently alludes to my own work on the subject, and is based on my own suggestions as to the form it has taken. But the thought that the Andamanese languages are of necessity known to a few only, has overruled personal considerations and induced me to agree to do so. The labour involved in the production of this elaborate work, spread over nearly twenty years, must have been very great, and every page shows the minute knowledge and painstaking accuracy of the author. In addition, the information given is mostly original, and all of it is at first hand. The whole, therefore, forms a volume of great intrinsic merit and value to philologists. Its pages contain, perhaps, the most thorough examination to which any 'savage' language has yet been subjected. Mr. Portman has, in truth, by this book added considerably to the debt of gratitude that science already owes him for his long-continued, patient, and intelligent studies of the Andamanese.

His peculiarities are, of course, now well known, including his defiant adherence to expressed views, and accordingly we have again his old trick of assuming that the public understands, without assistance, references to obscure and scarce books. Indeed, in one place he refers to "My History of our relations with the Andamanese," which is not yet out, so far as I know; at any rate, I have never been favoured officially or otherwise with a printed copy thereof. And then he enters into a long criticism of details of Mr. Man's invaluable monograph on the Andamanese by means of references merely to the pages of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. This will certainly serve only to puzzle the reader, as, unfortunately, subscribers to the Institute are not very numerous, as possibly they might be with advantage to themselves. We also find trotted out repeatedly Mr. Portman's favourite theory, as an established fact, of the probable disappearance in the early future of the Andamanese as a people, a theory which naturally may or may not be true. Let us all hope it is not, as I most certainly do.

With this notice of blemishes, which are after all not of much importance, let me turn to a very brief examination of the contents of this most laborious and valuable publication.

Like all true teachers, Mr. Portman begins with an admirable map, taken from the Marine Survey of the Andamans. The only fault that could be found with this is that it does not embody the latest fruits of that Department's splendid work. But for this Mr. Portman is not to blame, as it was not possible for him to have included them. For the purposes of his book the map is complete, clear, and quite trustworthy.

We are also favoured with a short chapter on the five tribes of the Southern Andamanese, with their septs and divisions, replete with new and minute knowledge of the subject. These tribes are the Aka-Beadá, Akar-Bale, Puchikwar, Aukau-Juwoi, and Kol. Aka-Beadá is a more 'correct' form of the Bojig-ngijida of former works. In addition, all Andamanese are divided into long-shore men and forest men—Aryanto and Eremtaga in the Aka-Beadá language, which is that spoken about the great Penal Settlement at Port Blair. Each tribe speaks its own language, or rather variety, not dialect, of the general South Andaman language, of which Mr. Portman thinks the Puchikwar to be probably nearest the parent tongue, whatever that was. He notices, too, both generally and specifically, that the Andamanese freely use gestures to eke out the sense of their speech, and remarks on the richness of the languages in concrete terms and their poverty in abstract expressions. All this is natural in a group of savage tongues.

The bulk of Mr. Portman's book is taken up with well-chosen and well-presented specimens of the languages as actually used, and most careful analyses of typical sentences and words, a full explanation of the manner in which, and the plan on which, the words are built up, an attempt to translate a portion of the Bible into one of them, a comparative vocabulary, and an excellent analysis of the words

therein. The book has, however, no vernacular index, a want that every student thereof will at once feel.

The object of the work is "to give a general idea of the languages and mental attitude of the people," and with the help of "a comparative vocabulary and its analysis to show how the words are constructed and how the different languages compare with each other." To assist him in achieving this, Mr. Portman has utilized a small privately printed pamphlet of my own, which was "A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal Grammar," specially designed, some sixteen years ago, to meet the very difficulties with which he had found himself face to face, when he commenced the work under review. That pamphlet arose out of the practical impossibility of using the usual inflexional system of grammar taught in Europe for the accurate description of a group of languages constructed after the fashion of the Andamanese. The book under notice is consequently of exceptional interest to myself, as a means of watching how my theory has stood the first practical test which has been applied to it. Mr. Portman has hardly used the Theory as I should myself have used it, still his use of it is such as to give an idea of its working in a stranger's hands.

The Theory I propounded had its immediate origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, public and private, on my former work on the Andamanese speech, in which he pointed out that, in order to adequately represent, for scientific readers, such a form of speech, "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation," and he asked me accordingly if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." This and the further consideration that, since every human being speaks with but the object of communicating his own intelligence to other human beings, the several possible ways of doing this must be based on some general laws applicable to them all, if one could only find them out, led me to make the attempt to

construct a general theory on logical principles, which should abandon the inflexional treatment, its conceptions, and its terms. Now, my efforts led me not only to abandon the accepted grammatical terms, but also to reverse the accepted order of teaching them, to alter many accepted definitions, and while admitting much that is usually taught, both to add and omit many details. Taken all round, the Theory was a wide departure from orthodox teaching. But it is always difficult for human beings to take quite a new departure. The instinct of continuity—of evolution—is generally too strong in them to admit of a complete break with the past, and so Mr. Portman, while accepting my theory and using my terms in his laborious and remarkable pages, really does violence to both by adhering to the time-honoured plan of putting accidence before syntax, in addition to the indiscriminate employment of the old terms side by side of my novel ones, in a confused and puzzling, but from the point of view of the evolutionist, a most interestingly naïve style. I am also, I regret to say, otherwise far from feeling assured that he has understood aright either the theory or the terms, which by the way does not look well for my exposition! E.g., he says that one of the functions of the prefixes in Andamanese is to indicate the genders of the roots. But I purposely and expressly left 'gender' out of the Theory, because it is merely a clumsy mode of explaining a certain kind of inflexion. Again, while informing us that the prefixes are used to modify the meanings of the roots, he says, "in short the prefixes are qualitative affixes," a term I employed to signify that class of affix which is used to denote the inherent qualities of a word. E.g., to use the familiar terminology, *audi-re*, verb; *audi-ens*, part.; *audi-tor*, noun:—*laugh-ter*, noun; *laugh-ing*, part.; *laughing-ly*, adv. This sort of affix is quite a different thing from what I called a radical affix, used for modifying the meaning of the root into that of the stem deriving from the root, defining a stem to be root plus a modifying affix. This can be seen from the last word analyzed, 'laughingly,' where *ly* classifies the word, *laugh* is the root (in pedantic

strictness a stem, because it is an amplification of a simpler root), and laugh-*ing* the stem, i.e. the root modified by the affix *ing*. So in *willingness* and *willingly*, *ness* and *ly* would be qualitative affixes and *ing* a radical affix, as defined in the Theory.

Indeed, Mr. Portman's treatment of the Theory is throughout such a compromise between the system under which he was brought up and that I proposed—is such “fine confused feeding” in fact—that I cannot attempt to follow it further in a brief notice of his book, and in order to see how far the Theory is applicable to its purpose, viz., the adequate explanation of a novel savage tongue, I will, with the permission of the Society, in a future issue of the Journal, put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman's sixth chapter on the Andaman Fire Legend, which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andamanese.

With these remarks, I will take leave for the present of Mr. Portman's last book, congratulating him on producing for scholars on the whole so fine an example of patient and intelligent study, combined with straightforward honest presentation.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE GANDHĀRA SCULPTURES. A selection of illustrations in twenty-five plates from the British and Lahor Museums, with notes on the age of the sculptures and descriptive remarks by J. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Under this title are included two numbers of the *Journal of Indian Art* (April and July, 1898) written by Dr. Burgess and furnished with excellent collotype illustrations by Mr. W. Griggs. These twenty-five plates of ancient Buddhist sculptures from various districts on the north-west frontier of India are intended to supplement the eighty-three already published, by the same author, in Part i of the *Illustrations of the Ancient Monuments, Temples, and Sculptures of India*. There is no need to dilate

here on the great importance, both for the history of art and the history of religion, of the study of these interesting sculptures; but the regret may be expressed that steps are not taken to collect them systematically and place them in some centre where they would be accessible to students. Of late years, and particularly since the recent military operations on the north-west frontier, they have been brought in large numbers to this country, only, in too many instances, to be lost in private houses. It ought not to be too much to expect that Government will, before it is too late, take some steps both to check the vandalism which is at present thoughtlessly destroying the traces of an ancient civilization, and to provide for the safe custody and the intelligent study of the monuments still existing.

Dr. Burgess gives a useful summary of the views which different scholars, notably M. Senart and Mr. Vincent Smith, have held as to the date of these sculptures, and the sources from which their art was derived. That the predominating influence was Roman can scarcely be questioned, and it seems possible, in many instances, to trace also the attitude and grouping of the figures and the details of ornamentation to Roman models. It is much to be desired that we may some day have a full treatment of this question of derivation; and such a work would manifestly be most perfect if undertaken in collaboration by two scholars representing the Roman and the Buddhist sides respectively.

It should be noted that the description at the foot of plate 2, "Sculpture in Labor Museum," does not refer, as might be imagined, to the whole plate, but only to figure 4. The three other figures are of objects in the British Museum, as correctly stated in the letterpress.

In thanking Dr. Burgess, who has done so much for the history of Indian art, for this important contribution, we may express the hope that he will still further increase our debt of gratitude to him by other publications of a similar character.

E. J. RAPSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1899.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 10, 1899.—Sir Raymond West (Vice-President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. J. G. Nicholls and
Mr. S. C. Niyoji

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids read a paper on "The Theory of the Soul in the Upanishads." A discussion followed, in which Mr. J. Kennedy, Dr. Gaster, and Sir Raymond West took part. The paper appeared in the January number.

February 14.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. E. A. Gait and
Captain W. Vost, I.M.S.,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. Basil Williams read a paper entitled "Some Talks with the Bābis in Persia." In this paper, after tracing the history of the religion from the investigations of Comte Gobineau and Mr. Edward Browne, author of "A Year among the Persians," he described the inquiries which he had himself made in 1896 among the Bābis of Yezd and Hamadan. He found that the authority of the Bāb's direct

successor had by this time been almost entirely superseded by Beha-u-Uah and his son Abbas; and, in fact, that the character of the religion had been very largely altered. An aggressive spirit of reform had yielded to the cardinal doctrine of a universal tolerance, which, while more amiable, was less calculated to create enthusiasm, and the quietism which had become a feature of the religion had probably rendered it less active for good as well as for violence. However, there was every indication that the religion was increasing in the number of its adherents, though it was very difficult to form any conjecture as to their real numbers, owing to the secrecy still observed among its devotees. This secrecy was to some extent justified by occasional persecutions; but these were not very frequent, and would probably become still less so as the harmless character of the religion became appreciated.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. E. G. Browne, Professor E. D. Ross, and Mr. H. Baynes took part.

March 14.—Mr. H. C. Kay in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Basil Williams and

Mr. D. M. da S. Wickremasinghe

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth read a paper on Ibn Arabi's "Gems of Wisdom." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Miss Ridding, Professor Rhys Davids, Mr. Barakat-ullah Maulavi, and the Chairman took part. The paper will appear in a subsequent issue.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xii, No. 3.

Marquart (J.). Historische Glossen zu den alt-türkischen Inschriften.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

Stackelberg (R. v.). Bemerkungen zur persischen Sagen-
geschichte.

Harlez (C. de). *Miscellanées chinoises.*

Kirste (J.). *Zwei Zendalphabete des Britischen Museums.*

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série IX, Tome xii, No. 2.

Senart (E.). *Le Manuscrit Dutreuil de Rhins du Dhamma-
pada. Les fragments de Paris.*

Gaudefroy-Demombynes Ibn Khaldoun. *Histoire des
Benou'l Ahmar rois de Grenade, traduite.*

Série IX, Tome xii, No. 3.

Rouvier (J.). *L'Ère de Marathos en Phénicie.*

Gaudefroy-Demombynes Ibn Khaldoun. *Histoire des
Benou'l Ahmar rois de Grenade.*

Boyer (A. M.). *Sur quelques inscriptions de l'Inde.*

Courant (M.). *La presse périodique japonaise.*

III. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.
Band lii, Heft 4.

Schreiner (M.). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen
Bewegungen im Islām.*

Foy (W.). *Beiträge zur Erklärung der susischen Achae-
menideninschriften.*

Böhtlingk (O.). *Miscellen.*

Oldenberg (H.). *Buddhistische Studien.*

Jacob (G.). *Zur Grammatik des Vulgär Türkischen.*

Geldner (K. F.). *Vedisch vidātha.*

Aufrecht (Th.). *Über Ugra als Kommentator zum Nīrūkta.*

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Hofrath Friedrich Müller.

Hofrath Friedrich Müller, Professor of Comparative
Philology, and Sanskrit, in the University of Vienna,
was born on the 3rd of March, 1834, at Jemnik, in
Bohemia; from 1853 to 1857 he was a student in the

Faculty of Philosophy at Vienna, and in 1859 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Tübingen. He utilized a long residence at Göttingen to make considerable advances in the field of Philology. In 1858 he entered the service of the University Library of Vienna, and in 1861 obtained an appointment in the Imperial Library at the same place. In the interim he had employed himself as a 'Privat-docent' in Linguistic study; in 1866 he became a Professor in Oriental Languages in the Vienna University.

He was recognized as the leading authority of Comparative Philology of his time. His studies had extended over every branch of Linguistic Knowledge, and there existed no language in the world, of which he could not indicate the characteristics, and the family to which it belonged. The greatest service, however, which he rendered was, that he was the first scholar who brought Ethnology into close connection and touch with Comparative Philology, and recognized it as an aid to the study of Language. He published in 1867 and 1868 "*The Voyage of the Austrian Frigate Novára.*"

In the year 1873 he published his magnificent work "*Allgemeine Ethnographie*" in three volumes, and an Appendix, and between the years 1876 and 1888 his "*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft.*" To this book I am deeply indebted, as it helped me in my own Linguistic studies, and the author paid me the great compliment of dedicating one volume to me. In my book on the Languages of Africa, published 1883, I adopted his classification of African Languages, and never regretted having done so. From p. 453 of that book I quote the following passage:—

"Frederick Müller I have never seen in the flesh: when I called upon him in the Hof-Bibliothek of Vienna, he was absent at the Baths. But I seemed to know him. In one of the books, which I ventured to send to his African Collection, I wrote:

"Ich habe Dich mit den Augen nicht gesehen, aber mit der Seele habe ich Deine Freundlichkeit erkannt."

"I shall ever feel grateful for his help and advice."

Since 1883 I met him several times, notably at the Vienna Congress of 1886. He died on May 25, 1898. I was always getting postcards from him, and one reached me only a few weeks before his death, asking for a copy of a Grammar of a South American Language, which I was lucky enough to be able to send to him.

R. N. C.

*Henry Clarke Warren, Esq., of Cambridge, Massachusetts,
1854-1899.*

Bene qui latuit, bene vixit. The "rage for fame" never possessed this patient, quiet man; but his learning and achievement assure him an honourable place in the annals of American scholarship. His death is a grievous loss to Oriental studies in America. For he was, first of all, a true scholar; his work, in part still unpublished, is of intrinsic and abiding value; and his life and the spirit which informed it were an example and a blessing to those who came within its influence. He was, moreover, born to ample wealth, and of this he was ready to give gladly to causes that proved themselves worthy of a beneficence which was both sober-minded and unostentatious. His life—cut off, like that of James Darmesteter, in the midst of the "glorious forties"—was, also like that of the French Orientalist,¹ a constant struggle against the awful odds of physical infirmity. In Warren's infancy, a fall from a chaise produced an injury of utmost gravity. It resulted in a spinal lesion, apparently like that from which Darmesteter suffered. And so Warren's accomplishments are, as it were, a victory wrested from adverse fate.

Mr. Warren was born in Boston, November 18th, 1854. As partial countervail for his exclusion from the ordinary pleasures and privileges of childhood and youth, he received careful private instruction and the advantages of travel—journeys to Egypt and to Southern California may be

¹ See his obituary in this Journal, 1895, p. 217.

mentioned. He took the bachelor's degree at Harvard College in 1879, and went, at the beginning of the next term, to Baltimore, to continue, at the Johns Hopkins University, under Professor Lanman, the study of Sanskrit, which he had already begun as a college student. And here he remained for several years after Professor Lanman's removal to Harvard, working under the guidance of his successor, Professor Bloomfield. In 1884 Warren returned to the home of his father, in Boston. The latter died in 1888, and not long after the latter established himself at Cambridge, in a beautiful place near the Harvard Library, the residence of a Harvard professor of fifty years ago; and there he abode for the rest of his days.

A visit to London in 1884, and especially the contagious enthusiasm of Professor Rhys Davids, seem to have been potent factors in Mr. Warren's decision to devote himself to Pāli literature of Southern Buddhism. The *Jātaka*, as edited by our honoured veteran colleague, Professor Fausbøll, of Copenhagen, had failed not of its charm for Mr. Warren. The edition had then progressed as far as the third volume; and with a version of the first story thereof, the "*Little Kālīṅga*," Mr. Warren made his *début* in print. This translation, presumably the first ever made in America from the Pāli, appeared October 27, 1884, and, for a reason that will interest some of the members of this Society, in the *Providence Journal*. Providence is the seat of Brown University; and to its Library the Rev. Dr. J. N. Cushing, long a Baptist missionary in Rangoon, had given some twenty palm-leaf manuscripts, mostly parts of the Tipiṭaka, and in Burmese writing, at that time perhaps the only considerable portion of the Buddhist scriptures in the United States. An English specimen of the literature to which these strange books belong might therefore be presumed to interest the people of the University town.

Warren's study of the Pāli literature was now prosecuted with zeal and persistency, and his knowledge of the edited texts, as well as of many important inedita, grew constantly wider and deeper. Aside from a few incidental papers,

mentioned below, the first-fruit of these studies was his "Buddhism in Translations," which was published by Harvard University in 1896 as volume iii of the "Harvard Oriental Series." Of this it is needless here to speak in detail, for the work has already been noticed at length in these columns (1897, pages 145-149). Mr. Warren's purpose was to make the great authorities on Buddhism speak for themselves, directly and in English uncoloured by any translator's prejudice. The value of his work lies largely in the selection of the passages; partly in the order and partly in the form of their presentation; and partly also in the inclusion of a considerable amount of material previously inaccessible.

This material is from Buddhaghosa's "Way of Purity" or "Path of Holiness," the "Visuddhi-magga." Its famous author flourished about 400 A.D. His book is a systematic exposition of Buddhist doctrine, and may be justly adjudged to be the most important treatise of its kind and scope now extant. Mr. Warren presented to the Oriental Congress at London in 1892 an elaborate analysis of the entire work. The text has already been printed in Ceylon in Singalese letters; but that fact, as Pāli scholars know to their cost, is far from making it accessible to Occidental students. To publish a scholarly edition of this text, printed in English letters, and with all the facilities for ready comprehension which Occidental typography makes possible, to provide suitable indexes, and to give a complete English translation—such had become the ambition of Warren's scholarly life. And a most noble ambition it was, as all who know aught of the illustrious monk, Buddhaghosa, and of this, the masterpiece among his voluminous writings, will readily admit.

The consummation of Mr. Warren's plan in all its essential features is most devoutly to be wished. A brief account of the state of the work at the editor's demise is pertinent. His main reliance was the Burmese manuscript belonging to the India Office Library. Besides this, he had a Singalese manuscript from Professor Rhys Davids, and

another from the late Dr. Richard Morris. And a fourth manuscript he had obtained from Henry Rigg, Esq., consulting engineer to the Government of India, for railways. With the help of accurate transcripts of these four (which he owed to the efficient assistance of Miss Louise Brooks), he had made his collations, and had established his text from beginning to end, aside from the final adjustment of many orthographic details in which the Burmese and the Insular copies are wont to differ. An important task to which Mr. Warren had addressed himself was the tracing of Buddhaghosa's citations from the canonical and other antecedent writings back to their sources—scattered as they are throughout a large literature. About half of the quotations had thus been identified. The English version covers nearly one-half of the text, albeit parts are still in unfinished form. It ought therefore to be possible to do the other half upon the same general principles and in the same general style, so that the work can truly be issued as Mr. Warren's.

Mr. Warren maintained a lively and intelligent interest in many things that lay without his own field, so in natural science, especially chemistry and physiology, and in the history of speculation. It was, accordingly, the philosophical side of Buddhism which was to him its most attractive aspect. For this reason, too, no doubt, the keen dialectic of Buddhaghosa made special appeal to him. And hence it is doubly to be regretted that there is no one in America so well qualified as he was, by knowledge of the literature and by philosophical study, to finish his work.

Mr. Warren had long been a member of the American Oriental Society, serving it for years with zeal as its Treasurer and as one of its Board of Directors. He was a devoted son of Harvard, generous and loyal. And as a citizen, whether of the municipality or of the Commonwealth, he was no less public-spirited than modest, ever ready to do his full share in works of enlightened organized charity, or to help, for example, in the preservation of our forests or in the reform of the civil service. Thus in many

ways and for divers reasons he will be sorely missed among his colleagues, his neighbours, and friends, and not the least for the example which he set for us as scholars. His was the 'friendliness' or 'good-will' (*metta*) which played such a role among the *pāramīs* of the gentle Gotama; his was patient and cheerful courage in adversity; his were high intellectual endowments, directed by a character unselfish and lofty, and pure; and his was a profoundly religious nature: for these things, while we mourn, let us remember him and be glad.

C. R. LANMAN.

Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Feb. 10, 1899.

MR. WARREN'S WRITINGS.

"A Buddhist Story, translated from the original Pāli." [Jātaka, No. 301, with *paccupanna-* and *atīta-vatthu* and commentary.] *Providence Journal*, October 27, 1884.

"On Superstitious Customs connected with Sneezing." [Apropos of Jātaka, No. 155.] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xiii, pp. xvii-xx (= *Proceedings* for May, 1885).

"The so-called Chain of Causation of the Buddhists." *Ibidem*, xvi, pp. xxvii-xxx (April, 1893).

"Report of Progress of Work upon Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga." *Ibidem*, xvi, pp. lxx-lxvi (March, 1894).

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"Pāli Manuscripts in the Brown University Library, at Providence, R.I., U.S." *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1885, pp. 1-4.

"Table of Contents of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga." *Ibidem*, 1891-3, pp. 76-104.

"Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga." [General Account, introductory to the table of contents just mentioned.] *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1892), vol. i, pp. 362-365.

"Buddhism in Translations." Vol. iii of the Harvard Oriental Series. Cambridge, 1896. 8vo; pp. xx + 520.

"Buddhaghosa's Way of Purity (*Visuddhi-magga*), edited in the original Pāli, and translated into English." [To be published in the Harvard Oriental Series.]

Mr. C. J. Rodgers.

Charles James Rodgers was born in 1838 in the small hamlet Wilne Mills, Derbyshire, where his father was manager of a cotton-spinning factory. He was educated at schools at Shardlow and Milford, both in Derbyshire, being a pupil teacher at the latter, and from it obtained by competition a Queen's Scholarship at the Borough Road College, London.

After two years' training at the College he was appointed master of the National School at Fenstanton, Cambs, and whilst there, feeling attracted to work in India, prepared himself by studying Oriental languages, going into Cambridge to attend lectures at the University on those subjects. In 1863 he was sent out to India by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, the work given him being to establish and conduct a Training College for Native Teachers on the same line as the British and Foreign Training Colleges in England. This he did at Amritsar. Very much through his efforts the handsome College, of which he was for twenty-two years Principal, was built and maintained in efficiency, many trained teachers from it being sent out to all parts of India. He soon began to study Persian and the vernaculars of the region in which he was working, as well as to interest himself in the history and archaeology of India, taking up Indian Numismatics as a specialty. His ability and knowledge were recognized by his being appointed in 1896 Archaeological Surveyor of the Panjab. Mr. Rodgers worked zealously in his new position, collecting a very large amount of information and material for study during the five years he held it; but then, unfortunately, the Government in a time of retrenchments abolished the appointment, and he, having of course given up his college on getting work under Government, was cast adrift. In his capacity as Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India he got some occasional work in arranging and cataloguing collections in the Panjab and Calcutta, but being unable to find regular employment, came home to England in poor health and much dispirited. Early in last year he got the small post of Secretary to the Religious Book Society at Lahore, and went out again, but not for long, as he died there in November. Mr. Rodgers married in 1866 one who was in every way a help to him in his work, being a gifted linguist and able teacher. She has been for many years Superintendent of Schools for Girls at Amritsar, and is now left with a large family, several of whom are still dependent on her.

Mr. Rodgers' work in Oriental Numismatics was wide, and extended over a long course of years. His writings were chiefly published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, to which he contributed some thirty papers between the years 1871 and 1897, on Sikh, Durrani, Kashmir, Kangra, Dehli Kings, Dehli Moghul, and Muhammadan Native States Coinages, some of which opened out new fields of study. During the years 1894-95 he was engaged in cataloguing the Coin Collections of the Government Museums at Lahore and Calcutta and the publication of the two large volumes of the catalogues, which unfortunately, through no fault of the author, as was pointed out in the notices of them in our Journal of 1894 and 1897, are not so useful as they might have been, yet well show his knowledge and industry. His diligence in hunting out coins and reading them was as remarkable as the extent and unselfishness of his knowledge about them, and probably all who have been engaged in like studies of late years were indebted to him for some help given, if not directly, at any rate by his writings. And although one could not always agree with his readings, or see so much as he thought he did, there was always reason in them, and he was properly tolerant of criticism rightly made. Probably arising from his study of the *baits* or couplets on Moghul coins, Mr. Rodgers paid a good deal of attention to Persian acrostic, cryptogram, and chronogram modes of writing. His paper in the October, 1898, number of our Journal, on "*Tarikhs*" shows his proficiency in that mode, and the following, composed on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, is an example of his style in the acrostic:—

A SONNET.

Zeal for the faith has not been always shown
 At least by those who were 'Defensor' called.
 In every age, men, more or less enthralled,
 Ne'er rose to heights when seated on a throne,
 And, though the cross was ever on the crown,

The wearer's heart ne'er seemed the sign to bear.
 Useless that sign if unallied with care;
 Life, 'neath the Cross, all selfish ends must drown.
 Ah! how blest we to see a Lady lone
 Begirt with sorrows rise above them all,
 Intent on doing good whate'er befall,
 Deeming that duty ornaments the throne.
 In her we see the glory of all time
 Not dimmed by years, but yearly more sublime.

Zainat ul abidin.

O. C.

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- Williams (F. Wells). Samuel Wells Williams, Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue. 8vo. *New York and London*, 1889.
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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIV.—*Two Lists of Words from Bāṇa's 'Harṣa-Carita.'*
By F. W. THOMAS, M.R.A.S.

THE following lists are composed of words and meanings which, occurring in the *Harṣa-Carita* of Bāṇa, are not quoted, or are instanced only from grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries, in the great St. Petersburg Lexicon and the smaller Lexicon of Böhtlingk. Only a few words not coming under this definition have for special reasons been included; namely, where I was unable in the Kashmir text to verify Böhtlingk's references to Bāṇa's work, where only an inferior work is cited, and where I or the Sanskrit commentator, Ṣaṅkara, did not adopt the exact rendering given in the two dictionaries. It did not appear on the whole worth while to quote words and meanings simply because their *earliest* occurrence was in the *Harṣa-Carita*, or because they illustrated the well-known and extremely close lexical affinity of Bāṇa's works with such books as the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī*, *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, *Vāsa-vadattā*, *Daṣakumāra-Carita*, and also the *Kāvya* literature in general.

For the sake of convenience I have made two lists, one of new words and the other of new meanings. In both lists *italics* indicate that the word (or meaning) is quoted by the St. Petersburg Lexicon only from Sanskrit grammars,

dictionaries, etc. The asterisk merely reproduces that in Böhlingk's smaller Lexicon. I have added a few references to Zachariae's editions of *Çāṣvata* and *Hemacandra*, and to his "Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie."¹ The lines and pages are those of the Bombay edition (1892), with *Çaṅkara*'s commentary. The few quotations from the *Kādambarī* refer to Peterson's second edition, those from the *Daṣakumāra-Carita* to the edition by Bühler and Peterson.

Most of the words call for no remark, many being only such as any writer might form at will. But the Lexicons have adopted the principle of quoting these, and experience shows that such words often reappear. For the *Kāvya* writers made free use of their commonplace books, and even, as Bühler informed me, a practice of learning their predecessors' works by heart, or, as in the case of the poets *Māgha* and *Bhāravi*, set themselves to imitate and outdo them.

The list was originally composed some years ago with reference only to the St. Petersburg Lexicon. A comparison with Böhlingk's dictionary showed the necessity of a thorough revision, and deprived it of very many of its most interesting words. I hope that the care taken in the revision has prevented the multiplication of the mistakes in numbers and renderings to which such a list is peculiarly liable.

I.

Ā.

<i>aṃṣumālīn</i> , 'the sun' (cf. <i>Daṣak.</i> , p. 44, l. 6)	245. 7
<i>akuhana</i> , 'free from jealousy or suspicion' (<i>kuhanā</i> <i>īṣyā</i> <i>çaṅkā vā</i> , but cf. <i>Zach.</i> , <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 359, <i>kuhano mūṣike sersye kuhanā dambhakar-maṇi</i> , which suggests a derivation from <i>a + kuhanā</i>)	202. 13

¹ The *Maṅkha-Koṣa* has appeared too late for citation.

akṛtin 'akṛtārthaḥ, 'ineffectual'	239. 13
akṛtrimālāpatva, 'the possession of (1) truthful, (2) superhuman utterance'	109. 20
akṣaṇika 'vyagraḥ, 'intent'	163. 14
akṣavalaya, 'rosary'	51. 6
akṣavalayin, 'wearing a rosary'	43. 21
akḥala, 'not a ruffian'	202. 13
agrāmyatā, 'urbanity'	38. 14
agrāmīṇa, 'urbane'	277. 20
agresaraḥ, 'leader,' 'chief among' (B. from Khaṇḍapraścasti)	214. 19
anīkīkṛta, 'embraced'	182. 6
aṅgavalana, 'uneasy movements of limbs'	33. 1, 74. 9
aṅgārakita, 'turned to charcoal'	66. 15, 206. 21
aṅgaratā, 'condition of charcoal'	167. 17
acapala, 'without tricks'	202. 12
acehabhalla, 'bear' (B. quotes Bālar. and Vikra- māṅk.)	260. 10
aṅjalikārikā 'mṛṇmayapratimā ṣālabhaṅjīkā vā, 'a kind of statue'	163. 12
aṭavīprāyapraṇtatā, 'the having extremities con- sisting mainly of forest'	255. 8
atitīkṣṇatā, 'excessive sharpness'	118. 15
atidbhīratā, 'excessive gravity'	154. 11
atinamratā, 'excessive flexibility'	117. 2
atiniḥṣabda, 'very silent'	171. 17
atipaṭīyas, 'very keen'	177. 5
atibhadratā, 'excessive courtliness'	28. 13
atibhīrutā, 'excessive timidity'	212. 15
atimārgaṇa, 'very importunate,' with pun on mārgaṇa 'arrow'	152. 10
atimṛduhrdayatā, 'excessive tenderness of heart'	274. 21
atīyantraṇā, 'excessive restraint or formality' (cf. Kād., 133. 18)	116. 17
atīlaghīman, 'excessive levity'	14. 9
atīvelam 'atīmātram (v.l. atīpeṣalaḥ), 'exceedingly'	39. 14
atīṣāyin, 'surpassing'	61. 10
atīsaṅkumārya, 'excessive delicacy'	162. 11

atyamara, 'surpassing the gods'	86. 5
atyutkampin, 'trembling excessively'	162. 13
adaṣamīṣṭha, 'not having reached the full span of life'	46. 17
adurvinita, 'not boorish'	202. 16
adhikṣepaḥ, 'insult'	41. 1, 124. 15
adhistanam, adv. = adhivakṣaḥ, 'near the bosom'	42. 1
adhomukhibhū, 'to cast down one's face'	15. 3, 169. 5, 248. 24
adhyāropaṇa, 'false ascription,' 'tying the bow- string to its notch'	250. 1
adhyeṣaṇā · yācñā, 'importunity'	44. 10
anapalāpa, 'not denying'	88. 3
anapācīna, 'unerring' (apācīna = *umgekehrt)	88. 12
anavahela, 'not contemptuous'	30. 14
anindhanam, adv., 'without fuel'	281. 12
anucaratva, 'attendance on'	153. 3
anuttāra, 'having no escape'	213. 4
anupracar, 'act in obedience to'	193. 17
anurāvin, 'roaring after'	181. 11
anuvārṣam, adv., 'every season'	155. 7
aneṣaṇa · nirabhilāṣaḥ, 'free from greed'	202. 12
andhakāribhūta, 'darkened'	14. 2, 200. 7
apakalaṅka, 'without blemish'	100. 3
apatyakam = apatyam, 'child'	156. 1
apatyatva, 'childlessness'	136. 3
apatvac, 'skinned,' 'peeled'	256. 18
*apavitrāy, 'pollute'	19. 2
apunaranuṃilana, 'never again opening the eyes'	188. 15
abubhukṣu, 'not a glutton'	202. 15
abodhya, 'not to be aroused by admonition'	197. 15
abhinnapuṭaḥ · vaṃṣādīmayaḥ catuṣkoṇaḥ pāṭalā- kṛtir jālakaiḥ kriyate, 'a kind of veil' ?	158. 7
abhiṣoṣaḥ, 'drying up'	285. 4
abhyānuvṛttih, probably error for atyanuvṛtti, 'excessive affection'	88. 10
abhyāgārikaḥ · gr̥hasthaḥ saṃyagvṛttisthito vā, 'householder' or 'virtuous person'	88. 2

ambaravāhin, 'clothes-bearer'	196. 11
*amlātakam · puṣpabhedah karaṇṭikāpuṣpabhedo vā ('Kugelamaranth,' B.)	154. 1
aruṇāy-, 'be or become red'	234. 12
*arunasārathiḥ, 'the sun'	199. 2
argalatā, 'condition of a bolt'	119. 23
argalay-, 'fasten with a bolt'	73. 2
arbudaças, adv., 'in arbudas'	226. 12
avacūlin, 'having an ensign or boss'	37. 8
avacchādana, 'covering'	118. 8
avarakṣiṇī · aṣvabandhanarajjuh, 'rein' or 'halter'	230. 1
avarodham n., 'harem'	143. 9
avalepin, (1) 'touching'	125. 17
(2) 'proud'	248. 6
avaleha, 'sweetmeats'	287. 3
avalokitah · buddhabhedah = avalokiteçvaraḥ (cf. Zach., Hem., 5. 17, 18)	79. 14
avinayanidānatā, 'being cause of misconduct'	47. 2
avişaya, 'beyond sphere of'	197. 18
avişpaṣṭa, 'not perceptible'	195. 11
açālinatā, 'ill-breeding'	28. 5
açrutapūrvatva, 'uniqueness'	204. 15
aṣṭamaṅgalakam · kaṅkaṇam ity anye ('collection of eight lucky objects' or 'bracelet')	206. 18
asahyatā, 'irresistibleness'	284. 9
asāmparāyika, 'not fit for combat'	200. 15
asāratva, 'unsoundness'	193. 15
asidhenuḥ · churikā, 'dagger'	23. 11
asuravivara, 'a treasure cave'; see H.C., trans., p. 193, n. 3, and appendix	47. 17, 108. 5, 113. 18, 223. 4
asuravivaravyasanin · pātālābhilāṣī = vāṭikaḥ, 'a magician'?	47. 17, 108. 5, 223. 4
asvatantrīkṛta, 'made dependent'	193. 17
ahimabhās, 'the sun'	218. 2
ahirbudhnoḥ · Civaḥ	169. 16
*ahīraṇī = ahīramapi, 'a kind of snake'	260. 6

Ā.

<i>ākasmihā</i> , 'unexpected'	204. 14
<i>ācamanadhārin</i> , 'bearer of rinsing-bowl'	195. 11
<i>ācaraṇatas</i> , 'in solemn form'	226. 13
<i>ācāmaruka</i> , 'rinsing vessel'	164. 14
<i>ācoṭita</i> · <i>utkhātaḥ</i> , 'torn out'	192. 21
<i>ācoṭana</i> or <i>ācohoṭana</i> , 'stinging' (?)	53. 4
<i>ācchādanaka</i> , 'robe'	231. 13
<i>ātik-</i> , 'go'	5. 33
* <i>āṇḍira</i> · <i>pragalbhaḥ</i> (cf. <i>āṇḍira</i> , Zach., <i>Çaṣv.</i> , 619), 'audacious'	236. 9
* <i>ātarpaṇam</i> · <i>piṣṭam</i> = <i>piṣṭapañcāṅgulam</i> ('ein art Mörtel,' B.), 'imprint of the hand in paint on walls, vessels, etc.'	157. 21
<i>ātmambharitā</i> · <i>svārthamātraparatā</i> , 'selfishness'	206. 11
<i>āmikṣiya</i> , adj. to <i>āmikṣā</i>	49. 10
<i>āyudhikṛta</i> , 'converted to a weapon'	254. 17
<i>āraṇam</i> , 'shouting'	74. 12
* <i>ālindaka</i> = <i>alindaka</i> (at end of comp. : ? * <i>ālinda</i>)	157. 16
<i>ālepaka</i> , 'plasterer'	157. 17
<i>āvaraṇīkar</i> } 'use as a veil'	83. 8
<i>āvaraṇīkṛta</i> }	
<i>āṣāḍhin</i> , 'bearing an āṣāḍha' (cf. <i>Kād.</i> , 21. 1)	12. 7, 43. 20
* <i>āhatalakṣaṇa</i> · <i>prasiddhaḥ</i> , 'excellent,' 'famous'	243. 3

Ī.

<i>indhanāy</i> , 'become fuel'	284. 11
<i>indhanībhū</i> , id.	155. 21

Ū.

<i>ucchoṣa</i> = <i>ucchoṣaṇam</i> , 'drying up'	55. 5
<i>ucchmaçru</i> , 'bearded'	55. 1
<i>utkaṇṭaka</i> , 'horripilated'	26. 7, 146. 6
<i>utkampikā</i> = <i>utkampah</i> , 'tremor'	83. 5
<i>uttamṣīkṛta</i> , 'used as an uttanṣa'	154. 1

uttuṇḍa, 'rearing' (of horses), 'utprothaḥ	230. 4
utpalāṇa, 'with outstanding leaves'	73. 3
udāsīnībhū, 'become indifferent'	276. 14
udgamanakam 'utthānam, 'rising'	267. 11
udgītakah 'uccair gītaṃ yeṣām, 'loud-voiced person'	152. 9
udvāhin, 'supporting'	110. 16
unmattatā, 'madness'	152. 6
upatoraṇam, adv., 'near a toraṇa'	137. 16, 225. 8
*upanirgamam 'nirgamanamārgaḥ (cf. Zach., <i>Çaṣv.</i> , 91), 'exit'	105. 8
*upabarha 'upadhānam, 'cushion'	198. 15
*upaliṅgam 'nimittam, 'portent'	224. 14
upasimhāsanaṃ, adv., 'near a simhāsana'	181. 2
upaskaraṇa = upakaraṇa, 'implement'	236. 11
*urucūka, 'kind of plant'	257. 8
ullaka 'sugandhiphalaviṣeṣarasa āsavabheda ity anye, 'kind of decoction or the juice of a scented fruit'	243. 20
uṣṇāy-, 'be hot'	189. 4
*uṣmāy, id.	215. 9

Ū.

ūrdhvībhū, 'become high'	180. 8
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Ř.

řjūkar-, 'aim'	164. 13
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E.

eḍamūka, 'deaf and dumb' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 5)	14. 10
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AY.

aurabhraka, 'flock of sheep'	105. 12
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K.

*kaṭabhaṅgaḥ · pratyagraṃ godhūmādiyavasam ghāsa ity arthaḥ 'fresh fodder'	220. 1
kaṭabhāra, 'whisp of hay'	255. 23
kaṭākṣitam, 'side-glance'	146. 12
kaṇṭhālaka, 'bag'	229. 12
cf. kaṇṭhāraka, <i>Vāsav.</i> , 291. 1.	
kaṇḍana, 'pounding'	111. 7
kadalīvanāy-, 'act as a <i>kadalī</i> grove'	66. 11
*kapālaka = kapāla (at end of comp.)	112. 9
kabandhavant-, 'having a headless body'	207. 18
kamalasambhavatva, 'birth from a <i>kamala</i> '	126. 17
karikarṇaṣaṅkhāy-, 'resemble an elephant's ear- shell'	42. 10
karikarma, 'elephant manœuvres'	219. 20, 248. 22
karīṣaṃkaṣa, * 'brushing (carrying off) dung-heaps'	52. 6
karka = karambhaka according to Kailāṣ Candra Datta, 'gruel'	173. 2
karṇagocaratā, 'position near the ear'	227. 1
karṇapūrīkar-, 'use as ear ornament'	217. 15
*karpaṭin, 'ragged ascetic'	219. 16
saṅkalita, 'collected,' 'entangled'	230. 1, 233. 11
kalpalatāvanāy, 'resemble a grove of <i>kalpa</i> creepers'	66. 9
kalmāṣapādātā, 'possession of dappled feet'; ? ref. to the king Kalmāṣapāda	215. 21
kalyāṇaprakṛitva, 'possession of an excellent or golden nature'	109. 18
*kavacita, 'armoured' (B., Lalit.)	243. 15
kaviruditaka · duḥkhoddīpanakālāḥ, 'recurrence of grief'	195. 14
kākodaraḥ · serpent	125. 2
*kātyāyanikā, 'old widow' = kātyāyanī (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 168; <i>Çāṇ.</i> , 115)	47. 8, 185. 1
kānanakapotaḥ · gr̥dhraḥ, 'vulture'	224. 19
kāpuruṣatā, 'cowardice'	200. 4
kāpotikā, 'kind of plant'	243. 15

kāmaṇḍalavya = kāmaṇḍalava, adj. to kamaṇḍalu	50. 1
kārdaraṅga · kārdaraṅgadeṣodbbhavaḥ, from the 'Kārdaraṅga country'	232. 5
*kārma, 'artificer'	243. 2
kāladhauta, 'golden'	226. 7
kāṣṭhāmuniḥ · kāṣṭhā parādhārā tatpradhāno muniḥ, 'hermit on a pillar'	84. 5
kiṅkirikṛta, 'enslaved'	197. 10
kisalayin, 'having tendrils'	36. 9
samutkil, 'pull up, as pegs'	228. 16
kucī, ? 'fraud'	44. 7
*kuṇja, ? 'a kind of horn or musical instrument,' but <i>guṇja</i> should be read (v. alliteration).	228. 9
kuntalin, 'wearing a hair lock'	127. 19
kuprayukta, 'go-between,' servant of a veçyā	229. 12
kulaṇṭakaḥ · ṣunūbandhanalaguḍaḥ, 'leash'	238. 18
kulaputrata, 'nobility'	154. 4
kulinatā, id.	187. 7
kusumabandhuḥ = Kāma, 241. 20, -bāndhava	244. 13
kusumbhakam · padmakam, 'saffron'	157. 12
kūṭājvara, 'fever caused by hooting of ospreys'	52. 12
kūṇ- } kūṇita } 'close eyes' (cf. Kād., 212. 22)	83. 9, 164. 13
kūpikā = kūpaka, 'a tank'	255. 16
kūrcā, * 'deceit' ('sphutā ātmamahimnā vyava- bāraḥ (= 'conceit') samūha ity anye)	44. 7
*kṛtamukha · saṃskṛtaḥ, 'perfect'	132. 1
kṛpānatā, 'condition of a sword'	118. 10
kṛṣay, 'make thin'	17. 8
kṛṣṇikā · kṛṣṇalekhā, 'black line' on the lip (cf. Kād., 209. 8)	36. 13
kedārikam · svalpam kṣetram, 'small holding'	49. 17
koṇikā, 'drumstick'	228. 11
kaura, ? 'fraud'	44. 7
krātava, adj. to <i>kratu</i>	93. 15
kṣaṇaruci = kṣaṇaprabhā, 'lightning'	285. 8
kṣāmatā, 'thinness'	62. 2, 174. 5
kṣāmatarikṛta, 'made thin'	123. 16

kṣīrodāy, 'resemble the ocean of milk'	66. 11
kṣaunpīpaça, 'hobble' (of horses)	228. 11

KH.

*khakkhaṭa · vṛddhaḥ, 'old'	231. 1
khaṇakhana, onomatop.	229. 1
khaṇḍalaka, 'a small piece,' or *khaṇḍala (at end of comp.)	255. 9
*khaṇḍikā = guṭikā, 'berry'	113. 21 (comm.)
*khaṇḍiman, 'fragmentary state'	290. 5
*khaladhūna · kṣodāḍideçaḥ, 'threshing-floor'	54. 5, 104, 11
khalamukha, 'ruffian'	202. 20
khuradhāraṇī · khurādhaḥ kāṣṭhapattācchādītā bhūḥ (foot-rest of a horse, cf. Kād., 212. 23)	70. 11

G.

gaṇika = gaṇaka, 'astrologer'	219. 16
gatāgatā, 'coming and going'	255. 13
gatāgatikam, id.	59. 15
gantri · ṣakaṭikā (B. quotes gantrīratha), 'cart'	230. 7
*gandhapāśāṇa, 'fragrant sulphur' (B. quotes -vant, cf. Daçak., 2, p. 28, l. 17)	217. 12
parāgam- ? sense? 'die' ? cf. Kād., 262. 13, 264. 11 (where it means 'arrive')	243. 3, 252. 9
garuḍamaṇi · mahānīlaḥ, 'sapphire'	66. 15
garbhīkṛta, 'contained'	112. 9
girigudaka (cf. giriguda), 'ball' for playing a game resembling polo	238. 7
guptitas, adv., 'from confinement'	280. 21
grhacintaka, 'architect'	229. 3
*grhāvagrahiṇī · dehalūdeārāmbhadeçaḥ, 'threshold' (B.), 'vestibule' or the like	171. 17
grhītavāc, 'having taken a vow of silence'	192. 16
gauratā, 'fair complexion,' 'yellowness'	154. 7
granthiparṇā, 'a kind of plant' (granthiparṇā, B.)	257. 8

grabavant- · bhūtagrhitāḥ, 'infatuated,' 'possessed'	48. 4
grīvāsūtram, 'necklace' (?) = kaṇṭhasūtram	141. 1

GH.

ghaṇṭikābandha · çiraso grīvāyāçca yanmadhyam, 'part between head and neck of horses'	70. 1
ghāsika, 'fodderer'	230. 3, 238. 12
ghuraghuraka, 'ornament' (of a horse)	65. 9
ghṛṇiman, 'heat'	57. 6
ghrṣṭapṛṣṭha · kāryeṣu kṣuṇṇaḥ, 'worn out'	212. 2

C.

cañcura · nipuṇaḥ, 'ingenious,' 'active'	263. 8
caṭukaḥ · hariṇānām pūrvabhāgaḥ, 'fore-quarter of venison'	237. 5
caṭulātilaka · lalāṭalamby alaṅkāraḥ, 'forehead ornament'	37. 6
*candraçālikā · dhavalagrhasyopari prāsādikā, 'chamber at top of the seraglio'	172. 1
anupracar-, 'act in obedience to'	193. 17
carmaputrikā, 'statue'	61. 4
carmaphalaka · sphāṭaka, 'buckler'	121. 14, 125. 8
cāraṇatā, 'love of gossip'	40. 2
cirantanatā, 'long-standing'	30. 9
cītkārin, 'making the sound <i>cit</i> '	257. 2
cīri, 'grasshopper'	53. 6
cuṇḍī, 'harlot'	229. 9
cūḍāmaṇitā, 'condition of a crest-jewel'	244. 18
caityakarma, 'ritual of the caitya'?	265. 15

CH.

*chattrabhāṅgaḥ, (1) * 'death of a king,' (2) * 'widow- hood' (Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 49)	189. 8
chekālāpa = chekoktiḥ, 'double entendre'	234. 6

J.

jaṭikṛta, 'made into a knot of hair'	113. 20
janapakti = lokapaktiḥ, 'way of the world'	44. 7
*jambhira, 'kind of plant'	263. 4
jarjaray-, 'break in pieces' (jarjarita, Kād., etc.)	115. 4, 241. 11
jāghanika, ? lect., ? sense ('low fellow' ?)	229. 8
jātipaṭṭikā · çreṣṭhāni jaghanagranthanāni, 'fine drawers'	243. 9
jātyantarita, 'transferred to another jāti'	71. 11
jālikā, 'mask,' 'veil'	36. 16, 109. 6
jūṭikūbandha, 'coiled hair'	37. 8
jyeṣṭhamallaḥ, 'superior' (cf. τριακτῆρ)	85. 15

Ṭ.

ṭāṅkārīn, 'making the sound ṭā'	161. 3
āṭik, 'go' (*āṭikana, B.)	53. 3

Ḍ.

ḍimbima = ḍiṇḍima, 'drum'	219. 14
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T.

tantriṣaṭahikā · paṭahabhedāḥ, 'kind of drum'	145. 8
tarāṅgāy, 'to be wavy'	65. 5, 181. 15, 185. 19
*taralāy-, 'flicker,' 'tremble'	256. 13
taralīkar-, 'make to tremble'	184. 20
tāḍita, adj. to taḍit	69. 3
tārakṣava, adj. to tarakṣu, 'hyaena'	259. 13
tilāhuti, 'offering of sesamum-seeds and water'	
(cf. tilodaka, Manu, 3. 223)	57. 8, 122. 9
tulāyantra, 'water-pump'	250. 7
trṣṇābhūti, 'state of thirst,' sc. 'the world'	236. 12
toyakarmāntika · toyakarmaçālī, 'waterman'	172. 14

triguṇita, 'tripled'	171. 17
trisarāṇa, 'the Buddhist triad'	265. 16
truṭana, 'bursting'	70. 3

D.

dakṣamakhathana = Çiva, cf. dakṣamathana	111. 10
dagḍhamuṇḍaḥ 'vratibhedah, 'kind of ascetic'	251. 5
daṇḍatā, 'the condition of a stick'	242. 17
dadruṇa, 'leprous' (Hemādri, ap. B.)	54. 7
dantakāṇḍa, 'tusk' (of hippopotamus)	244. 8
danturatā, 'indentation'	114. 10
pravidar-, 'cleave'	201. 11
darpa bahulatā, 'excess of haughtiness'	205. 16
dāntavāhaka, 'ox-driver'	257. 3
dārdurikaḥ, 'potter'	47. 18
dikpālātā, 'condition of a regent of the quarters'	120. 14
*dīrghādhvagaḥ, 'courier' (cf. Zach., Hem., 4. 49)	58. 8, 178. 11
durapatya, 'bad offspring'	248. 14
durabhibhavaiva, 'invincibleness'	197. 15
durabhibhavaçarīratā, 'bodily invincibleness'	211. 5
durupasarpa, 'difficult of access'	84. 3
durnivārātā, 'resistlessness'	40. 1, 187. 4
durbandhu, 'bad relative'	248. 16
durbalaka = durbala, 'feeble'	286. 3
durbalibhū-, 'become feeble'	253. 10
durlabhibhū-, 'become unattainable'	179. 1
dūrīkaraṇam, 'removal'	128. 14
doṣāndhatā, 'blindness to faults'	212. 13
*drauṇḍāyanaḥ 'Açvatthāmā	289. 17

DH.

samavadhāray-, 'honour, 'reflect'	103. 3, 187. 5, 275. 18
dhavalīkar-, 'whiten'	42. 12, 126. 16, 157. 11
dhūsarīkar-, 'make grey'	180. 20, 191. 14
dhūsaribhū-, 'become grey'	129. 14
dhaureya 'mukhyaḥ (Hemādri, ap. B.; cf. Kād., 5. 16, 65. 19, and C.I.I., iii, p. 294), 'leader'	58. 7
dhruvāgīti, 'kind of intonation'	22. 14

N.

nadikā, 'small stream' (occurs in a compound ap. B.); cf. Kād., 215. 23, 223. 20	264. 16
narakaḥ, 'feeble man,' with pun on naraka, 'hell'	251. 16
nalaçāli · çālibhedah, 'kind of rice-crop'	258. 3
nalinayoni, 'Brahmā'	16. 8
navasevā { semi-technical terms, 'apprenticeship,'	
navasevaka { 'apprentice' (cf. Kād., 76. 20, 207. 6,	
331. 16)	169. 19, 215. 20, 229. 14
nākatas, adv., 'from the sky'	281. 8
nāgadamanah · gajamardano garuḍaça, 'goad'	
and 'Garuḍa'	212. 5
viṣahara oṣadhibhedah, 'kind of	
antidote herb'	260. 4
nāgavanavithī, cf. nāgavithī, B. and R.	219. 21
nāgasphuṭā = nāgasphoṭā ? ('a plant')	255. 17
nābhipadmaḥ, 'navel lotus'	131. 5
nālī, ?	229. 16
nālīvāhika · kariṇām vāsa-(? ghāsa-)-grahana-niyukto	
hastipako meṭhākhyah, 'elephant groom or	
fodderer'	229. 6
nicolaka, *'mantle,' 158. 19, 'case' or 'sheath'	
(cf. B.)	241. 15, 243. 7
nidrākalaça, 'a cup placed for a good omen by the	
bedside'; cf. Kād., 68. 7, nidrāmaṅgalakalaça	164. 18
nidhānikṛta, 'stored up' (cf. B.)	179. 17
nimnikṛta, 'hollowed'	197. 1
nirantaratā, 'continuousness'	211. 15
niravatāra, 'without means of descent'	49. 1
niravalambanatā, 'lack of support'	272. 9
niravaçeṣatā, 'complete destruction'	188. 14
nirucchvāsam, adv., 'without a sigh'	251. 1
nirutkaṇṭha, 'without longing'	268. 15
nirutsāraṇa, 'without ushers'	192. 5
nirudaka, 'waterless' (Hemādri, ap. B.)	63. 17
nirghāsa · bhuktaçeṣo ghāsaḥ, 'remnants of corn	
fodder'	230. 6

nirmadikṛta, 'humbled'	216. 1
nirmālyam, 'toilet leavings' (cf. Daçak., p. 62, l. 10)	250. 3
nirmukula, 'budless'	92. 10
nirvadanavikāra, 'without disfigurement of face' (cf. nirvikāravādāna, Kād., 317. 2)	164. 6
niçcalatā, 'motionlessness'	242. 12
niçcalikar, 'render motionless' 59. 16, 100. 5, 153. 8, 254. 23, 268. 6	283. 5
niçcalibhū, 'become motionless'	211. 7
niṣkapata, 'guileless'	92. 10
niṣkusuma, 'without flowers'	235. 17
niṣṭhura = niṣṭhura, 'cruel'	çl. 12
nṛpāy, 'be king'	

P.

(paryāṇa)pakṣakaḥ · prāntaḥ pārçvaṃ vā, 'end' or 'side'	231. 7
pakṣāy, 'act as wings'	65. 4
pañcabrahma, 'a kind of prayer,' · pañca brahmāṇi sadyojātaḥ vāmadevaḥ aghoraḥ tatpuruṣaḥ iṣāṇaṇca	22. 11
pañcakulaḥ · adhyakṣaḥ, 'officer,' cf. Fleet, C.I.I., iii, p. 31, l. 6	286. 9
paṭakuṭi · paṭaiḥ kuṭi sūkṣmagṛham, 'hovel' ('Zelt,' quoted from a commentator by B.)	229. 3
patadgraha, 'spittoon' (quoted from a commentator by B.)	237. 2
patravīṭā, 'cork,' 'stopper' (of a jar)?	256. 6
*padabandhaḥ · pādakaṭakaḥ ('*step,' B.), 'anklet'	231. 8
padahaṃsaka · pādakaṭakaḥ (cf. haṃsakaḥ), 'anklet'	146. 4
padmajālakita, 'marked with red spots' (of an elephant; cf. *padma, 'red spots on an elephant')	72. 5
padmarāgin, 'having rubies'	108. 9
paravaçikar, 'subdue'	42. 3
parāgam, v. sub gam.	243. 3, etc.

parācinatā · parāṇmukhatvam ananukūlyam vā, 'aversion,' 'disinclination'	194. 6
parāyattatā, 'dependence'	273. 17
parāvart, 'turn aside'	280. 11
parivastrā · tiraskariṇī, 'awning,' 'screen'	229. 4
parisphurana, 'radiance'	212. 2
parikṣitukāma, 'desirous of testing'	201. 13
pavitrikā, 'a kind of ornament or amulet'	197. 3
paçcimāsanika, 'occupant of hind seat on an elephant' (cf. Kād., 112. 5, patralekhayā samadhyāsītāntarāsana)	231. 5
pāṭay- · paṭum kar-, 'freshen' (a current of air)	178. 1
pāṭalatā, 'redness'	15. 16, 123. 12
pāṭalita, 'reddened'	20. 1
pāṭipati · pāṭī bahuparivārapuruṣagrhīto nivāsa- bhūbhāgaḥ, kulaputrakasamūha ity anye. Var. lect., <i>pāṭhipati</i> , 'headquarters of officers in an army'	228. 12
pāṭhaka, 'reader'	137. 18
*pāṇḍuraprṣṭha · nirlajjah (cf. pāṇḍuprṣṭhaḥ, B. and R.), 'shameless'	214. 2
pāṇḍurin, 'kind of ascetic'	265. 9
pāṭheyīkar-, 'take for provision on a journey'	271. 17
pādaphalikū · ubhayapārçvayoḥ paryāṇe yā kriyate, āgulpham pādatrāṇam ity anye, 'stirrups' ?	231. 7
pāreçoṇam, adv., 'beyond the Çoṇa'	30. 11
<i>picavya</i> , adj. from <i>picu</i> , * 'cotton'	256. 16
piṇḍapātin, 'ascetic'	261. 20, 262. 8
piṇḍālaktakaḥ · kvathito 'laktakarasah (cf. Kād., 63. 8), 'clotted lac'	35. 17
piṣṭapañcāṅgula, 'band-marks made with pigment,' cf. Kād., 41. 13	63. 13
puṭatā, 'closure'	126. 3
punḍrekṣukā = punḍrekṣu, 'Puṇḍra sugar-cane'	73. 16
punyahāgin, 'blessed'	40. 13, 68. 7
punaḥsañjīvana, 'resurrection'	37. 10
purobhāgitva, 'doṣaīkagrāhīhṛdayaḥ purobhāgi nigadyate,' 'censoriousness'	13. 14

pureyāyin, 'vanguard'	27. 12
*pulakin, 'bristling,' * 'name of a tree'	255. 19
puṇāy-, 'resemble a sandbank'	17. 8
puṣpapaṭṭaḥ 'yatra vastreṣu puṣpāṇi sūtraīḥ kriyante sa puṣpapaṭṭaḥ, 'flowered cloth'	111. 5
puṣpaloham 'maṇibhedah, 'kind of precious stone'	149. 11
pustakṛt 'lepyakāraḥ, 'modeller in plaster' (cf. pusta, B. and R., and pustamaya, Kād., 276. 21)	47. 11
pustakerman, id.	86. 10
pūtātā, 'purity'	115. 16
pauraṣṭuta 'aindraḥ, 'belonging to Indra'	245. 17
prajāpālātā, 'function of a ruler'	190. 14
pratikaucalikā, 'return gift'	245. 1
pratiprāṇigrahaṇa, 'winning (or 'reflecting') all creatures'	134. 12
pratipreman, 'answering love'	134. 9
pratibhavanam, adv., 'house by house'	225. 18
prativimbaka = prativimbam, 'reflection'	167. 22
prativyāhar-, 'answer'	29. 4
prapāgrha, 'hostel,' 'watering-place'	105. 6
prabalapaṅka, 'torrent (or downpour) of mud' (cf. Kād., 301. 13)	251. 11
pravidar-, 'cleave'	201. 11
prasādalabdha, 'received as a present'; cf. Kad., 230. 17, and B. and R., dattaprasāda (Rāj. Tar.), s.v. prasāda	68. 16
praharaṇīkar-, 'use as a weapon'	12. 7
prākṛtakṛt, 'Prakṛt poet'?	47. 7
prāṇitam 'jīvitam, 'life'	180. 11, 284. 11
prātiveçikam 'prativimbam, ? 'reflection'	85. 1
prārohaka, 'shoot of a tree'	230. 3
priyamvadatā, 'kindliness in speech'	29. 5
priyālāpitā, id.	190. 10

PH.

pharapharita · punaḥpunariṣatkampita, 'twitching' (of a horse's lip)	70. 8
phālī · kakṣyābandhaḥ, 'sash'	123. 17
· khātā, 'row' ?	143. 14

B.

bakulaka = bakula	182. 14
balādhikṛta, 'officer in an army' (cf. Kad., 331. 14)	228. 12
balācanā · puṣpākhyauṣadhiḥ, 'kind of herb essence'	158. 8
balibhaṅga, 'wrinkle'	112. 2, 114. 4
bahali, 'plenty'	256. 8
bālavayajanikṛta, 'converted into a yak-tail fan'	41. 20
bāhuçālītā, 'heroism'	190. 10
bāspachedya, 'kind of tender grass'	104. 17
bṛhadaçvavāra, 'head cavalry officer'	208. 13
brahmastambham · jagat, 'the world'	102. 1

BH.

bhaṭī, 'soldier's wife'	225. 12
bhastrābharāṇam · tūṇabhedah, 'quiver'	231. 5, 260. 12
bhāṇḍāgārīn, 'butler'	229. 7
samudbhīd-, 'burst forth'	153. 15, 167. 9
bhīmarathī · narakanadi kālarātrir vā or sapta- saptatyā varṣais tatsankhyaīçca māsa- dinaīçca tāvadbbhair gatair ekā rātrir bhīma- rathī bhavati tām atikrānto varṣaçatajīvi naro bhavati. The latter sense is given by B. and R. from the Hārāvalī	190. 6
bhīṣaṇatā, 'terribleness'	209. 14
bhujagabhuj · mayūraḥ, 'peacock'	31. 8
bhujaṅgatā, 'profligacy'	88. 2
bhūṣaṇikṛta, 'used as an ornament'	114. 16
bhṛṅgārāgrāhin, 'pitcher-carrier'	196. 11
bhruvañcitam · bhrūcalitam, 'movements of the brows'	234. 5

M.

*makaramukha · jānunor uparibhāgaḥ (cf. Zach., Beitr., p. 72), 'upper part of knee'	25. 13, 80. 13
maṇḍanaka, 'ornament' (on a horse)	65. 7
· āyānam, 'chariot' (or 'ornament' ? cf. B. sub āyāna)	234. 20
madhuṣyandin, 'dropping honey' ('a kind of string instrument,' B.)	92. 10
madhyanāyaka, 'central gem in a necklace'	9. 10
mandākinīpravāhāy-, 'resemble the Mandākinī torrent'	66. 10
mayūrapattrāy-, 'resemble a peacock's feathers'	232. 3
mayūrapitta, 'a pigment' (cf. Kād., 31. 10, 11, where a variegated colour is implied: is it 'peacock's gall' or 'peacock-coloured gall' ?)	260. 14
marmarita, 'made desert'	52. 11
malakuthā · malapaṭṭī, 'blankets' or 'overalls' ?	238. 14
mahākālāhṛdaya, 'name of a mantra'	119. 15
māṇikyavṛkṣāy-, 'resemble a ruby tree'	66. 10
mihikā, * 'mist'	92. 9
muktāgalam, adv. = muktakāṇṭham, 'loudly'	277. 5
muktāphalībhūta, 'turned into a pearl'	281. 19
mukhakoṣāḥ · mukhayuktāḥ koṣā ye liṅge paridī- yante, 'covering for the liṅga image' ?	111. 6
mukhāvayavatā, 'condition of portion of face'	81. 15
mukhāvaraṇam, 'veil'	109. 6
muṇḍamālā, 'a forehead wrap or wreath' ('name of a tantra,' B.)	24. 8, 82. 13, 109. 1, 123. 12, 161. 9, 167. 16
muṇḍamālīkā, id.	68. 17, 145. 13, 189. 15, 226. 15
mudgarin, 'bearing a mudgara'	127. 19
mumudiṣ, from 'mud,' 'be about to expand'	16. 10
mūlastambha, 'main prop'	çl. 1
vimrg-, ? lect. ?	238. 2
mṛgatantu, 'wild animals' sinews' ?	256. 9
mṛdūkṛta, 'softened'	196. 7
maitriy-, 'be friendly'	247. 14

Y.

yakṣapālita, ? 'mad'	236. 3
yamadolā, 'ewing of death or Yama'	183. 19
yāpyatā, 'derision'	14. 12

R.

rājavijitā, 'royal descent'	187. 24
rāsakamaṇḍala · tryasrabhrāntanṛttavṛndaḥ, 'tri- angular group of dancers'	144. 11
raiṇava, adj. from <i>reṇu</i> ('proper name,' B.)	53. 9

L.

lambamāna · gardabhadāso, baṇijām karmakaro vā, 'donkey boy' or 'trader's servant'	230. 9
lālikā · kavikāṣekharam, 'end of the bit'	26. 2
lāsaka, 'pulse broth'	256. 11
lāsin, 'flashing' (in <i>raṅgalāsin</i> , B.)	72. 12
lekhīkar-, 'form into a streak'	283. 4
lepīkar-, 'make into an unguent'	271. 15
lokāntarībhūta, 'gone to another world'	219. 2
lohitīkar-, 'redden'	245. 4

V.

vatsarūpaka · svalpo vatsaḥ (= vatsarūpa), 'small calf'	255. 5
vanagrāmakam, 'forest village settlement'	258. 7
vanamānuṣaḥ, ? 'ourang-utang'	244. 3
* <i>candanamālā</i> , 'wreath at door of a house'	234. 4, 248. 20
vandyatva, 'venerableness'	134. 11, 266. 20
varamanusyatā, 'chivalrousness'	190. 15, 212. 6
varṇakaviḥ, ? 'descriptive poet'	47. 7
parāvart-, 'turn aside'	280. 11
vallabhapālāḥ · aṣṭrapālāḥ (* <i>vallabhapālakaḥ</i> , ap. B.), 'marshal' or 'groom'	230. 1

vaçayitar-, 'ruler'	96. 12
vasturūpaka, 'kind of figured cloth'	159 (comm.)
*cāmṣikah, 'flute-player'	47. 13
vākyavid · mīmāṃsakah, 'Mīmāṃsa philosopher'	87. 1
*vātakhudā = vātakhudā (gatipratighātalakṣaṇo vātavyādhiḥ), 'blister'	271. 8
vārttibhūta-, 'become mere talk'	171. 4
vālapāṣa · karṇābharanābhedaḥ (= *vālapāṣyah), 'ear ornament'	232. 1
vāhinīnāthaḥ, 'ocean'	246. 18
vāhinīnāyakaḥ = vāhinīpati = foregoing	134. 5, 211. 19
vikuttaṇa, 'knocking together' (of the feet); cf. Kād., 73. 19	143. 17
vikramaikarasatā, 'devotion to heroism'	190. 13
viṭakaviṭikā · pañcāsattāmbūlapattraiḥ kriyate (cf. s. <i>viṭikā</i> , B. and R.; ? read <i>viṭaka-</i>), 'pile of areca-nuts in a certain shape'	143. 16
vipallava, 'leafless'	18. 8
vibhūṣ-, 'without ornament'	198. 10
vimṛg-, ? lect.	238. 2
viralībhū-, 'become rare'	90. 7, 195. 10
vilakṣita, 'abashed'	170. 5
vilothana, 'rolling about'	105. 13
vistāravant-, 'widespread,' 'far-reaching'	127. 21
visrāvin, 'streaming forth'	175. 12
vihvalīkṛta, 'agonized'	193. 5
virakṣetrasambhavatva, 'noble birth'	204. 16
vyāghrapalli · tṛṇakuṭībhedaḥ, 'kind of hut,' cf. Vyāghrapallika, name of a village, C.I.I., iii, p. 136	230. 12
vyūpṛtatā, 'occupation'	179. 8

Ç.

çāṭa · dhūrtaḥ (= cāṭaḥ), 'knave' or 'robber'	236. 9, 238. 1
çālājīram · çāravam, 'plate'	173. 1
çārājīram, id.	158. 6
çārika, 'bedaubed'	232. 4

çārīkṛta, 'dappled'	104. 19
çāsanavalaya, 'signet ring,' 'seal bracelet'	227. 2
çikhaṇḍagaṇḍikā · cūdābharaṇam, 'crest'	24. 6
çitigala = çitikaṇṭha, 'peacock'	36. 17
çiçirāy, 'be cool'	247. 26
çiçiraraçmiḥ, 'the moon'	248. 3
çīdhavya, adj. to çīdhu	256. 14
samucchūna, 'swollen'	181. 18
çūnyahṛdayatva, 'absence of mind'	168. 1
çūlāy-, 'be pierced'	151. 5
çailālin · *çailūṣaḥ (· svayaṃ yo nṛtyati nāṭaḥ), 'actor'	47. 15
çauryaçālitā, 'heroic character'	242. 23

S.

sakaṇṇapallava, 'having twigs about the ears'	145. 13
sakhīkṛta, 'made a friend'	38. 10
saṅkalita, 'collected,' 'entangled'	230. 1, 233. 11
saṅkubja, 'short'	260. 7
saṅkriḍ, saṅkriḍat · *kūjat (of a wheel), 'creak.'	
Cf. also saṅkriḍita, Kirāt., 16. 8 (ap. B.)	257. 2
saṅkriḍanam · çabdaḥ (of a gate), v. foregoing	89. 18
saṅkhyāpaka, 'making up a number'	228. 7
sacandanatilaka, 'having forehead marks of sandal'	145. 13
sajjanatā, 'goodness'	274. 16
saṅjvarin, 'fevered'	39. 10, 276. 12
satulā · ardhaajāṅghrikā ity anye ardhaajāṅghā- letyāhuḥ ?	231. 10
sadvṛttatā, 'goodness'	267. 1
samaraçaunḍatā, 'delight in battle'	190. 11
samavadhāray, 'honour,' 'reflect'	103. 3, 187. 5, 275. 18
samānajaṭitā, 'kinship'	59. 5
samānaçīlatā, 'similarity of character'	59. 7
samucchūna, 'swollen'	181. 18
samuṇḍamālīka, 'having garlands'	145. 13
samutkīl, 'pull up, as pegs'	228. 16
samutsāraka, 'chamberlain'	133. 2

samutsāraṇa, 'driving out of the way'	78. 9, 233. 11
samūruka = samūru, 'kind of deer'	243. 10
sambhavatva, 'origin'	281. 23
sarvaviçvāsītā, 'confidingness'	221. 16
sālasya, 'languid'	32. 5
sugaṇita, 'well calculated'	226. 6
sutavad, adv., 'as a son'	182. 20
sudṛḍham, adv., 'strongly'	128. 9
sunimitta, 'good omen'	227. 8
sundarikar, 'make pleasant'	240. 2
suçakuna, 'good omen' (B. and R. quote <i>Naks.</i> , ap. Weber)	234. 2
sūtkar, 'make the sound <i>sūt</i> '	217. 2
sūtkārin, 'making the sound <i>sūt</i> '	208. 2
* <i>ṣṛkka</i> · <i>ṣṛkkiṇy oṣṭhaparyanta</i> , 'horse's muzzle'	65. 2, 114. 10
* <i>sairika</i> · <i>hālikah</i> , 'ploughman'	257. 1
sthāvaraka = sthāvara ('proper name,' B.), 'old'	235. 18

H.

hamsayūtbāy-, 'resemble flock of <i>hamsas</i> '	66. 9
prativyāhar-, 'answer'	29. 4
harikesara, 'kind of plant'	262. 12
hariṇikā = hariṇī, 'deer'	182. 22
halahalakah · utkaṇṭhā, 'longing'	278. 14
hastapāça · praçastahastah, 'beautiful hand'	75. 11
<i>hastikṛta</i> , 'held in the hand'	174. 6
hākaṣṭam, 'cry of grief'	179. 16, 195. 11
hutāçanatā, 'condition of fire'	200. 14

II.

Ā.

akṣam, 'sense organ' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 2. 544; <i>Çāçv.</i> , 25; Bhāg. P., ap. B. and R., Nachträge)	13. 9
aṅkana, 'brand-mark'	156. 2

aṅgaja, ' (tail) feather (of peacock) '	256. 17
aṅga · hariḥ (<i>Viṣṇu</i>)	81. 8
ataśī, ' flax '	256. 16
ataṣkara, ' not a thief '	202. 13
atipātaḥ, ' passing (of time) '	59. 2
adhirūḍhi, ' mounting '	74. 10
anavaskara, ' without secrets '	39. 17
anāyattaḥ · hastipārçvarakṣī, ' groom '	219. 11
anuttāna, ' not loud '	145. 9
anubandhikā · gātrasandhipīḍā, ' pain in the joints ' (' todesanzeichen, ' B.)	174. 17
annaṅgaḥ · prasaṅgaḥ, practically = ' accident '	31. 6
anūkaḥ · turugūṇām adhaṣtād oṣṭhaḥ, ' horse's under lip '	112. 4
anauddhatyam, ' modesty ' (cf. B. and H., Nachträge)	266. 14
aprarṭhita, ' without making a request '	39. 14
abhimukhikar-, ' oppose ' or ' bring to face ' (' drive forward, ' Daçak., ap. B.)	248. 13
abhilamba, ' hanging down '	211. 12
abhisara · saḥāyaḥ, ' companion ' (cf. Daçak., p. 64, l. 18)	30. 8, 166. 7
· cauraḥ, ' thief '	218. 10
abhihāraḥ, ' robbery ' or ' robber ' (nāmābhihāraḥ · paryāyāntaram), cf. Zach., Hem., 4. 236; <i>Çaçe.</i> , 367	107. 12
abhīru · çatāvārī (Saçruta, ap. B. and R.)	64. 3
abhyavagāḍha · pariṇataḥ, ' completed ' (of time of life)	72. 5
abhyudgama, ' undertaking '	277. 11
ardhacandra, ' half-moon on a shield '	121. 13
alambuṣa, ' kind of plant '	255. 12
avasāda, ' despair ' (Mahāvyut., B.)	273. 16
açvatara · taruṇo 'çvaḥ, ' young horse '	30. 4
aṣṭapuṣpikā · aṣṭapuṣpāny evaṣṭapuṣpikā. Tatra prabhṛti gandhapradhānam parthivam, . . . Yadvā āsanavargaprabhṛtiṣvaṣṭasu pratyekam aṣṭapuṣpikā, ' flowers used in worship ' (so in Kād., 227. 20, quoted by B.)	22. 13

Ā.

ākalana, 'counting' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 160; <i>Çāṣv.</i> , 467)	286. 11
ākārīta } ākāray } āhvānaḥ, 'challenged'	64. 15, 165. 3
ādambara, 'anointing of body'?	229. 15
ātarpaṇam · piṣṭam, cf. piṣṭapañcāṅgula ('kind of mortar or the like,' B.), 'imprint of the hand on walls, vessels, etc.'	157. 21
ābharāṇakam = ābharāṇam, 'ornament'	109. 14
āmantraṇam = āprechanam, * 'farewell greeting'	173. 18, 185. 5
āyatiḥ · pratāpaḥ, 'heroism' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3, 239; <i>Çāṣv.</i> , 395; <i>Kād.</i> , 55. 22)	43. 3, 135. 3
ālāpanam, 'address'	29. 8

U.

uccaṇḍa · ucco gādha ity anye (cf. B.), 'high' or 'hanging low' (of a garment)	58. 11
uttāla? = heftig, ungestüm of horses (cf. B.)	228. 17
utpādakaḥ · *çarabhaḥ	çl. 5
utsāraḥ, * 'chamberlain'	223. 13
ullāgham · svasthikaraṇam, 'restoration to health' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 124, <i>ullāghaḥ</i> ; B. quotes only <i>ullāgha</i> , adj.)	16. 7
ullekha = ullekhanam, 'making a scar'	81. 1

E.

eḍa · *çrutihinaḥ, 'deaf'	14. 10
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AU.

aurasaḥ · bhrātā, 'brother'	198. 18
aurjityam, 'might' (in comm. to <i>Kāvyādarṣa</i> , B.)	78. 10, 190. 4

K.

kañeukin · * <i>sarpaḥ</i> (cf. Zach., <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 706), 'snake'	108. 11
kaṭuka · haṣṭipakayoktraḥ (?—ā), 'elephant-rider,'	
228. 14; · pratihāraḥ, 'chamberlain'	250. 4
kaṭhora · jaraṭhaḥ, 'old'	32. 7
'deep red'	52. 7, 256. 19
kaṭhasūtram, 'kind of necklace'	183. 13
karaṅka, 'basket'	38. 4
· kaṅkālaḥ ('schädel,' B.), 'skeleton'	257. 4
karaniḥ · lekhyam kāyastha ity anye (Hindi, <i>kirāni</i>), 'writing' or 'kāyasth'	227. 15
karmaṇya, 'fit' (of things)	257. 7
kalatram, 'waist' (cf. Zach., <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 490, and Vāsav., ap. B.) and 'retinue'	108. 12
kalyāṇābhiniveṣin, merely a term of respect ('well-wisher,' B.); cf. <i>Kād.</i> , 104. 7, 136. 6	69. 6
kācara · pītavarṇaḥ, 'yellow'; · kapilāḥ ('gläsern,' 'glasähnlich,' B.)	114. 6, 259. 11
kāpeyam, *'monkey's tricks'	89. 12
kāmala, adj. from <i>kaṃala</i> , 'belonging to a red lotus'	212. 13
kāleya, adj. from <i>kalī</i>	66. 6
kināṇṇa, 'poor'	202. 14
kuṭa, *'a pot'	264. 6
kuṇḍaḥ · atra sandhyā (? sense)	192. 14
kūrca, *'part between eyebrows'	114. 5
kūrcaṃ aśtrī bhruvor madhyam (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 2. 56; <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 399).	
koṭavī, *'naked woman'	225. 10
koṇaka, *'testicle'	243. 18
kṣapaṇaka, with pun on the literal sense · yaḥ	
kṣapayati, 'destroying'	284. 19
kṣveḍa · viṣam, 'poison' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 2. 110; <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 135; B., no ref.)	18. 14

KṢ.

khagaḥ · raviḥ (Hemādri, ap. B.), 'sun'	52. 4
khaṇakhaṇa, onomatop.	229. 1

G.

gaṇikā, *'female elephant'	219. 16
gaṇḍa, *'excellent'	258. 5
gaṇḍaka, a proper name (?)	235. 18
gandhanam · mardanam udvāhanam vā, 'wearing down' (cf. Zach., <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 436, 'utsāhane; 'verhöhnenn,' B.)	154. 6
gamakaḥ · asādhāraṇāni svarāṇām nimilanāni yāni lakṣyeṣu antaramārga iti prasiddhāḥ, 'a musical term' ('tiefer brustton,' B.)	95. 8
abhyavagāḍha · pariṇataḥ, 'completed' (cf. time of life)	72. 5
gahvaram · pāpam (= *'hypocrisy,' B.; cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 543)	44. 7
godantaḥ · sarpabhedāḥ, 'kind of snake,' but ? 'a white mineral substance'	260. 5
godheraḥ = gaudhera, 'kind of lizard,' striyām gaudheragodhāragodheyā godhikātmajāḥ	263. 12
ghanīkṛta, 'thickened' of a liquid (B., no ref.)	158. 8

C.

cakrīvānt · *gardabha uṣṭro vā, 'donkey' or 'camel'	230. 7
cakṣūrāgaḥ, 'disease of the eyes' (also 'desire' in an amatory sense), cf. <i>Kād.</i> , 41. 1	215. 4, 283. 11
caṇḍālāḥ · aṣvapālāḥ, 'groom'	71. 1, 236. 9
caṇḍikā · bhīṣaṇā, 'dreadful'	286. 12
catura, 'apt' (of things)	8. 5
capeṭaḥ, 'paw' or 'stroke with paw,' · karatalā- gbātaḥ	203. 5
pratyuccar-, 'ponder'	265. 13
carmapuṭaḥ · carmakṛto hastyākāraḥ, 'leathern figure of elephant' ('leathern sack,' B.)	219. 20, 248. 22
cipiṭa · hrasvaḥ, 'short' (of a bag)	229. 4
· sthūla iṣallambaṣca, 'thick' (of the lip)	259. 14

cirikā . khaṇḍikā, 'rag' or 'hem'	58. 11, 167. 15
cūlika, 'nipple of bosom'	139. 19
caitya in citācaityacihne . citāyāṃ caityacihna- stham ākūraṃ cihnam, ṣmaṣānadevagrhaṃ vā (? = B. and H. 2)	195. 9
' āyatanam (cf. Zach., Hem., 2. 350 ; Çāçv., 460)	89. 10
caityaka, 'small caitya' (proper name, B.)	264. 8

CH.

chāṭa . tanu, 'thin'	36. 4
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J.

jaṭilita, 'having tresses,' 'betressed with' (cf. jaṭilay, 'fill with,' B.)	104. 12
jālikah, (1) * 'deceiver,' (2) 'fisherman'	152. 9
jālin, 'disguised as' (proper name, B.)	153. 15, 203. 10
jiviteṣaḥ . *svāmī, 'lord' (cf. Zach., Hem., 4. 313 ; Çāçv., 300)	40. 5

D.

ḍambaraḥ, 'bombastic tone' (B., no ref.)	çl. 7
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T.

tāmbūlikaḥ, 'betel-bearer' ('betel-seller,' B.)	231. 4
tālakam . tālapattram, 'palm-leaf,' nigadātālakam lauha evāṣvabandhanaviṣeṣa ity anye	228. 17
tiraskāraḥ, in literal sense 'biding' ?	205. 16
vitasta . ūrdhvaṃ kṣiptaḥ, 'dishevelled' (of hair)	198. 10
trikaṇṭakaḥ, 'jewel of three gems,' . karṇābharapa- bhedah	25. 3, 147. 5, 149. 9
*triyāṣṭi, 'a triangle of three sticks'	112. 10
tvigimant, 'the sun'	55. 7

D.

daṇḍaka, 'lines in a book'?	granthadaṇḍakāḥ	
· ṛggaṇāḥ		103. 3
daridra · kṣāmaḥ, 'thin'		75. 7, 108. 11
daçānanaḥ · vyādhiḥ, 'disease'		173. 8
dānavant, 'full of ichor'		200. 18
dārikā, 'wife'		204. 10
dāserakaḥ, '* verna'	144. 5, 196. 12, 229. 7	
durvidha, * daridraḥ, 'poor' (cf. Zach., Hem., 3, 336; Cāçe., 718)		236. 14
droṇaḥ, '* crow' (cf. Zach., Hem., 2. 143)		89. 12
droṇī · çobhāviçesaḥ (of a horse) yad āha		70. 4
prāthoraḥkaṭipārçvasya māṃsotkarṣaṇanirmītā droṇiketi praçarṃsanti çobbā vājini pañcamī		
dvijottama, 'Brahmā'		104. 3

N.

namaskāra, 'respectful message'		38. 14
nalaka	? sense?	231. 6
'leg bone'		260. 16
nāḍī	? sense?	243. 16
nālikā · horā ('space of twenty-four minutes,' B.)		286. 11
nāsira · karpūram, anye nāsiram * agresaram āhuḥ, 'camphor' or 'vanguard' (cf. Kād., 331. 14)		229. 15
nigamaḥ · baṇikpathaḥ (cf. B., s.v. I. f.; also B. and Zach., Beitr., pp. 20, 21)		220. 1
nirvahaṇam · samāptiḥ, 'completion'		6. 5
'prakaṭanam, 'manifestation'		279. 20
niveça, 'insertions in shot silk'		80. 18
niṣṭha, 'at a standstill' (texts have niṣkṛd)		235. 17
nistarāṇam, 'getting out'		236. 6

P.

pakṣaka, 'wing' (at end of comp.)		259. 11
pañcamī, 'fifth decade of life'		72. 6
patṭralatā, * 'a long knife'		231. 6

pathya, <i>noun</i> , 'diet prescribed by a physician'	172. 11, 176. 8
pariṇati, 'butting' (of an elephant)	75. 12
parihāraḥ · maryādā, 'boundary' ('common land round a village,' B.)	113. 16
pallavita, 'having sprays,' 'bristling' ('filled with,' B.)	93. 4, 102. 12, 133. 14, 231. 6, etc.
pāṭalaka, 'pale red' (Colebr., <i>Alg.</i> , ap. B. and H.)	143. 15
pātaṅga, <i>adj.</i> to <i>pataṅga</i> , 'sun'	89. 9
picchakam · keçakalāpah, 'tail'?	271. 9 (comm.)
piṇḍaka = piṇḍikā, 'fleshy protuberances'	192. 19
puṇḍarika · siṃhaḥ, 'lion'	30. 20
pūpikā ? sense? ('kind of cake,' B.)	257. 12
pūlikā or -ā, 'bundle'	231. 6
potram · sūkaramukham, 'hog's snout' (cf. B.)	264. 3
pratigrahaḥ · *sainyapaccādbhāgaḥ, 'rear of army' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 340; <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 72; <i>Beitr.</i> , p. 44)	246. 17
pratipāḍakaḥ · khaṭvāyām unnāmakaḥ, 'support of couch'	cl. 20, v. note
? sense? 'stool' (cf. pratipāḍukā, Kād., 17. 11)	252. 4
pratimā · *dantakoṣaḥ, 'part between tusks' (of elephant)	76. 3, 131. 4
pratisara, 'servant' ('anukūlaḥ), cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 4. 266	39. 17
prapakva, 'over-ripe' ('inflamed' in medical sense, B.)	53. 4
praviveka, 'discrimination' (B. quotes Lalita-vistara, 'vollständige Zurückgezogenheit')	101. 15
prasphotana, 'stamping with the feet' (cf. prasphotita, Kād., 223. 15)	255. 15
prasphotita · nīrājanikṛtaḥ, 'blazing'	105. 3
· vipūritaḥ, 'filled to bursting'	229. 3
proddaṇḍa, 'with uplifted stalk or staff'	106. 2

B.

bahalatā, 'abundance'	47. 2, 104. 8
bahusuvārṇa, 'name of a costly sacrifice'	99. 3

bādara, adj., 'of cotton'	158. 17
bījadhānī, 'granary'	255. 4

BH.

bhasmaka · bhasmabhūrikaṣcātyaṣanavyādhiḥ, 'in- digestion'	57. 1
bhurūṇḍaḥ · pakṣībhedāḥ, 'kind of bird'	263. 9
bhūnandanaḥ = bhūputra, 'the planet Mars'	131. 7
bhogin, 'king' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 2. 273; <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 105)	212. 5

M.

malana, 'rolling upon,' 'toying with,' 'pounding' ('zerdrücken, zerreiben,' B.)	102. 13, 107. 4
mahāmuni, Jahnur api, 44. 2; Vaṣṣiṣṭhaṣca	134. 8
mahāsthāna, 'audience hall'	192. 2
mānavant · ahaṅkūrī, 'proud'	252. 7
mukharatā, in some obscure, obscene sense (cf. H.C., 251. 15, mukhapriyaratā)	Kād., 6. 17
muṣṭi, 'proper name of an asura'	118. 13
mekhalā · parvatamadhyabhūmiṣca, 'flank of a moun- tain' (cf. Kād., 37. 7; Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 672; <i>Çāṣe.</i> , 348)	80. 17

Y.

yantraka, 'desk'	95. 4
yantrita, ? 'earnest,' 'zealous'	255. 6

R.

ratnarāṣiḥ, * 'ocean'	207. 10
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V.

varatrā, * 'elephant's girdle' (cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 592)	229. 10
varāṭakaḥ · rajjuḥ, 'rope'	83. 3

vikṣepaḥ · karaḥ, 'tax'	64. 13
'a camp' (cf. B. and Bühler, <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , vii, pp. 62 and 252; xi, 161, etc.)	107. 9
vigāḍha · ghaṇaḥ (of night, 'late')	120. 16
vigrahin, 'having a form or body'	82. 6
vitṛasta · ūrdhvaṃ kṣiptaḥ, 'dishevelled' (of hair)	198. 10
viçālaḥ, 'a certain Bodhisattva'	110. 2
vṛjina, *'lock of hair'	181. 2
vṛṣaḥ, · dharmāḥ	85. 16
veṇī · paṅktiḥ, 'row'	22. 5

C.

çalalaḥ · *çvāvit, 'porcupine'	55. 2
çāleyam · çālīnām bhavanam kṣetram, 'rice-field'	
(cf. Zach., <i>Hem.</i> , 3. 500)	65. 8, 115. 16
çuṣira, 'hollow part of viṇā' (cf. Zach., <i>Çāçv.</i> , 185)	222. 8
çevala = *çairala, 'water-plant'	172. 20
çoṇita, 'reddened' (B. quotes <i>çuṣoṇa</i> , H.C.)	145. 1

S.

samyatiḥ, 'self-restraint'	135. 7
samyoga in gatasamyoga · utpannacittakṣobhaḥ, 'presence of mind'	236. 11
samvarganam · āvartanam, 'arranging of visitors'	
('winning of friends,' B.)	157. 5
samvalanam · saṅkocanam, 'tight wrapping'	25. 11
samvāhana, *'conveying a load'	236. 11
saṅkalitin · gaṇanājñāḥ, 'astrologer,' 'calculator'	
(*'one who has added,' B.)	141. 10
saṅghaṭṭa, 'a race'	65. 3, 230. 12
sañcūrakāḥ, 'a roving spy'	40. 8
sandhyābhāli, *'a bull let loose'	111. 4
samāyoga, 'combination'?, 231. 10; 'a levee' or 'mobilization'?, ('Rüstung,' B.); cf. Kād., 307. 1, saṁnyasamāyoga, and 294. 11	232. 10, 240. 7

sarvagataḥ · cāra api samsthākhyah, 'spy'	40. 7
sasambhramam, adv., 'hastily'	141. 5
sahṛdaya, 'intelligent'	145. 11
siddhayoga, 'having an infallible magic'	26. 13
siddhi · pākah, 'digestion'	133. 8
sukhay-, intrans. (= sukhāy-?)	140. 15
star-, intrans. (cf. Kād., 76. 21 and 368. 11)	234. 10
sphārah · *sphoṭakah (on chowries), (cf. Zach., Hem., 2. 456; Beitr., p. 51)	160. 22
prasphoṭita · nirājanīkṛtaḥ, 'blazing'	105. 3
· vipūritaḥ, 'filled to bursting'	229. 3

ART. XV.—*Notes on the Origin of the 'Lunar' and 'Solar' Aryan Tribes, and on the 'Rājput' Clans.* By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from page 328.)

II. THE 'SOLAR' RACE.

THE whole of this subject is so difficult that I must submit the following remarks as purely tentative, and express a hope that others with more accurate knowledge will correct me. It will be well to begin with what appears to be at least tolerably certain facts. (1) The R̥gveda shows nothing, directly, of any advance of Aryans to Ayodhya or the further kingdoms under the Naipāl Himalaya, nor does the Mahābhārata. But both specify an Aikshwāka settlement on the Indus; and we shall see some early indications, from other sources, of 'Solar' tribes beyond Ayodhya, Mithilā, and Vaisālī, their chief centres. Our evidence for the 'Solar' dynasty of Ayodhya is the Rāmāyana, supplemented by the genealogies of the Purāṇas. The Buddhist writings throw some light on the subject also. (2) The kingdom of Ayodhya very early passed away; the more historic kingdoms in that region are connected with Buddhist times and with Śravastī, Kapilavastu, etc. (3) It is certainly the case that there were early sun-worshipping tribes in India, and not only in the Oudh region. We know of sun-worship and serpent-worship in Kāśmīr; we hear of it among the ancient Saurā of Saurāṣṭra and the Bāla (or originators of Valabhipura); the Kāthi (vassals of the Bāla) are still sun-worshippers.¹

¹ Arch. Rep., ii, 34.

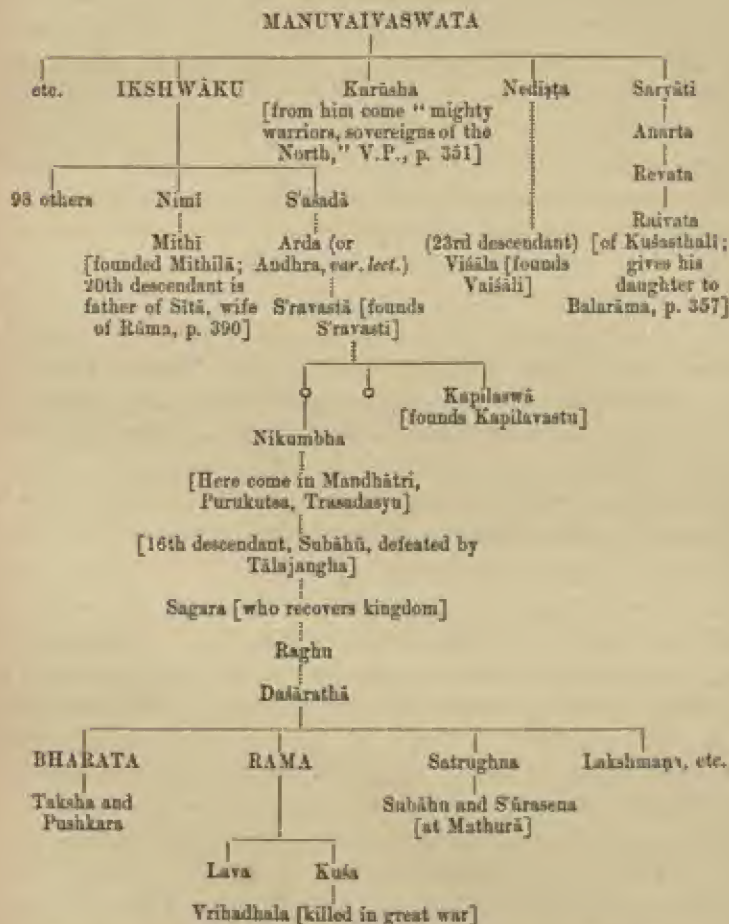
Multān, connected with the Malloi of the Greeks (who are possibly the same as the Bālā), was a centre of sun-worship as late as the time of Aurangzeb. It is quite possible that there may have been 'Solar' tribes of Aryan connection, whose nature-worship took the form of a special devotion to the sun, and that a sharp line of distinction cannot be drawn between these, and the Turanian, and later 'Indo-Scythian,' tribes. But one particular tribe among the whole became regarded as the first in rank—as the 'Solar' race *par excellence*; that was the tribe descended from Ikshwāku. When Hindu tradition had long associated a particular dignity and venerable antiquity with the Ayodhya kingdom and its hero Rāma, all tribes of any earlier sun-worshipping connection would, on becoming orthodox Hindus, hasten to invent a connection of their chief clans or families with Rāma and his sons, in particular.

Next there appear to be certain matters which are highly probable. I think Ikshwāku was a real person. His line (unlike that of Puru), though a long one, is very slightly extended or developed (by the books) in collateral branches. Its *locale* is confined chiefly to Ayodhya and Vaisālī, and to Mithilā (or Videhā) further east. Chiefly, but not entirely; for (as I have said) the R̥gveda acknowledges Aikshwāka princes in the Indus Valley. A king there is described as 'revant' (rich); and in the M., Subala, of the Aikshwāka tribe, is a vassal of Jayadratha king of Sindhu-Sauvīra.¹ The Purāṇas also speak in general terms of the *distribution* of Aikshwāka princes, and in one case, at least, give us a definite *locale* in Saurāṣṭra. But let me here introduce a short genealogy (Table III), and make a few remarks as to where the Purāṇas locate the descendants. The progenitor is, as usual, mythical. Aditi is the primeval mother of the Sun (whence the name Āditya). The Sun's offspring is Mānuvaivaswata.² Most of Ikshwāku's eight or nine brothers are quite untraceable. One is vaguely called ancestor of 'Northern Kings.' Another is connected with

¹ Lassen, i, 657. ² Wilson, V.P., 348 ff.

Anarta and Saurāṣṭra. Another (Nediṣṭa) is the ancestor of Viśāla, who founds Vaiśālī — apparently long after Ayodhya. The Rāmāyana places Viśāla much earlier, as

TABLE III.



Note.—The Rāmāyana places BHARATA as the eleventh or twelfth descendant from Ikshvāku himself, and consequently as a remote ancestor of Rāmā. It does not admit Nikumbha, but makes Raghu sixth in descent from Sagara; the V.P. places Raghu lower down as great-grandfather of Rāmā.

a son of Ikshwāku. And, I may add, Ikshwāku is made about four generations earlier than Yayāti, the head in Tables I and II. The V.P. gives Ikshwāku the usual one hundred sons, placing fifty of them as potentates of 'the Northern' countries and forty-eight of 'the Southern.' The Bhāgavata P. improves on this, and places some in the *centre* (presumably Oudh); some in the *east* (presumably Mithilā, or possibly in Mahākosala); and some in the *west* (the Sindh and Saurāṣṭra group). There is no direct mention of Ikshwāku as king of *Ayodhya* in the V.P. But the Vāyu-P. places Ikshwāku's son as 'king of Ayodhya.' The table marks also the founders of 'Śravastī' and Kapilavastu. Mithilā is founded by a grandson of Ikshwāku, thus placing Videhā early in the list of dominions. How far this agrees with the story of Mathava and the sacred fire in the Śatap. Br., I have not inquired. The whole list implies an antiquity of the Solar race greater than that of the Yādava or the Lunar.¹ The Pauranic genealogy appears to have been subjected to some manipulation; it appears to be elaborated from the briefer but, in some respects, more probable list in the Rāmāyana, which also does not go beyond Rāma and his sons. The names of Purukutsa and Trasadasya have been inserted; the R. having introduced the (Vedic) Mandhātṛi into the list, the others add two more such names, forgetting that (in the Rg.) Purukutsa and his son belong, not to the Ikshwākus at all but, to the Puru tribe. In the R. the king Bharata appears, more conformably with Vedic synchronism, as the twentieth ancestor of Rāma. In the V.P. he is introduced as a brother of Rāma with two others, all the four being 'incarnations.' It does not appear what is the object of connecting Bharata with the (non-Brahmanic) centres of

¹ But not by so many generations as is sometimes supposed. For example, it is said that Bahukā or Bahu, the Solar prince who is attacked by the Tālajangha and Haihaya, is the thirty-fifth in descent from Ikshwāku, while Tālajangha is only eighteenth in the Yādava list; but the V.P. does not make them contemporary; the text speaks of a conflict between the *tribes*, i.e. several generations perhaps after the eponymous ancestors. One authority, indeed, makes Trisankhu and Tālajangha contemporary, but Bahukā is eighth in descent from Trisankhu.

Taxila and Pushkarāvati, although no doubt there were Northern 'Solar' tribes, in the sense of sun-worshippers, in those parts. The attempt to introduce Śūrasena, king of Mathurā, as a son of one of the brothers, to make a link between the Solar line and the Krishna legend, is very clumsy.¹ So much for the genealogy.

It seems to me that we must recognize two localities for the Sun race in India, apart, I mean, from the Northern tribes whom we cannot connect with Ikshwāku, or certainly decide to be Aryan. (1) The Ayodhya centre, with which I may connect Vaisālī and Mithilā as being in the same general region, and represented by the same family. (2) A centre in the Indus Valley, and Saurāṣṭra, with some further obscure connection with the Vindhyan country, about which only faint surmises can be hazarded. Both these call for some remark.

I. The Agni Purāṇa is said (but I have not been able to verify the reference) to represent the Solar race as emigrating (from the north-west) to Oudh long before the (Lunar) tribes moved to the Ganges. Fergusson boldly states as a fact, that these tribes went to Oudh a thousand years before the other Aryans advanced.² The general sense of the authorities seems to be that Ayodhya and Vaisālī are the earliest kingdoms,³ and the move to occupy Mithilā somewhat later. The subkingdoms of Śravastī and Kapilavastu seem also to be a little later still. In any case these are the special domains of the direct line of Ikshwāku. They seem never to have very much altered, though particular territories in the Eastern part may have been lost. Indeed, the Solar kingdoms do not appear to

¹ As, indeed, is the way in which some statements regarding the supernatural origin of Krishna are grafted on to the narrative of his purely human family and exploits. It almost looks as if some later hand had made a very rude mosaic by letting pieces into another narrative (see especially the passage in Wilson's Ed., pp. 439-40). As Krishna's human life and exploits could not be got rid of, it seems as if an attempt was made to attach his family to the dignified Solar Line rather than to the outlandish Yādava, but feebly and tentatively by this one suggestion; it could not really be done.

² "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 59.

³ On the supposition that the V.P. is in error in making Viśālā a late descendant.

have much place in early legendary history at all. Probably the position so far north and east of the central region made them somewhat outside the current of affairs. The aspect of things, however, changed much with the rise of Buddhism in one of the Eastern tribes. The kingdom of Ayodhya, equally with Vaiśālī and Mithilā, must have been of very limited extent; and Ayodhya, as a Hindu centre, must have come to an end at a then relatively recent date—perhaps some time after the great war. The real importance of the Oudh region, as known to us, is Buddhist, not Hindu. Śravastī and Kapilavastu, not Ayodhya, are historical centres. It was not only that from this neighbourhood Buddhism arose, but the whole country, from its proximity to Magadha and the sacred associations of Gāyā, gained political as well as religious importance. From this centre, the Mauryan emperor was able to send the Buddhist faith almost all over India.

The entire silence of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vishnu-Purāṇa* about Ayodhya is remarkable. In the case of the former we may suppose the great glory of Ayodhya and the Rāma dynasty to have already passed away; for King Vrihadbala of Kosala is mentioned among the allies, but without any particular distinction. His place in the list of descent¹ shows that the great war was understood to have happened more than thirty generations after Rāma. The *Vishnu-Purāṇa* deserves a little more notice. I cannot pretend to judge of its date from a literary or linguistic point of view, but from its contents it could not apparently have been written or compiled before the fifth or sixth century of our era—at a date, I mean, when the Mālava tribe had established themselves in the country which then acquired their name,² and especially when all the invading Indo-Scythian, Gujar, and Hūṇa tribes were well known. The writer, at some orthodox Hindu capital, would know nothing about Oudh. Always girt with

¹ I take the list as in Lassen, I, App., pp. xiii, xiv.

² This is discussed further on. The tribe was certainly not an early one in the locality, but is placed there in the V.P.

forest, the country by that time had been destroyed, and its palaces were buried in jungle; even the Buddhist centres had long been laid more or less in ruins, as we know from Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang.¹ The author would hesitate to commit himself to definite details about Ayodhya, and only vaguely alludes to better known places—Śravastī, Kapilavastu, and Vaiśālī.

The whole history really centres round Rāma; even his sons Lava and Kuśa do not make any figure.² The V.P. says nothing of Lava, but apparently means (with the Raghuvamśa) to continue Kuśa at Ayodhya, where he is ultimately followed by Vrihadhala, who ends the line. The V.P. 'prophetically' continues the list of kings, and (though unwilling to say anything about the Buddhist kings) is obliged to allude to Suddhodhana and Śākya. These, however, were not kings of Ayodhya, but of the region east-north-east of Oudh. The V.P. has accounted for Buddha (in an earlier chapter) as an 'illusory being' created to beguile the 'Daityas,' who oppose the worship of the true gods. Early destruction overtook the whole country, as I have said; and the first information we have is from the European geographers. We find Ptolemy's map showing the Tanganoi (Taṅgaṇa tribe of the M.) in the north, and the Maroundai (or Maraemdaī) below them. Here, too, are the Amanichai, and the Sandrabatis (Chandravaṇsi?), possibly a real relic of the old Lunar race in Partābgarh. What the nationality of the tribes so named may be, has not, I believe, been ascertained.³

In this connection it is natural to think of the BHARATA. Whether or not the existing Bhar tribes, still numerous in Oudh and the further part of the N.W.P., are a surviving relic, it is quite certain that the 'very numerous' race of

¹ This is well put in the Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction, xxxiii, xxxiv.

² The Vāyu-P. makes Lava reign at Śravastī. In the V.P. there is some apparent attempt to make Kuśa in some way connected with the Kosala beyond the Vindhyan, and to make him found a city on the brow of the Vindhyan hills.

³ It seems that these may either be subject tribes which regained independence by the destruction of Aryan overlords, or some new invasion of Indo-Scythians. There is a mention of a Maruḍa tribe in Samudragupta's inscription, but apparently it is on the North-West frontier.

Bharata are represented as settling within the same general limits as the Kuru-Pañcāla, etc., and in the very regions where Bhar clans still remain or were formerly dominant. On the usual plan in the Epics and Purāṇas, Bharata becomes a king in the Doāb; and though the matter is never clearly stated, it is implied that the Bharata people are absorbed into, and under, the Aryan race who dominated the country. And as it is curious that *both* the Lunar and Solar genealogies adopt Bharata, it is natural to suggest the reason of this, viz., that the tribe was taken into the pale of Aryan tribes, partly into the Solar and partly into the Lunar. In origin they may have been Dravidian, since they were builders, like so many Dravidian tribes. I do not know whether the peculiar (sūrajbedi) position of their 'tanks' can be taken as an indication of Sun-worship, or whether anything can be inferred from the pointed beards of the kings in sculpture; but this is quite a subsidiary matter. Now, if the best houses and clans became 'Hindu,' there might well have been a lower stratum not so received, which fused with similar local clans of Kolarian race: and we know (in other parts) that Kolarians have so mixed with Dravidian and other races. In that case, the upper class of 'Bharata' would cease to be separately mentioned or enumerated, and would have shared the fortunes and the eclipse of the Brahmanic, military, and other, Hindus in the Central region, while the lower class, which *now* appears alone to survive, may be (in part) a remnant that never attained any social position, and (in part) include vestiges of some clans who have really fallen from a once superior rank. It is hardly possible to read the notices of the Bharata in literature, and their association with an evidently Brahmanic teacher like Viśvāmitra, without feeling that they must have been freely admitted among the Aryan tribes.¹

¹ As to the statement that the 'Bhar' (as a whole) are Kolarian, I cannot find that it is supported by any general evidence. It cannot be inferred from the connection of the (very uncertainly spelt) name of the Bhar people with 'Bar'—the Indian fig-tree—because that derivation is quite arbitrary; and it is very doubtful if, the tribal name being really Bharata or Bhārata, that name could be

Regarding the 'Solar' territories beyond Oudh to the east and north-east, I have obtained very little information, but the Buddhist writings may give more. We find Suddhodhana, the father of 'Gautama' Buddha, reigning over a clan called Śākya; and whether that is connected with 'Gautama' (and implies a Brahman (?) descent), or with a 'Rājput' clan which many centuries later bore the name of 'Gautam,'¹ I am unable to say. A genuine Śākya inscription, though a short one, has recently been discovered. Whether this was really a Brahmanical kingdom, and in what stage of Hindu development, cannot be stated; but the Buddhist writings mention many Brahmans in the Śākya country. Next to the Śākya, and separated by the Kohāna river, was the Koliyan tribe, to which Buddha's mother, and his early deserted wife, belonged. In the neighbourhood, too, and close to the northern hills, we hear of the Malla or Mallaki tribe of Kapilavastu, in nine divisions.² Here, too, are the Liçchavi tribe of Vaiśālī, also in nine divisions, and understood to be 'Suryavansī.' Such was their dignity that the Gupta emperors were afterwards proud to record on inscriptions and coins, their connection with the family: it seems probable that the Gupta era was really derived from the Liçchavi.³

II. The other possible centres of 'Solar' tribes are but vaguely indicated.

I have mentioned already the Ikshwāku kings on the Indus as alluded to in the Rgveda and the Mahābhārata.

derived from Bar (Skt. Vata). It is true that Mr. Crookes says of some of the Bhar tribes (Crookes, *l.* 9, 10) that they "propitiate evil spirits in the old fig-trees in the village" and worship 'five ancestors'—*pāñcōpīr*. The existing Bhar are apparently a very mixed race, and have no distinct language; the presence of some Kolarian customs would not necessarily indicate that the whole race was Kolarian. On the contrary, if they are the remains of a larger race coming from the North-West and contemporary with the Aryans, their origin would more probably be Turanian.

¹ Beames' Elliot, *Gloss.*, i, 115 ff. They do not appear in history before the Muhammadan conquest of Kanauj, and only near Fatihpur on the Ganges.

² Kalpasutra (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxii, p. 266). Mr. Hewitt also refers to the Sumahgala Vilāsana, in the Pālī Text Society's edition, regarding the Śākya. This I have not seen.

³ Like some other tribes of the period, the Liçchavi are said to have been at first non-monarchical; when they accepted kingly rule, Jayadeva I originated the Nepāl era.

The genealogy of the Purāṇa would suggest some connection with the sun-worshippers in Taxila and the N.W. Panjāb hills. So, again, we have an ancient descendant of Ikshvāku's brother made to dominate a (not extensive) local kingdom in the Gujarāt peninsula (Anarta). Still more vague is the suggestion that there must be *some* cause for the attachment of the name 'Kosala,' not only to 'Oudh' (distinguished as Uttara Kosala, i.e. Kosala in the north), but to 'Mahā Kosalā,' a place south of the Vindhyan line, including the Chhattisgarh plain, and possibly including places nearer the Vindhyan hills at the western end.¹ When the Solar prince Bāhu or Bahukā is attacked by the Tālajāṅgha and Haihaya tribes, it is implied² that he was driven out of his kingdom into the forest; and unless we suppose the Western Tālajāṅgha clansmen to have marched as far as the Oudh region (Northern Kosala), the more natural suggestion is that the Solar princes had, formerly, dominions somewhere in the Eastern (or even Western) Vindhyan region, near the old Haihaya and Tālajāṅgha. More I cannot say; but it is worth while noticing that a tribe of real antiquity, and still known in Oudh (Hardoi, etc.) and the eastern part of Upper India, as the 'Nikumbh,' seems to have some connection with such a Vindhyan *locale*. Mr. Crookes quotes Cunningham as accepting their descent from Nikumbhā, who, though omitted in the short Solar genealogy of the Rāmāyana, is nevertheless apparently fully entitled to a place. It is known on fairly good evidence³ that, being at some remote date driven from Oudh, this clan acquired possessions, not only in Alwar and that part of Rājputāna, but that they preceded the Sisodhya in Mewār (whence perhaps they expelled the Mers, who gave the name to the country?). Not only so, but Mr. Crookes refers to two twelfth and early thirteenth century inscriptions found in *Kānhdel*,⁴ in which the reigning

¹ See Lassen, i, 688, and the references in the note.

² See Wilson, V.P., p. 373.

³ The whole case is stated in Crookes (Tribes of the N.W.P.), vol. iv, 86 ff.

⁴ Crookes, vol. iv, p. 86.

king is said to have descended from King Nikumbhā, in whose line Mandhātā (Mandhātri of the lists) was famous, as well as Sagara and others. The Hardoi district and other settlements in Oudh and those in Gorakhpur, are return settlements (from Alwar) in the fifteenth century. Another account connects them with the Kaçhwāha from Jaipur, and as in service with the Rāthor of Kanauj and the Tuār of Delhi. Both may be true. There is also a connected clan calling themselves merely 'Raghuvamśi,' as belonging to Raghu, a later descendant of Nikumbhā, and near to Rāma (who is often designated 'Rāghava'). Some of the Raghuvamśi have wandered as far as the Panjāb (Jammu border), where they are often included in the 'Manhās' clan. In the present instance the point is, that apparently there was once a Solar *locale* as far west as Kānhdēś below the Vindhya, and some way west of the usually allotted site of Mahākosala.

In other respects it is always easy for any clan, especially one that had worshipped the Sun, to invent a connection with 'Ayodhya' and its kings. And as illustrating this side of the question, I may call attention to the stages of the process as pretty clearly shown by the 'Solar' origin which Tod confidently adopted for the leading clan of Mewār—the Grahilot or Guhilot, or Ahārya, or Sisodhya;¹ for all these names were successively adopted. We are told that the case is 'proved' by a twelfth-century local inscription, not found beyond Mewār itself; this, however, proves, not the truth of the legend, but its respectable antiquity.

Briefly the story is that a certain Kankasena (or Kanaksena, unknown to the genealogies, but called in the bard's *biruda* 'Kosalaputra'), said to be a descendant of Rāma, emigrated from a far distant western place called 'Lohkot'—possibly Lahore (?), somewhere in the Indus region, and certainly not in or near Oudh. From that position we are not surprised to find the adventurer going direct to Northern

¹ Tod's statement is in vol. i, 177 ff. (reprint).

Gujarāt,¹ and wresting a dominion from the 'Pramāra' (were any 'Pramāra' heard of before the fifth century A.D. at earliest?). Kankasena founded Bīrnagar (on the mainland) in this dominion. Four generations later another descendant founded the places now called Dholka and Sīhūr. Vallabhipura was founded by successors at an indefinite period after that. 'Śīlādityā' and other kings reigned in glory for a long period, certainly till after A.D. 766 (for which year we have a dated inscription of Śīlādityā VI (or VII). From the destruction of the city (in which the king was slain), the queen (a Pramāra lady) escaped, and gave birth to Guhā, who was chosen (in his retreat) by the Bhīls as their king. His eighth descendant was Nāgādityā, and he was father of Bappa or Bappaka,² who, after some strange adventures, became the real founder of the fortunes of the Gūhilot (or Grahilot) clan (apparently first named after Guhā). Tod's records show this ancestor as capturing the famous fort of 'Cheetore' (Çiṭhūr) from possessors who were of the 'Maurya' clan, known in the West, but whom the annals say were 'Pramāra,' and as such related to Bappa's mother. This would bring the clan to the end of the tenth or the eleventh century.

Now we know something of the original Senapati Bhaṭṭārka, the sun-worshipping chief who founded the Vallabhi dynasty, and we have several inscriptions of his successors. Their most probable connection was with the Bāla race, one of the earlier Northern invaders³ (originally

¹ From some Mewār records Tod obtained the date 'Samvat' 201 for Kankasena, and assumed (the impossible) application of the Vikrama era; and so later writers speak of the date A.D. 144-5 as an ascertained fact! I do not know what is the authority (if any) for the Samvat figures; but assuming them, the earliest (if it is a Śaka date) would be circa 279 A.D. for Kankasena; but if the Valabhi era is meant (which is possible) it would be circa A.D. 520. As several generations passed away before Kankasena's posterity founded Vallabhipura, and the number is not given, it is impossible to compare with the actual probable date of the building of the city.

² There are some instructive remarks about the word Bappa in *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 83 ff., where also a Gurjara origin is suggested. This does not commend itself to me in any way. The Bāla (Mallī) were in India long before the Yu-chi, Tugara, or Gurjara, though very possibly of ultimately the same ethnic stock.

³ See *Arch. Rep.*, II, 34. There are still (ancient) 'Vāla' estates of Dhānk in Gujarāt, and Chāmārdi in Kāthiāwār. See *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. viii, p. 129, as to the Vāla and their admixture with the Kāthi (Kathaei of the Greeks).

contemporary with the Ghakkar of the Panjāb), who, at a long subsequent period, moved towards Gujarāt and Rājputāna. Here they rose to power and became orthodox Hindus; and then the Court bards, knowing the real antiquity of the race and its fine qualities and physique, but not knowing any other origin, hastened to link on the traditional ancestors with the venerated name of 'Rāma' and the Ayodhya legend.

The Rājput clan of Kaçchapaghāta or Kaçhwāha, affords another example of much the same kind, unless, indeed, we can assume a real connection with the Nikumbh or Raghuvamśa. The clan has its origin in the Vindhyan country, or rather is first heard of there; and rose to power at Amber and Jaipur. There is no etymological (or any other) connection with Kuśa, the son of Rāma.¹ Other examples will be mentioned under the head of 'Rājput.' Behind all the stories, it is quite possible that there may be some racial affinity of early sun-worshipping tribes who came to India from the same original home, but at different periods; and that thus all, even the Ayodhya family, may have this remote degree of community of origin. In this connection it may be mentioned that even in the Rāmāyana account, intending to deal with Daśaratha father of Rāma, and others, as orthodox kings, the sovereign is represented as in relation with a number of foreign princes who cannot be regarded as orthodox or even Hindu—such as the king of the Kekaya in the far Panjāb, and the king of Angādes, whose name 'Lompada' suggests a Śaka connection—who all come to his 'aswamedh' sacrifice.² He invites also (early) kings of Kāśi and Magadha (probably meaning pre-Lunar kings); and himself, in the course of preparation, visits Manipur, in the East Central Provinces, which is another of those slight indications of some Solar dominion in another 'Kosala' beyond the Vindhya.

¹ Which only arises from careless spelling of 'Kaçhwāha,' 'Kusha,' etc.

² A peculiarly 'Solar' institution, as the horse was sacred to the Sun. Is not this sacrifice (as Tod has illustrated) really of non-Brahmanic, Northern origin?

If we try to form any general idea of the Solar tribes, it is that they may have been a group distinguished by special worship of the Sun, while other Aryan relatives worshipped other gods of Nature, and yet other (cognate) tribes worshipped the Earth-God, and the Serpent. It seems probable that one tribe became especially celebrated, adopting Brahmanical ordinances, and so became extolled by Brahmanical writers, while the others remained in greater or lesser obscurity. Any later clan that had any kind of connection with this Sun-worshipping race, when it afterwards became Hindu (or Brahmanical), would, on attaining to power or dignity, hasten to invent a genealogy from Rāma and his sons. Of the greatness and glory of Ayodhya as a kingdom or city we have no details; even the Rāmāyana hastens away from the subject to follow the fortunes of the hero in his distant and romantic adventures. The kingdom has no connection even with legendary history of other kingdoms; no vestige of it has ever been known; it is simply a matter of devout Hindu belief.¹ It seems, however, only too likely that when all India bowed down to Buddha, and the traditions of the 'light of Asia' centred round Gāyā, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, and other places, giving them sanctity and renown, the Brahmanical writers and poets determined not to be behindhand, and built up the mythic glories of Ayodhya as the Brahmanic counterpoise to the Buddhist capitals; while for the same reason they surrounded Rāma with a halo of glory and romance to eclipse, if possible, the figure of Gautama Buddha.²

¹ "Ayodhya," writes the author of the Oudh Gazetteer (Introd., cap. iii), "its eponymous city, was the capital of that happy kingdom in which all that the Hindu reveres or desires was realized as it never can be realized again, and the seat of that glorious dynasty which began with the Sun and culminated, after sixty generations, in the incarnate deity and perfect man Rāma."

² Just as the Krishna cult seems to have been encouraged, if not invented, by the Vaiṣṇava sect, as a rival to the Śaivite worship; though naturally the populace accepted both together.

III. THE RĀJPUT TRIBES.

It has to be remarked of 'Rājput' clans and septs in general, that they are almost entirely confined to Upper India, from the Panjāb to Bihār, and to a belt of country south of the Jamna, represented by the region extending from Gujarāt on the west to Bāghelkhand beyond Rājputāna. Only a very small minority of tribes is found in what can be supposed to be an original or even early location. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh nearly every 'Rājput' settlement dates from the time of the earlier or later Moslem conquests.¹

It is worthy of remark that while other ruling races or clans are found in the Centre, in the East, and in the South, of India, no one calls them 'Rājput'; the term is limited, not only to the area of the original Aryan domination, but to that in which also the Jats, Meṣas, Gurjara, and others, also locally settled; so that the Brahmanic directors of social usage were driven to find some designation which would embrace various ruling clans and houses, the greater part of whom would only by a great stretch of fancy be connected with the long extinct or decayed tribes of the old Kshatriya stock.

It is noteworthy, as regards the Panjāb, that it is only in the eastern districts bordering on the North-West Provinces—the territory of the later Hindu tribes like the Tuār, Chauhān, etc., of Delhi and Kanauj—that Rājput clans are found bearing the names that occur in Rājputāna and the Mithyadeśa. In other parts, the tribes not only bear other names, but are evidently of a different kind. Sometimes, they appear to be remnants of really ancient tribes, not necessarily Brahmanic or Aryan. It is also remarkable that numerically, the Rājputs of the Bhatti tribe (under

¹ I have given instances in Ind. Vill. Comm., pp. 99, 277.

several sectional names) are the prevailing type. And these are of Yādava origin. Not, indeed, that they are frequently found in their original settlements; for most of them say they were first in Bhattiāna, Jaisalmir, etc., and came thence to their present homes. Where this is not the case, the 'Rājput' is really the Indo-Scythian, thinly disguised by a tradition of certain clans (if they are still Hindu¹) which affirms descent from some hero of the Epics, or a 'Solar' descent from 'Ajudhya.' Here and there a wandering colony of tribes from Rājputāna, or even from Western India, may be found; and a very few really old (possibly Aryan) families in the hill country.

There is no doubt that a great majority of the clan names in the Panjāb belong *both* to the 'Rājput' and the 'Jat' sections. And this indicates that when the numerous Bāla, Indo-Scythian, Gūjar, and Hūṇa tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as 'Rājput,' while those who took frankly to cultivation became 'Jat.' I think, too, that the inferior or doubtful local tribes called 'Rāut' (or Rāwat) and 'Thakar' really represent descendants of some ancestor who might have attained rank, but had married a widow, or married in a lower class, or committed some other breach of clan 'etiquette' which caused his family to fall in the social scale.

Another similar instance of specialization occurs (as might be expected) in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍ: a certain number of special tribes not much known elsewhere—Jhareja, Jhālā, or Makwāna, Rahbār, Padhiār, Narodā, Jetwā, etc.—are there famous.

At this point I may introduce (chiefly on the authority of the Census and Ibbetson's Memoir) a list of the Panjāb 'Rājputs,' distinguishing (as is necessary) the hills by the plains, the West districts and the East, marking with the asterisk those names that are 'Jat' as well as 'Rājput'

¹ Many clans have long become Mussulmān, and then often claim descent from some Moslem source.

THE DISTINCT CHARACTER OF PANJĀB RĀJPUTS.

A.

Eastern Hills, Kangra and eastward, Hushyārpur, etc. { Katoch (very likely really a relic of the old (Yādava?) kings of Trigarta)—Pathāniya—Goleria—Dharwāl—Kandela—Pathial—Jaswāl—Laddu—Nāru—Ghorowāha (said to be Kaṣhwāha)—Manj (or Kileṣ)—Tsoh (call themselves 'Bhatti' descendants of Śālivāhan).

B.

Western Hills, Mari, Kahūta, Hazāra, etc. { Dhānd—Sati—Ketwāl—*Dhanjāl—*Bakhrāl—Budhāl—Alpiāl (seem to be Manj)—Kanjal.
(B) *Salt Range Country*.—Kahūt—Mair—Kasr—Jodra and Gheba. [All the above are possibly relics of old tribes, not in any way connected with known sources of origin.]
*Janjhā—are almost the only tribe of this group allowed real Rājput rank—call themselves Rāthor from Marwār—(Khaṭṭ are a subdivision of them).
(γ) (*Jammu border*).—Jamwāl (with a superior Jamwāl branch) called—Gibb, evidently, to my mind, a long fall—(now always Moalem) relic of a very old Ar.—Salahria—Kātīl—'Raghbānsi' (often call themselves also), of course claiming to be 'Solar' (see p. 209).

C.

Eastern Plains. { *Tuḥwār (the Toār or Tomar) and Jatu (clan).
*Cauhān—*Mandahār (a purely local clan, derive themselves from Lava)—Pūndir (said to be a relic of Colonel Tod's extinct Dahima)—Gaur and Gaurwa—Bargūjar—Jadān—Bariya (?)—Ghorowāha—Rāthor—Naipāl (a Bhatti clan in Ferozpur district).
[I do not recognize *'Bāgri' (inhabitant of the Bāgar or prairie of Bikānēr), *'Rā'ut' (any inferior or impure Rājput race), or 'Rāngar' (any peasant Rājput become Mussulmān) as real tribal or clan names.]

D.

{ *Puṁwār or Pramāra, found all along Sutlej and Lower Indus; also up the Biās; also colony in south-east
*Dhūdi clan of the same, on Sutlej; also Mekhan (Shāhpur district).
Bhatti (Bhāti of other parts) (Yādava), far the largest tribe; many have been established by later reflex descent from Bhattiāna.
Nūn, Mitrū, Rānjha are local subdivisions or of Bhatti.
a (relic of Yaudheya?) and Mahar.
(possibly Cauhān).
and Hirāj) on Chināb river. (If descended from a Hūdi, are certainly Indo-Scythian; but are said to be 'Puṁwār'.)
a (really a branch of Siāl).
al (said to be Cauhān).
ral—*Chāddar.
(Yādava) from Sindh.
ibes of Kāthi not properly of Rājput rank:
*Tārar, *Virk, are doubtfully Rājput.

Turning now to the Rājput clans in several observations which apply to the general, there are

In the first place, in regard to the whole group, nationality, it will not escape attention that the evidence of origin and of clans and septs have been placed beyond the reach of question as to their descent, by the invention (to whomsoever it should be attributed) of the mystic legend of their birth out of a sacred fire, which occurs, not in the old region of the Epic wars, but in Mount Abu, in the Rājputāna-Vindhya region. The legend itself we will examine presently.

Another consideration of the group (especially in Oudh and the North-West Province) escape the effort to trace them very far, because their tangible tradition derives the existing clan from a singular chief, whose name is sometimes suggestive of Aryan origin, but that is all. Once more, it is certain that several clans, of respectable place in history, are really of mixed blood—the descendants of some well-connected ancestor who married a female of inferior rank, or of foreign birth, or of no rank at all. To this class belong the Cār-ranked Rāthor or Gāharwār, (connected with the high 'Gaur's'; also the tribe with the Chamār-Gaur, and other sufficiently good rank) of the very un-Aryan name (but 'Bargujar'.¹)

A further general observation is first definite as to locality of known origin—the place where the tribe is first definitely heard of—may be made. It is only in the cases wholly, in others very nearly, the effect of internecine wars and invasions. Nevertheless it is, in extremely likely that scattered remnants (and these in time left descendants have taken refuge in and along the again in the Rājputāna country and

¹ On this subject I may refer to Cunningham vol. xx, quoted by Crookes (iv, 219).

fastnesses. It is hardly necessary to remark that in these remote places, with the strong survival of clan feeling and rules of exogamy, it is possible for clans to remain with *some* evidence of origin for many centuries. They have not moved again, nor been subject to fresh vicissitudes. In Europe it is quite different; there, continual movement and the absence of clan customs and feeling, render undistinguishable fusion a consequence as inevitable as it is speedy. No one would undertake to trace out the probable descendants, say, of Alfred the Great or of the last Emperor of Constantinople. But in the Hills and remoter parts of India, out of the line of general traffic and the march of invading armies, the conditions are altogether different.

In the Himalayan States, we notice that not a few of the (individual) ruling chiefs belong to well-known (Rājputāna) tribes; and their presence is accounted for by the fact that they were driven from an earlier home by the Moslem invasions. It is quite possible that the same thing may have happened with still earlier tribal remnants, flying from much earlier calamities. To this latter origin, I believe, the Katoch families of Kangra,¹ the Qibh, Manbās, etc., in the Panjāb may be ascribed. After such a lapse of time it is quite likely that some may have fallen to the lower peasant rank, and have also become Mussulmān; while only a few retain traces of ancient royalty, and are still dignified chiefs.

But the Himalayas are distant; and a much nearer refuge-ground from defeat and slaughter in the battlefields of the Eastern Panjāb, Rohilkhand, and the Ganges plain, would be found in Bundelkhand, Bāghelkhand, and the country of Kālāñjara, Jaipur, Gwālior, Alwar, and Rājputāna generally. Here remnants of Aryan tribes would be much mixed up with Yādava driven out of the Panjāb and the Indus Valley, and with other Northern tribes

¹ In Lyall's Kangra Sett. Report, the fanciful legend of origin is given; showing that they have (naturally) forgotten any real ancestry, and believe themselves older than *either* Solar or Lunar! But it is quite possible that they may really be a relic of the Yādava king of Trigartta, preserved in that quiet retreat.

who can be traced, — followers of the Śakā Satraps, the Bālā and Kāthi, the Meṛ, the Gurjara, and others. This may be more especially illustrated by the case of the Mālwa country, part of which is a rich and desirable plateau land. We hear of kings of Avanti or Ujjayini in Epic times, but not of any such name as Mālava applied to the whole country.¹ It is difficult to say when, in literature, the country is first called Mālava, or a tribe of that name mentioned in that particular locality. It is all the more so because the date of the different sections of the Mahābhārata is not settled; moreover, there are several tribes with very similar names. We know specially of a Malla, or Mallaka, tribe under the Nepāl Himalaya, and of the *Malloi* of Arrian, whose capital was Mallasthāna, or Multān. In the account of the victories of Bhīma (Digvijaya-parva) two countries are mentioned both belonging to the 'Malla' tribes, one under the Himalaya, and another apparently near Thaneśar, situated above the Niśāda country, near Vināśana where the Saraswatī river disappears in the sand.

In the Bhishma-parva (list of people and countries) 'Mallarāṣṭra' being placed next to Keraḷa, seems to mean 'Mahārāṣṭra.'² Another allusion in the M. (Drona-parva, v. 2,427) I have not been able to verify. But quite a number of these tribes, called Malla, Mālava (and similar forms), are mentioned in the Vishnu-P.³ And once in this work (book ii, ch. 3)⁴ there is a clear reference to 'Mālwa' itself, since the Mālava people have their dwelling in the Paripātra Mountains. In the Brihat Saṁhita I believe the name occurs without doubt, but that is a fifth or sixth century date.

¹ The 'country of Avanti' is still spoken of in Rudradāman's inscriptions, *circa* 150 A.D. Dhār and Ujjayini to the north, were in early times most probably approached from the Nerbada Valley by the opening in the hills at Mhan, through which the modern railway passes. Ujjayini lies a little way east of the Chambal Valley. The route to and from Mālwa *via* Nimach and Katlam would come into use later on.

² Wilson, V.P., p. 188.

³ V.P., p. 185. The Māla are mentioned between the Bodha and the Matsya. Wilson thinks this refers to Chattisgarh. On p. 193 we have Mālava (*var.* *lect.* Mālaka, Mājara) and also Mallava (*var.* *lect.* Vallabha).

⁴ V.P., p. 177.

The Mālava tribe was apparently not under monarchical rule at first; and when kings arose they kept the use of the 'tribal' era which (for some reason) the tribe had adopted from the Śakā conquest and Hema Kādipisa (B.C. 57). We also hear of the same tribe as one of the frontier people of Samudragupta's empire, in the latter part of the fourth century. When the 'kings of Mālava (*eo nomine*)' first appear, is not, I believe, known; nor is it certain that the tribe occupied the entire country. We have Mālava (tribal) coins,¹ which resemble those of the Nāga princes of Padmāvaṭi (Narwar in Gwālior, Central India) contemporary with the Guptas.² The first inscription that I have been able to trace mentioning a 'king of Mālava' is dated v. 770 or A.D. 689. It seems, then, we have an example of a country some part of which only was anciently possessed, and which underwent a complete alteration by domination of a foreign tribe (or tribes), perhaps impelled to that quarter by this forward movement of other tribes. They may quite possibly be connected with the Bālā and Valabhīpura; and if they came from the South or South-East Panjāb, they would have been impelled by the movement, or series of movements (that brought the Gurjara also), occurring during the early centuries of our era. That they had some connection with the Śakā appears from their adopting the era which afterwards the Ujjain astronomers took in hand and rendered permanent. Many similar changes must have taken place in neighbouring countries, and new ruling clans been introduced, especially about the period of the death of Harshadeva (or Harshavardhana), in the second half of the seventh century.

The eighth century is the general date when most of the Rājput clans are first heard of historically. In this way Rājputāna—east and west, Mālwa, and the country further

¹ See J.B.A.S., Oct. 1897, pp. 860-882. The coins (not earlier than the fifth century) are described in Rapson (Bühler's *Encyclopaedia of Eastern Research*), pp. 12, 13, to which Professor Macdonell kindly called my attention, as also to a notice in *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 311.

² Rapson, § 101.

north, became the centre of the Rājput tribes, including older 'Hindu' elements, as well as Indo-Scythian, Gurjara, and Jat (to a more limited extent),¹ not to mention the Meḍ (who gave name to Mevād, or Mewār) and other Hūṇa clans. When these tribes found their dominions (or their vassal possessions under the more powerful leaders) at Ujjain, Jodhpur, Ūdepur, Ājmer, Amber, Kālañjara, and Gwālior, they became 'Hindus,' if not so already; their coins (where any exist) and inscriptions would give Sanskritized names, and already the way would be smoothed to a new rank or caste position in Hindu society. Only the humbler ranks, who were content with agriculture or cattle-grazing, would retain names suggesting their origin—Jat, Meṛ, Gujar, etc. And there are a few tribes who rose to some importance, but were too far distant to attract literary notice, except from local and colloquial bards. It is to this circumstance that the distinct character of the Panjāb Rājputs may (in so many cases) be attributed. It explains also why tribes like the Vāla of Dhānk, the Jetvā, or the Jhālā of Kāthiāwar, all of whom are really Northern tribes, but locally allowed Rājput rank and glorified by local bards, do not appear among the 'Rājputs' of the central-northern region. I must take the opportunity of noting that the name 'Gurjara' was once an honoured one,² though now (except for the little State of Sāmthar) there is no royal relic of the tribe. 'Gujars' are quite a low class. But it will often happen that the upper houses and clans of a Northern race have received new names (and that in several different branches),

¹ Jats seem to have preferred the Panjāb and the Rohilkhand districts; they extended, however, to Rājputāna.

² In at least one of the lists of the 'thirty-six houses' the Gurjara were admitted to a place. At any rate they were sufficiently influential to make their name adhere to a country over the whole of which they never had dominion, and over part of which their dominion was not very long lived. There is of course no early literary use of Gurjarāstra, nor am I aware of its use by a later writer of pure Sanskrit. Gujarāt (or Gujarāṭh) was constructed by Moslem historians on the same principle as Saurāstra from the Saura tribe. In the Ūdepur prasasti King Bhimdev I of Anhilpur (A.D. 1021-1063) is still called 'Lord of Lāṭa and King of Gurjara.'

while an older racial name has only adhered to the humbler classes of the same stock.

From this central belt of country, the relics of older 'Hindu' tribes and the others mentioned were in time prepared to redistribute their growing numbers. For, at the Moslem conquest (which at first had the effect of further dispersing such Hindu leaders as were still in Hindu lands) came the necessity for countenancing the more energetic clans, and enlisting their services under the Empire. Accordingly, from, say, the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, we find our now thoroughly 'Hindu' tribes, under their later established names, gradually issuing forth—sometimes in considerable bodies, sometimes in small parties under energetic leaders—to return to 'Hindustan,' where the sites of the old Aryan kingdoms were either long grown over with dense jungle, or were partially occupied by agricultural settlements, ruled over by (resuscitated) Dôṃ, Thāru, Pāsī, Bhar, or Çeru chiefs, according to locality.

Rājputāna and the vicinity thus became the *locale* where many new clans were built up,—some of them unconnected by race with the 'Hindu' castes. But some clans, too, are clearly derived from the upper Dakhan and from the eastern end of the Vindhya—perhaps from Magadha itself. Of the latter, the Āndhra¹ form a noteworthy instance. Of the former, we have an example in the wide-branching Rāṣṭrakūṭa, whom we can trace from the West Coast to Gujarāt and the country east of it, whence a stroke of fortune took one branch to Kanauj and Jodhpur.

On the general question of origin, one other remark naturally occurs: it is that by the adoption of Hinduism, and by the occurrence of names in Sanskrit or Prakrit inscriptions, these clans may take on a much more 'Hindu' appearance than their origin sometimes warrants. We

¹ It is to be wished that we had some more definite authority or knew the source of the alleged division of the Āndhra into the real family (the Āndhrajātika) and the 'Āndhrabhṛityā.' It does seem as if there was some such distinction in this widely dominating race. Wilson, V.P., p. 472 (note).

find in inscriptions long and splendid names compounded with 'deva,' 'sinha,' 'varmma,' 'āditya,' etc., etc., but we are not bound to suppose that these are the real personal names of the chiefs; indeed, every now and then we have a glimpse of what appear to be the actual names, as Allāṭa, Dhaṅga, Karka, Kakka, Rajjila, Bauka, Silluka, Bhilluka, Kokalla, Lāh, etc., etc. Their titles, Rāna (or Rāno), Rāo (locally Rāv), are forms more associated with those on the Kuṣāṇ and Śākā coins than with Sanskrit.¹ Many of the Northern nations coming in later times to India must have had some ethnical affinity with the tribes more entitled to be described as 'Aryan,' 'Vaiśya,' etc. And at or before the beginning of our era, there would have been little or no barrier to a rapid fusion of races and clans. At most, the barriers would have been those of rank, dignity, and admitted clan-affinity² (all the clans being exogamous). In due course of time all ranks became orthodox Hindus, and (as I have remarked in another connection) caste is strictly observed, while new names and fabulous descents from some sage or hero of the Epic days are invented. It is curious that Brahmanic orthodoxy, while it introduced (or supported) the practice of 'Sati,' the non-marriage of widows, and the veneration for the cow, did not banish some prior national customs—the use of spirits and eating flesh (for example), or the worship of the sun, the horse,

¹ What is the real origin of the inferior title Thākur, which is applied also to the whole class in parts of the North-West Provinces, while Thakar appears in the Panjāb as the name of an inferior group? Among the Nāga princes of Gondwāna 'Thākur' meant the *priest* attached to the royal household (Cent. Prov. Gaz., *Intro.*, p. lxi.).

² In the late thirteenth century Karna, the unfortunate prince of the Vāghela division of the Čālukya, considered it beneath his dignity to give his daughter in marriage to a Yādava prince of Devagiri: he consented only as an alternative to seeing her married to a Moslem. But had the Devagiri chief (already called by the annalists Maṅgharāṭha) been of pure Yādava blood, such an objection would be unintelligible. Probably by that time they were of very mixed race. It is notorious in the pages of Ted, Malcolm, and others, with what facility Rājputs of rank form unions, mostly irregular, with women of any class, and what numbers of inferior race—'Dāsa,' 'Goli,' etc.—are produced. Men of this birth may yet be of superior character and energy, and may originate houses, who rise far above the rank their origin would suggest, and attain to wealth and influence.

and arms.¹ Sir J. Malcolm remarks: "To this day, every Rājput wears an amulet embossed with a figure of a horse and the sun. This mythological emblem is quite indispensable. It is, with all who can afford it, of gold; others are contented with silver; but the poorest Rajput makes this figure his first present to his infant male offspring. It is their personal deity, and receives their daily adoration. It is common also to wear the figure of a distinguished ancestor engraved on gold or silver . . . its utility is chiefly as a charm to keep at a distance ghosts and evil spirits."²

It is also curious to observe that, speaking generally, the Rājput, when still Hindu, has his own pride of caste and occupation, which is connected rather with birth and rank than with purity³ as of a twice-born caste in the religious sense. At any rate, the existing Rājput standard is not at all that of the ideal Kshatriya of the 'Shāstra.' I need hardly refer to the evidence Tod has collected (and in such a matter his authority is unimpeachable) of the completely Northern or Scythian type which marks the customs of these proud tribes in the Rājputāna States.⁴

In Rājputāna and Central India the actual rank and dignity of the Rājput families, and their position as chiefs, military commanders, or landlords, prevent the matter of *caste-position* from attracting notice; but in Gujarāt and Western India, where the families have suffered eclipse and are more in the peasant condition, so that their actual *caste* rank is more easily observed, Kinloch Forbes has remarked that the 'Rājput' by no means takes the highest (*caste*) place

¹ The strict seclusion of females observed in the higher Rājput families (of which several extreme cases are given in the *Rāsmālā* for example) seems not so much to be the result of Hindu teaching as a measure of protection suggested by the conduct of the Moslems, at any rate during the earlier invasions and periods of local domination.

² "Memoirs of Central India" (reprint), ii, 119. I am not aware whether such a custom is observed by the Rājput tribes in the North-West Provinces, Oudh, or the Panjāb, by those really entitled to the rank.

³ The Rājputāna Gazetteer calls attention to the still rather frequent traces of Jaina religion in Rājputāna (vol. i, p. 89).

⁴ Tod, vol. i, chap. vi (reprint), especially pp. 62 ff.

next the Brahman, as he would do if recognized as really a 'Kshatriya.' In Gujarāt, he says, that when speaking of the 'ujjāli-vasti,' or 'higher-caste people' in general, the popular phrase is not 'Brāhman-Rājput,' but 'Brāhman-Wāniyo,' i.e. the Baniya caste has the next rank. The 'Wāniyo' will not even take water from the hand of a Rājput.¹ All this points to the fact that any superior tribe, of ability to effect conquest and establish a local rule, might become 'Rājput,' but not literally take the place of the old military, 'twice-born' caste. And this is still more obvious in the case of the peasant landholding Rājputs in the Panjāb and North-West Provinces.

We may next turn to the specific account of the origin of the chief 'Rājput' tribes, which is indicated (or concealed?) by the story of the 'Agnikula.' In effect it states that four ancestors of four tribes were miraculously produced from the fire-fountain or sacrificial pit (Agnikūṇḍa) on Mount Abu. Such events do not admit of chronology; and Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra,² who figure in the story, are 'sages,' independent both of lapse of time and change of place.

The singular granite peak of Mount Abu, belonging rather to Jaina antiquity, is quite outside the theatre of the action of Epic heroes and sages. But in itself it is one of those remarkable natural features which are sure, sooner or later, to be seized on as the scene of legendary occurrences, and to be covered with temples and shrines. On this spot were the 'clans of the Fire-born' produced. Each of the four names is given a certain (but neither lucid nor probable) meaning. Apart from the fact that the story merely conceals an origin that was either unknown or not thought suitable to be disclosed, it is not in itself worth

¹ Rāsmālā, p. 535. See also the remarks about Vaiśya at p. 553.

² Viśvāmitra, though himself an Aryan, is always connected in one way or another with non-Brahmanic tribes. Here he is introduced as taking away Vasiṣṭha's Sacred Cow. The four heroes are produced in answer to Vasiṣṭha's prayer to avenge the wrong. It is impossible not to suspect an allegorical meaning here.

much attention. It is not at all ancient,¹ nor is it uniformly adhered to by the mediæval relators of it. If it has any meaning at all, it indicates that certain tribes or families became Hindus, or at least espoused at the time, the Brahmanic cause. Tod tells us that "they were to defend the altars of Bal (Īśwara) against the Dytes (Daitya)."

It will be easily seen, from a brief review of the four clans, successively, how late this legend is; how other legends and origins compete with it; and how, through several variations, the underlying sense seems to be this, that several non-Aryan, or mixed, or perhaps purely Scythic, clans were adopted by the Brahmans, sometimes under the guise that they were warriors *born of a Brahman father*, or that they were descendants of the priestly-warrior class (Aṅgira, Bhṛgu, etc.), mentioned in literature.

(1) The PARIHĀRA (or Pratihāra) are hardly known; they early disappeared from history, but survive in a few inscriptions. They are found first in Jodhpur (Marwār). Some other (Central Indian) states, Uḥahra, Khoh, and others, are thought to have been Parihāra.² The Mewār Grahilot rose to fame by ejecting a Parihāra prince from Mandor and Mewār. The Mandor inscription (now at Jodhpur) and that of Ghaṭayāla, know nothing of the Agnikula legend.³ The personal names mentioned suggest a Gurjara connection; but the origin asserted is from a Brahman father by a 'Kshatriya' mother (though the actual chiefs are Jains!).

¹ Tod's account of it is in vol. i, p. 82 (reprint). Is the story older than Chand and the other bards? See Rāsmāla, p. 636.

² Curiously enough, one list of 'the thirty-six' gives a place both to Parihāra and Pratihāra (Rāsmāla, p. 535); Cunningham suggested that they might be the Porusoi of Ptolemy; but Lassen, with more probability, referred that name to the much better known Pramāra. This, if substantiated, would take back the Pramāra to before the second century. Dr. Gustav Oppert ("Original Inhabitants of India," pp. 22-3, note, and p. 92) has an altogether different suggestion. Chand the bard makes the Pramāra superiors of the Parihāra, and accounts for the settlement of the latter in 'Mardes' as by grant of the former; but then he places a Pramāra as king of Ujjain and suzerain. The Parihāra were, in fact, driven out of Marwār when the Rāthor princes of Kanauj came to an end, in mediæval times.

³ See J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 1 ff. and 1895, p. 514. The first inscription is probably of the ninth century. That from Ghaṭayāla (No. 13 in Kielhorn's list) is Vik. 916.

(2) The PRAMĀRA (or Paramāra) are much more widely known, and are found (under the colloquial form Puār or Puñwār) in various places, both in names in the West and in the North. The history seems possibly to go further back than in the other cases.¹ It is possible that there is some connection with the early 'Sodrai' or with the 'Sogdoi' of Alexander's time. But if these are really the Sodhā of the Indus Valley, the 'Pramāra' (as such) would be a later branch of them, not *vice versa*; for in fact the existing Sodhā Rājputs of Sindh only came from Mālwa in the thirteenth century.² The Pramāra are represented as intermarrying with the Yādava and other royal houses. The Valabhi king has a Pramāra queen who escapes from the destruction of the city (probably in the end of the eighth century), and is in fact the mother of the ancestor of the Mewār clan. The Pramāra and Cedi also intermarried. The Udepur prasaṣti is not dated, but may be about the eleventh century.³ It adopts the fire-legend, but with an important variation—making only this one tribe produced from the fire. The royal names mentioned suggest that the Pramāra kings began to rule in Mālwa in the eighth or ninth century, but possibly a century earlier.

(3) The ÇAUHĀN (Çāhumāna of inscriptions) appear first at 'Śākambarī' near Ājmer. No direct assertion of any other origin than that of the fire-legend has come to my notice; but Cunningham states⁴ that the common gotrā-chārya of the Çauhān houses makes the ancestor to be of the Vatsa race through five famous progenitors ("Bāç gotra

¹ It is curious that Chand (if I may trust Tod, i, 84, note) calls the Pramāra 'of Telingana,' as if they had something to do with the Andhra and Chālukhyā. Tod's list of their branches includes the Mori (Maurya). It is true that relics of this old race appear long after the time of Aśoka, as princes in the Konkan, and also at Çithūr in the Viadhya Hills; but if there is any connection with the Pramāra, the latter must be a branch of the Maurya, not *vice versa*.

² See McCrindle, "The Invasion of Alexander," etc., p. 354, and the Rāsmāla, p. 227; but see the Sindh Gazetteer, p. 862. The Dhāt State is still held by Sodhā Rājputs.

³ Ep. Ind., i, p. 222 ff. It has various interesting items; among them an attack on the Halhaya king of Çedi by the Pramāra vassal Vākpati at the end of the tenth century.

⁴ As reported in Beames' Elliot, Gloss., i, 58.

pāṇḍ pravaṛa").¹ Mukhji, the Çauhān bard, adopts the fire-legend, but again makes the Çauhān the only product. The 'Vatsa' legend, however, equally suggests the idea of a more or less foreign tribe adopted by the Brahmans by means of the favourite descent from priestly-warrior ancestors. The earlier name seems to have been Bach or Bāch, which suggested 'Vatsa' as an origin; or perhaps, *vice versa*, Bāch was derived from 'Vatsa'.²

Probably the tribe originated in the eastern ultra-Vindhyan region and came to Ājmer. The Harsha inscription (Vik. 1030) describes³ an ancestor of the reigning Çāhumāna king as Gūvaka I, "famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgū and other princes." The name 'Vatsarāja' also occurs in the list of the family.

Elliot gives an account of the main branches of the clan in descent from Prithwī Chand, and of the various estates acquired when once the clan obtained a footing in Hindustān. This latter was something of an accident, in the twelfth century, since the Tuār prince of Delhi gave way to his son-in-law, a Çauhān, because he had no son of his own.

The clan name frequently appears in the stories of the Gujarāt bards. Its leaders were ever ready to offer resistance to the Moslem, and had their efforts been better seconded by other 'Hindu' tribes, and anything like unanimity maintained, the result of the Moslem battles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might have been different from what it was. After the defeat at Delhi the clan was dispersed, but its chief centres still remain in the States of Harāuti, Kotah, and Bundi, in Rājputāna.

(4) The ÇALUKYA (or Çūlukya) tribe is one that is almost certainly of foreign or non-Brahmanic origin; it peculiarly belongs to Western India, or the ultra-Vindhyan country. We have the reigning house first coming to power in the

¹ Bhārgava, Çyavana, Apravana, Aurva, and Jamadagnya.

² And there is a traditional 'Venī Yach Rāya' (Bach) who was the original founder of Īder. Curiously enough, one of the early Çauhān ancestors (Anhil) is placed at Garhamapdala, i.e. with the Vatsya-Çedi people. I cannot find any detail about this.

³ Ep. Ind., ii, 117. Harsha is a hill in the Jaipur State.

sixth century¹ and then dividing into two. In the seventh century the 'Western' Chalukya are ruling in the Dakhan, and the 'Eastern' extend to the so-called Carnatic coast. We have some indications of an early dominion in part of Gujarāt before the 'Solankhi' princes ruled over the whole. The Rāsmāla gives the bardic story relating how this happened;² and it is by no means improbable. There seems to be no reason to doubt that 'Solankhi' is merely a colloquial form of Čālukyā; the bards use the two forms quite indifferently. The Vāghela (Bāghela) house was an offshoot of this stock in Gujarāt. Once more, in the case of this royal house, we have a variety of legendary origins: one shows the device of a Brahman adoption, making the ancestor connected with the priestly-warrior class. Another, later, account is merely the usual fire-legend of the four Agnikula. Sir Walter Elliot thought the origin to be 'Lunar,' meaning Yādava, but there is no ground given for this suggestion. On the other hand, in the Bilhari (Čedi) inscription,³ the tribe is derived from the Mahābhārata times and a quarrel between Droṇa and Drupada. Droṇa (the brahman or sage) takes water in his hand to curse Drupada, and from the handful (čuluka) of water "there arose a man like victory incarnate, and from him proceeded the clan (kula) of the Čaulukya, the excellencies of which are countless." Dr. Bhāndārkar, again,⁴ refers to a more general account ("opening lines of all the copper-plates"), that the tribe were derived from the Solar line and are descendants of that Harita who appears (in the V.P.) as one of the *kings* (great-grandson of Mandhātri) regarding whom the confusing statement is made⁵ that the Aṅgīrasa *Brahmans* were descended from him. Here we have the same idea which marks the Droṇa story, since there also the sage or priest gives birth to the

¹ See also Bom. Gaz., i, pt. 2, p. 182.

² Rāsmāla, p. 18 ff.

³ Ep. Ind., i, 266 (line 33).

⁴ Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 2, p. 180. Here the 'Čaluk' comes in as the handful of sacrificial water taken by the god Brahmadeva.

⁵ See Wilson, V.P., p. 389, note.

warrior. The derivation from 'Ayodhya' (but not here connected with the usual Rāma or Lava) seems to be because the Çalukya were really originally Sun-worshippers,—very possibly a branch of the Āndhra. There is no question that they have absolutely no connection with the Eastern Aryans proper.

So much for the Agnikula races. I should add that some of the bards wish to make Yādava a *fifth* 'Agnikula' (as stated in the Rāsmālā), which is quite natural, if, as I have surmised, we are really intended to understand ruling races of non-Brahmanic (and very often non-Aryan) origin, grafted on to the Hindu system by the adoption of Brahmanical religion. But it is curious that there are certain races (always called Rājput) who have never been included with the 'Agnikula.' Two of these are especially noteworthy: the TŪĀR or Tumara, celebrated as princes of Delhi; and the RĀTHOR, who appear to me to be clearly Yādava, and who, at any rate, did not need the support of an artificial origin.

As to the RĀTHOR (or Rāthaur), the name (though naturally later descendants invented fanciful meanings, as *raht*, 'the spine of Indra,' etc.) is clearly from the old form Rāṭṭa, or Rāṭhi, which was Sanskritized (in the inscriptions) into Rāṣṭrika, or Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and that again made into the colloquial form Rāthor. There is an early, but short, list of kings (not dated, but probably of the late fifth or else the seventh century) showing the (already well-known) family at Mānapura, a locality not ascertained but apparently in the Dakhan.¹ It is true, negatively, that this makes no mention of a Yādava descent; and the seal was a lion, not the Garuḍa of later families; but this latter is of little import, since branches change their emblem with their faith (as the Çalukya took the 'Boar' symbol to mark their adoption of Vaiṣṇavite religion), or for some other cause. Really there is no reason to doubt that Abhimanyu² and

¹ Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 1, p. 120; pt. 2, p. 386.

² Observe that the uncommon name of 'Abhimanyu' is itself that of one of the Yādava ancestors, and (much later) that of a son of Arjuna.

other kings of the inscription are of the same stock as the later Rāstrakūṭa. They are admitted to have been a very early indigenous clan in the Dakhan, who came into conflict with the Čālukya and others: they acquired greater power, and naturally branched out widely. I see no reason to suppose that there was another, Northern, family of a similar name. From the widespread victories of some of the kings, as recorded in the inscriptions, there is no reason why a branch should not have gone to the north from the Dakhan. Of course, the idea that they held Kanauj in the fifth century is not sustainable; but they and the branch called Gabaḍvāla (Gaharwār)¹ certainly held Kanauj for several successions—not more than five, I think—in the eleventh century. After that, being defeated, they went to Jodhpur; and it is quite possible that they had families in the neighbourhood long before.² The later inscriptions certainly contain Yādava genealogies. One calls the family Tuṅga; another takes it from Satyāki.³ The inscription alluded to by Cunningham⁴ also seems to regard the Gujarāt Rāthors, when they overthrew the Vāla princes, as restoring the fortunes of

¹ I have remarked on these names in the list of 'Rājput' tribes at the end.

² When scattered parties in the course of time wandered as far as Hindustan, and even to the distant Panjāb, very naturally different clan-names would arise; and those who still remembered 'Rāthor' would forget the history, and invent vague fables about Kuśa and Rāma, and 'Hiranya Kasipu,' which have no meaning whatever.

³ For the Satyāki descent see Ep. Ind., iii, 268 ff., and the Tuṅga, see Ep. Ind., iv, 286 (Karkhād plate). Other references for the Yādava descent are given in a note to Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 2, p. 194.

⁴ See Anc. Geog., p. 317 (where there is much that has since been corrected, but that does not affect the present point). Full details are given in Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 1, p. 119 ff. In vol. i, pt. 2, p. 386, a somewhat divergent account is given. Dr. Bhagrūnlāl considered the undated inscription to be of about 450 A.D. Dr. Fleet thinks it about the seventh century. Bhagrūnlāl takes the 'Mānupura' city to be the capital of the ancestor (of Abhimanyu) = Mānankapura, perhaps the Mālkhad (below Sholapur) of the later R. kings. Dr. Fleet suggests some place in Central India (Mānpur, in Mālwa). This latter is very unlikely. Whether the 'Ratta' were a Dravidian clan, or connected with the early Aratta (Bāhikā) of Epic times, or an early Yādava Aryan (and no real reason is given against the latter suggestion), Mālwa is a most unlikely place; their whole early history is closely associated with the Dakhan. It is true that the Yādava descent is noted (but independently, and not with the vagueness that purely legendary accounts exhibit) in inscriptions of a date when Brahmanic caste was prevalent, and tribes began to desire an 'orthodox' origin; but this is not conclusive against all the natural probabilities of the case.

the country, which had lost its appellation of Su-rājya, the beautiful kingdom (Saurāṣṭra). This looks as if the kings were restorers of what was really an older and long-established race of 'Yādava,' whose connection with Saurāṣṭra was ancient and traditional; before the (unquestionably 'foreign') 'Kshatrapas,' the Vallabhi princes, and the Traikūṭakas, interfered.¹

The TUĀR, or TOMARA, are always connected with Delhi (Indraprastha). Crookes says they are Yadubaṁsi, but gives no authority or reason.² They appear at Delhi with the (very legendary) rebuilding of the forsaken city of Mahābhārata times — Indraprastha (supposed to have occurred in the eighth century). After that, a long line of princes seems to have emerged, bearing the clan-name of Tuār, and with the syllable 'pāla' at the end of their names (Anang- or Ananda-pāla, etc.). It is very unlikely that they represent any direct continuation of the old Kshatriya kings, since the traditions describe an utter dispersion and a laying waste of the country. But Lassen notices that a tribe of Tomara (not Tomāra) appear with the Kirāta and other remote people in the V.P. (from the Bhīṣma-parva of the M.),³ and suggests that they were in the Sirmor hills, north-west of the Jamna. He thinks also that there was some connection with the Kāśmir kingdom (in the Rājātaraṅgiṇi).⁴ Chand, the bard, places a 'Tuār'

¹ The Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 1, p. 150 ff., has given details about the Chāvada princes (or, as a Nausāri inscription calls them, Chavotaka), whom the bards represent as successors of the Vālā; but has not co-ordinated them with the Rāstrakūṭa successors. The former must have either ruled independently in the northern part of the peninsula, or been in dependence on the latter. The Ratnamāla (about A.D. 1230), speaking of the struggle between King Bhuvāda or Bhūwar (Calukhyā) and the Pañcāsar prince (early in the eighth century B), puts the king at 'Kalyāni,' because that was the only place he knew of, though it was not really a Calukya capital before the eleventh century. Perhaps, as conscious of this, he purposely confuses the matter by referring also to 'Kanyakubjā,' which, geographically, is nonsense, but suggests another general locale for ancient kings. I think his 'Bhuvāda' is a colloquial contraction for Beddhavaranna (A.D. 713). I believe the Čaura (or Chāvda) are the really original tribe of Saurā who gave their name to the country, and are contemporaries of the earliest Yādava inhabitants, and that the name Sūra of the Yādava genealogy has a possible reference to them.

² Vol. iv, p. 412.

³ Wilson, p. 196.

⁴ Lassen, iii, 897.

prince at the fort of Pawāgaḍh, in West Gujarāt, bearing the name of Rām Gauṛ; as if the Tuār were a scattered race, perhaps the same as the Hindu (Gauṛ) Rājās of Bengal, and of uncertain origin. It is, of course, possible that some relic of the old Aryan stock may have escaped to the Himalaya, and thence, after many centuries, reappeared in the Delhi country. But, when it happened that *any* tribe obtained a later dominion there, it would be almost inevitable that (in an inscription, as Tod mentions)¹ the princes should call themselves, or be represented as, 'Pāṇḍava.' Altogether the real origin of the clan is quite untraceable; it stood in memory solely because of its connection with the rule at Delhi.

One other tribe locally famous in Oudh, and at one time of the greatest political importance, is the Bais. It is reckoned as 'Rājput,' especially the 'Tilok-ṇandi' clans, although the tribal name indicates Vaiśya, not Kshatriya origin. In the course of time, what with the desolating wars of the Aryan kings and the long course of foreign invasion, it is obvious that any tribes that survived and multiplied and remained entitled to call themselves 'Aryan,' would rather belong to the Brahman or Vaiśya (Aryan common people), the non-combatant, or less continuously exposed, classes of the race. And in course of time it might well happen that particular families would rise to eminence, and yet being conscious of Vaiśya caste, were too proud to claim a 'Kshatriya' rank that did not belong to them. The Vishnu Purāṇa² tells us the 'Gupta' is a proper name for Vaiśyas, which suggests that the (later) Gupta emperors were also Vaiśya. And we have Hwen Thsang's authority, and that of the Harshaṇḍarīta, for calling the celebrated Harshadeva (seventh century) a Vaiśya. We find also some indications that in the process of time, when very mixed races must have been numerous in the North and West of

¹ Vol. i, p. 31, in the original edition; this I have not seen, unless vol. i, p. 29, of the reprint is the same; but there is no *specific* mention of an inscription asserting Pāṇḍava origin.

² Wilson, V.P., p. 422.

India, the term 'Vaiśya' came into use, as indicating quite a separate race. In the Brihat Samhita we find, in the west, 'Vaiśya' named as a people along with the 'Aparantaka' or inhabitants of the Konkan.¹ There were 'Vaiśya' as a house or clan at Sthāṇīśwara (Thaneśar); and to this, as I have said, Harshadeva belonged. There is no reason whatever to object to this indicating 'Vaiśya' in the sense of the Aryan third caste, on the ground of the king's marriage into the 'Rājput' families of Vallabhi and Kanauj. Both the latter were more or less foreigners, and were certainly not superior to pure 'Vaiśya.'² The Gupta kings married in the same way; and even at the present day the Tilok-ṇandī 'Bais' of Oudh marry into good Rājput families, and are regarded quite as of 'Rājput' rank. I think it extremely likely that Tilok-Chand himself, who was an unassuming person, and never himself (as Mr. Benett expressly tells us) took the title of Rājā,³ was aware that he had no pretensions to actual Kshatriya descent, and was content to be a Vaiśya or 'Bais.' The Tilok-ṇandī house, however, maintained stoutly its supremacy as well as its descent from Śālivāhana, from 'Paithan' in the 'Dakhan.' Tradition has magnified this hero out of all proportion; in any case he was not by descent a pure Aryan, though traditionally connected with the Yādava. The Bais do not profess to have come to Oudh before the thirteenth century.

Besides these three clans not included as Agnikula, there are, of course, the Jadon or Yadabaṇsi tribes, so called, and other clans with specific names who claim descent from Yadu. There are also one or two that are called 'Sombaṇsi' vaguely claiming descent as 'Lunar.' In this case it is sometimes

¹ It is curious that the Waniyo (Baniya or Vaiśya) in Gujarāt and the corresponding caste in the Dakhan are always regarded as very superior.

² See the note to p. 68, Ep. Ind., vol. i. The objection, I submit, is quite untenable, and the evidence clear.

³ There is a good account in his "Chief Families of the Roy Bareilly District" (Lucknow, 1870). A curious mark of Dakhan origin is noted by Crookes (vol. i, 120), that the Bais women retain a garment in one piece, which is evidently the graceful 'sāri,' the characteristic female dress of the West and South.

doubtful whether the Yadu descent is meant or the Puru. Lastly, there are clans, some of considerable importance (like the Nikumbh), who, with more or less reason, claim to be Suryavaṁsi or Solar. I have already offered general remarks on this claim, when speaking of the Solar races. What further detailed notes have been made are placed under the head of the tribal name in the concluding 'List.'

It has only further to be added that though in so many cases a foreign or a doubtful origin belongs to these tribes, and though the claim to be Aryan Kshatriya is rarely, if ever, tenable, that does not really detract either from the dignity and historic reputation they have attained, or indeed from a still highly respectable antiquity. If their history can only give them an origin in the sixth or eighth century, that at least is as old as our Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; and many an English family would think its descent of the first water if it could be, with tolerable certainty, carried back even half that distance. Whether Solar or Lunar, Aryan or Scythian, the tribes cannot lose the credit of heroic self-sacrifice, of devoted and patient energy in defence against the Moslem—qualities which have made them famous alike in the ballads of their bards and the pages of more matter-of-fact history.

TENTATIVE GROUPING OF RĀJPUT TRIBES.

P. = Panjāb; N. = N.-West Provinces; O. = Oudh; Rj. = Rājputāna;
W. = Gujarāt and Western India.¹

I. YADUBAÑSI.

1. Bais? (see the text; can only be placed here if the family of Śālivāhana is held to be Yādava).
2. Banāphar (N., O.). Elliot, i, 45; Crookes, i, 120.
3. Bhātī (Rj. Bikāner and Bhatner), called Bhatti (P.), where there are branches—Naipāl, Wattu, Manj, etc.
4. Āḍāsama? (W.). See Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. I, p. 138. Gāharwār: see Rāṭhor.
5. Jadoñ, or Jadubāñsi. Some clans are called by the generic name only.
6. Jhanjūa, or Janjhūa (P.): see also Rāṭhor.
7. Jhareja (W.).
8. { Rāṭhor (Rāṣtrakūṭa).
 { Gāharwār.

Many branches, originating in the Dakhan, have extended to Gujarāt and beyond, and so towards Rj.; and a branch furnished some five princes in succession, to Kanauj; thence driven to Marwār. A vestige is found in Budaon District (N.). Hardly known in the P., except individual Rājās in the Hill States and a few in the Eastern districts. The Jhanjūa claim to be Rāṭhor is noted at p. 535, ante. In Rj. they are the most numerous clan, not only in Marwār, but in Ājmer (whence they expelled the Čaubān—Rj. Gaz., ii, 35), and in Bikāner and Jaisalmer.

¹ References are to Beames' Elliot's Glossary, to Crookes' "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh," 4 vols., and to Ibbetson's "Outlines of Panjāb Ethnography," 1881 (1 vol., 4to).

The Gāharwār clan (Tod's Gherwāl) are most probably only a branch or section of the family, the distinction being caused by the fact that some of them became (or remained) Buddhist (Crookes, iv, 237). The Buddhist descendants would naturally try and connect their lineage with Buddha's country and the Solar stock, whence the occasional statement that the 'Rāthor' are 'Solar,' from Oudh or Kosala. They expelled the Tomara from Kanauj (in 1050 A.D.). Pr. Chand, the Çauhān Rājā of Delhi, carried off a Rāthor princess, leading to war between the two kingdoms, and the defeat of both by the Moslem. The R. were driven to Jodhpur, where there is an R. inscription as early as V. 1053 (*circa* 997 A.D.), (No. 53 in Kielhorn's List, Ep. Ind., vol. v). In the inscriptions (75, 77, 80, 83, Kielhorn) the 'Çandradeva' who acquired Kanauj in the eleventh century, is distinctly called a Gāharwār (Gāhaḍvāla), while Elliot (i, 123) calls him 'the Rathor.' But again, in an inscription (dated from Benares, Vik. 1171) of the *grandson* of Çandradeva, the family is *not* called 'Gāhaḍvāla'; and so in later ones (e.g., No. 148 in Kielhorn's list, Vik. 1224); the families were perhaps then separated.

II. REPUTED LUNAR.

(Çandrabāṇsi or Sombāṇsi.)¹

1. Bāṇchal (N., O.). A clan of some repute; once had a coinage of their own; known from the tenth century. Their *gotrācharyā* always calls them 'Sombāṇsi.'
2. Sombāṇsi (N., O.). A clan of considerable antiquity, adopting this generic name only; came from a settlement at Jhūsi, near Allāhābād; and seem really to have some claim to have dwelt immemorially about the region they still inhabit (to the number of 84,000).

¹ I.e., other than Yādava.

III. REPUTED SOLAR (Sūrajbaṇsi).

1. Ahbans (O.). Placing themselves under this head owing to a curious tradition (not likely to be invented) that they are descended from the tribe of Śaura (Chāvaḍa) in Saurāṣṭra, who were Sun-worshippers.
2. Dikhit (or Dikshit) (N., O.). Once a powerful race, the country of their adoption being called Dikhityāna. Their tradition is that they descend from a Rājā who was fifty-first in line of descent from Ikshvāku, and who (as usual) went to 'Gujarāt.' Long afterwards the family, returning to pay homage to the King of Ujjain, their original name 'Dargbaṇsi'¹ was changed to 'Dikhit'; they ultimately wandered to Oudh.
3. { Gahlot (Guhilot or Grahilot). Name in Mewār changed to Sisodhya.
Guhil, or Gohil (W.). Celebrated in Gujarāt stories.

We have a king Guhila (in Rj.) in inscriptions of Vik. 1008 and 1010; and there is an early Guha or Guhasena among the Vallabhi kings (sixth century).² The Gohils of Bhāvnagar are said to be 'admittedly' of the same stock as the Vallabhi princes. If that be so (which seems doubtful), the Gohil and Gahlot are of the same origin. K. Forbes (Rāsmalā, p. 237) says that he has found annals deriving the Gohil from Śālivāhana (who is a Yādava according to the usual account). The Gahlot came to a settlement in Marwār, expelling certain Bhil chiefs, and held it until the Rāthor drove them out. In Marwār their neighbours were the 'Dābhi.'³ The Gahlot finally settled in Mewār. No Gohils are known beyond Gujarāt (Bhāvnagar).

¹ There is a king 'Dirghabāhu' in the V.P. list, but not fifty-first. Whether 'Dargbaṇsi' may be Dirghabaṇsi, and refer to him, I cannot say.

² See p. 530, ante.

³ See Rāsmalā, 237, and cf. Rāj. Gaz., vol. ii, p. 265. Of the Dābhi I can discover no trace beyond what is in Tod, i, 103 (reprint).

4. Kaçhwāha. Some remarks have been made under the head of 'Solar.' We have inscriptions of Kaçchapaghāta (or Kaçchapāri) from Gwālior (Vik. 1034 and onwards). One mentions the clan as the ally of the Candella. Another in Vik. 1150 mentions that the king (of the 1034 inscription) conquered Gopādri (Gwālior). They appear also in the chronicles as in 'Antarbed' (in the Doāb), and allied with Prithwi Chand of Delhi. They expelled the Bargujar and Mina from Amber and Jaipur. They are still prevalent in the north-east states of Rj., especially in Jaipur and Alwar; a sept called Shekhāwat is in North Jaipur. In Shāhjahānpur (N.) is an inferior branch called Kāsip. The Ghorewāha of Jālandhar (P.) claim to be another branch (Ibbetson, § 457).
5. Mandahar (East P., also in part of Robilkhand) claim as cognate, the Kandahar, Bargujar, Śaṅkarwāl, and Panīhar: of these I find no notice. They say they are descended from Lava, and left Oudh in the (late) times of the Candela (Crookes, iv, 473).
6. Nikumbh. This clan was mentioned at p. 528, ante, because of a detailed tradition that they belong to the Solar race (through Sagara, who came into conflict with the Tālajaṅgha); and it is noteworthy that the name Nikumbha is found among the Kuṇbi of Bombay, as if there had at one time been some Solar settlement in the West.¹ They now appear in Alwar and East Rj., and were in Mewār before the Gahlot.
7. Raghuvāṇsi (O., East P.) claim to be the same stock as No. 6, and connected with the 'Raghuvāṇsi' dynasty of Harshadeva (A.D. 606-650), who, however, appears to be Vaiśya.
8. Raikwār. (O.), a purely local clan, who say they came from a village called Raikā, in Kāśmīr: as sun-worship prevailed there, there may be some 'Solar' connection, not necessarily Aryan.

¹ Crookes (iv, 86), alluding to a Kāśhdeś inscription of the thirteenth century. See Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 470, 521, and vol. xxiv, p. 66 note, p. 414.

9. Sirnet (East O.) call themselves a branch of the Nikumbh, but curiously have a tradition that their branch came from a dominion in West Assam.
10. Sūrajbaṇsi (N., O.). As many as 44,000 in the census gave only this generic designation.

[I must add also, but cannot specifically classify, a limited clan of 'Baria' Rājputs found in Jālandhar (P.), who have a curiously definite tradition that they are derived from Karṇa, whom they call 'king of Aṅga,' born (miraculously) of Kuntī or Prthī, by the *Sun-god* (owing to the sage Durvaśa's charm). Hence he was not recognized as a Pāṇḍav, and was killed by the brothers. They call themselves 'Solar,' though having no connection with the regular Sūrajbaṇsi clans.]

IV. AGNIKULA.

[See remarks in text: really this group forms part of the 'unknown' since no origin except the uncertain fire-legend, and some local traditions, can be quoted.]

- A. Parihāra, or Pratihāra (Padhiār of Kāthiāwār?). There was a dynasty at Gwālior (A.D. 1129-1211) and some remains, as noted in the text. An inscription (Kielhorn's list, No. 39) mentions a family called 'Gurjara-pratihāra,' from Alwar.
- B. Pramāra (locally Puār, or Puñwār, West P.; along Sutlej and Indus; also colony in S.-East P.; rarely found in Rj.). Crookes writes Panwār (N., O., where there are over 96,000 of them). Bakrāl, an alleged branch in Rāwulpindi (?), Gheba, and Jodra (West P.) are clans; and so are the Tiwāna (West P., Salt Range). Another branch is the Siyāl (West P.)—unless we accept Cunningham's report (from tribal annals) of a descent from 'Rāja Hūdi,' in which case they are Indo-Scythian (Arch. Rep., ii, 22). But the Pramāra are very likely of Śakā affinity themselves.

Ujjayini, a clan (N., O.), descended from the Ujjain (Pramāra) sovereigns.

- C. { Çalukyā, or Çālukya.
Bāghela, or Vāghela, W., N., O.
Solankhi, a branch in Gujarāt, N., O.

Without doubt originating in the ultra-Vindhya region; possibly of Āndhra connection.

- D. Çauhān (Çāhumāna of inscription).

In Rj. Early Ajmer possessions; ousted by the Rāthor. The septs found in Rj. are Deora (in Sirohi): the Khīçi or descendants of Rājā Pr. Chand in Nimrāna (N.-West Rj.). All the following are also real or alleged clans:—

Amethia (North O.). Their tradition prefers that one of the Çauhān origins which derives them from Vatsa (Jamadagnya Vatsa), and they call themselves 'Bhrigubañsi' accordingly. But another account derives them from the Çamār-gaur.

Bandhālgoti (but another account connects them with the Kaçhwāha of Jaipur).

Gondal (P., Salt Range).

Hāra (of the chief domains Hārauti, Bundi, and Kotah).¹

Khīçi (West P., N., O.).

Some authorities would make Nikumbh to belong to the Çauhān.

V. UNKNOWN.

1. Bargujar. Various accounts are given. Some (East P.) and some (N.), (Elliot, i, 38), claim Solar descent from Lava. Arose in Eastern Rājputāna. Very possibly connected with the ruling clans of Gurjara. As these were originally sun-worshippers, it is possible that a superior grade of them, becoming Hindus, adopted the usual expedient of inventing a descent from Lava.

¹ May not these be the Hāra Hāra of the fifth century?

2. Barhaulia (N., O.): Elliot, i, 57. Came from Marwār; said to be Bhrigubaṅsi, but the account will not bear inspection; their chief ancestor was in service with a Çeru Rājā and fighting the Bhar.
3. Bisen (N., O.), said to be Bhrigubaṅsi, from Paraśurāma (Crookes, ii, 116). Remnants of a half-Aryan stock not expelled from their country.
4. Bundela, gave name to Bundelkhaṇḍ (Elliot, i, 45). Probably a spurious offshoot of the Gāhaṛwār or Rāthor.
5. Çandela (or Çandella). A powerful tribe, but probably of mixed origin. An inscription of A.D. 953 (Ep. Ind., i, 123) calls the family Çandella, or Çandrateya, with descent from a sage Çandrateya, himself a descendant of Atri. (It is curious how many of these later traditions suggest the idea of a foreign warrior tribe becoming Brahmanic.) The (Khajurāho) inscription shows the family as of sufficient rank (in the tenth century) to marry into a Çauhān clan. Were Jaina at one time. Cunningham thinks they began at Mahoba (fifty-four miles south of Hamīrpur, N.W. Provinces) in the ninth century; afterwards ruled at Kālāñjara. Certainly not Sombaṅsi, as sometimes suggested.
6. Dhaniāl (P., Salt Range).
7. Dhūnd (P., N.W. hills). Some very old tribes along with the Satī and Ketwāl (Arch. Rep., ii, p. 13).
8. Gauṛ (locally Gauṛwa). A name given to denote the tribes of the older Rājās of Gauṛ or Bengal. Now divided into the Bhāt-gauṛ, Çamār-gauṛ, and Bāhman-gauṛ, implying mixed races descendant from mothers of the Bhāt, Çamār, and Brahman castes or clans. Some of the Sutlej hill Rājās (P.) of Suket, Mandi, etc., are 'Gauṛ.' An old chronicle states they preceded the Çauhān in Ājmer. A Gauṛ chief fought Sindhia at Supāra, or Sopāra (Thāna district of Bombay), as late as 1809. (This place was said to have been for centuries the capital

of the Upper Konkan.) It is quite likely that the Bengal Rājās, of uncertain clan and called Gaur from the locality, were widely dispersed before the early Moslem conquests, and gave rise to a very miscellaneous series of clans.

9. Gautam. A local tribe (N., O.), origin uncertain. Whether it is connected with Gautama Rishi or with the Śakyā famous as the clan of Buddha, it is impossible to say. If it were so, on becoming Hindu it would not cherish any such reminiscence. I must refer to Crookes, ii, 404, for details: the sixth descendant of the Sage Gautama could not be contemporary with any Gāharwār or Rāthor prince of Kanauj.
10. Goleria (East P. Hills): Ibbetson, § 457. Possibly connected with Katoṇh, Jaswāl, etc., and a relic of some ancient Aryan stock of the Trigartta country.
11. Janwār (O.), the offspring of an ancestor 'Bariyar Shāh,' said to have come from the west of Gujarāt (Chāmpāner). May possibly be Čaubān: since these were in possession of the hill-fort of Pavāgarh from 1300-1484 A.D.
12. Jhālā or Makvāna, and Jetvā. These are Kāthiāwār tribes, and I must refer, for their certainly Northern (probably Hūṇa) origin, to the detailed account in Bom. Gaz., vol. i, pt. 1, p. 135 ff. A branch of the Mihira or Meṛ race went thence to Rj.
13. Johiya (S.-East P.). Possibly a relic of the local Yaudheya tribe. (Rapson's Coins, p. 14.)
14. Kalhans (O.). A local clan descended from a single ancestor, 'Sabaj Singh.'
15. Kānhpuria (O.). In the sixteenth century. Possibly some connection with the Bais and the Gaharwār (?).
16. Katheriya, or Katehriya. A powerful tribe in Rohilkhand, more probably deriving their name from the country than giving it, as sometimes said. (12th century.)

17. Kauśik (Benares and Gorakhpur divisions). Possibly some local remnant of the old Kusika tribe associated with the Bharata.
18. Manhās. Jamwāl is the name of a superior branch in the P. western hills. Very possibly a remnant of some old Aryan stock.
19. Pūndir (P., local). Said to be a relic of Tod's extinct Dahīma royal house. Also in Upper Doāb (N.), where as many as 56,000 are found.
20. Śakarwār (O.). See Crookes (iv, 264).
21. Sengar (O., in sixteenth century). Claim the same descent as Gautam (q.v.).
22. Tānk (N., O.). Possibly a remnant of the Taṅgapa tribe.
23. TUAR, or Tunwār. Tomara. This tribe is celebrated, as a number of princes held the throne of Delhi. All that can be said is that possibly they may have had some connection with an older royal Aryan stock, like the vaguely denominated Gaur Rājputs. I have made some further remarks in the text about a possible origin in Sirmūr (north-west of the Jahāna). We seem to have Tuār kings of both Kanauj and Delhi up to 1050 A.D., after which the Rāthor took Kanauj and confined the Tuār to Delhi. The succession passed, on failure of heirs, to the Čaubān.
The Tomara (and a section Jātu) are still found in the East P., and in N. and O. there were 39,000 Tuārs (1891). The Janghāra are a Tuār sept in Rohilkhand.
24. Vāla (or Bāla). I may perhaps include this, as there is a chief still ruling at Dhānk (Gujarāt). Remarks have been made under the head of 'Solar.'

[I have not included a few purely local and minor clans, already noted in the Panjāb list at p. 535.]

ART. XVI.—*A Theory of Universal Grammar, as applied to a Group of Savage Languages.* By R. C. TEMPLE.

IN reviewing lately Mr. Portman's "Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes," I pointed out that he had used a pamphlet of my own, privately printed in 1883, entitled "A Brief Exposition of a Theory of Universal Grammar," which was specially designed to meet the very difficulties he had to face in giving a general idea of languages constructed on lines at first sight very different from those on whose structure modern European Grammar is based.

I also pointed out that the pamphlet in question arose out of the practical impossibility of using the usual inflexional system of Grammar, as taught in Europe for the accurate description of a group of agglutinative languages, and that it had its immediate origin in the criticisms of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, public and private, on an old work of 1877 and certain MSS. by myself and Mr. E. H. Man on the Andamanese speech. Mr. Ellis explained that in order to adequately represent for scientific readers such a form of speech as the Andamanese, "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation," and he asked me accordingly if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." This, and the further consideration that since every human being speaks with but the one object of communicating his own intelligence to other human beings, the several possible ways of doing this must be based on some general laws applicable to them all, if only one could find them out,

led me to make the attempt to construct a general theory on logical principles, which should abandon the inflexional treatment, its conceptions, and its terms.

Such an attempt involved a wide departure from orthodox grammatical teaching, and I found that Mr. Portman, while adopting the theory, had been unable to clear himself of the teaching in which he had been brought up, and had consequently produced a work which was a compromise between the two. His laborious and praiseworthy efforts to adequately represent the Andamanese languages had failed in point of clearness, and my theory was not properly represented in his pages. I therefore promised in the review to revert to the subject again in this Journal, and to give its readers a more extended view of the theory than was then possible. Hence this article.

With these few introductory remarks I will proceed at once with my subject, commencing with a general statement of the argumentation on which the theory is based, testing it as a method of clearly presenting a savage group of tongues constructed after the fashion of the Andamanese by an explanation thereby of the linguistic contents of an entire story, as given by Mr. Portman, viz. "The Andaman Fire Legend," and concluding by a skeleton statement of the theory itself.

Premising that I am talking of the conditions of sixteen years ago, I found myself, in building up the theory, compelled, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars ended, viz. at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making *that* the unit of language. Clearly, then, a sentence may consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or 'words,' which I defined as single expressions of a meaning. It can also consist of two separate parts—the subject, i.e., the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, i.e., the discussion or communication. And when the subject or predicate consists of many words it must contain principal and additional words.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions of the principal words are to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words to illustrate the predicate, or to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form that part of a sentence recognized in the Grammars as 'the object.'

This completes the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms; but speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of his sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the following in any specified sentence:—(1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information.

Now, purpose can be indicated in a sentence by the position of its components, by variation of their forms, or by the addition of special introductory words. Also, connected purposes can be indicated by connected sentences, placed in the relation to each other of principal and subordinate, which relation can be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of special words of reference. And a word of reference can act in two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Further, the inter-relation of the words in a sentence can be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form.

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of

elliptical, i.e. incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses, and periods. But to keep our minds fixed for the present only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word is either—

- (1) An *integer*, or a sentence in itself.
- (2) An *indicator*, or indicative of the subject or *complement* (object) of a sentence.
- (3) An *explicator*, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
- (4) A *predicator*, or indicative of its predicate.
- (5) An *illustrator*, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
- (6) A *connector*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words).
- (7) An *introducer*, or explanatory of its purpose.
- (8) A *referent conjunct*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.
- (9) A *referent substitute*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

These, then, are the terms I concocted and the arguments out of which they grew. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and I will now explain why I consider that it is far more important to study function than form as essential to the correct apprehension of words, and how to my mind accident arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as we have all been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. The functions a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein

without or with variation of form, and, because of this, the form which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms, i.e. the words, so connected being that of parent and offshoot. Form, therefore, can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong.

This is the induction that leads me to argue that form grows out of function, or, to put it in the familiar way, accident grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes.

Thus it is that the affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably,

to roots and stems and words by the well-recognized methods of prefixing, infixing, and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind.

Such is the line which I have long thought inductive argument should take, in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man, expressed through the ear by talking, through the eye by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech.

The grammar, i.e. the exposition of the laws, of any single language seems to me to stop at this point, and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of Comparative Grammar. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, viz. the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, i.e. of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position or forms or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, words are the components of sentences, and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created classes of languages. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. Further, since words

are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) pre-mutative, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intro-mutative, or those that infix them; and (3) post-mutative, or those that suffix them.

Thus does it seem to me that the inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, i.e. by languages. But as is the case with every other natural growth, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of connected languages, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective forms and positions, but not the meanings, of their words. And since the variation of form is effected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its genius or peculiar constitution, i.e., it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others.

I have always thought, and I believe it could be proved, that every language must conform to some part or other of the theory above indicated in outline, and in that case the theory would be truly what I have ventured to call

it—"A Theory of Universal Grammar." That such a theory exists in nature and only awaits unearthing, I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by 'teaching,' acts on an instinctive assumption of its existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its rules of grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book knowledge of the language, which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from and inferior to the practical or true knowledge. I use the term 'true' here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

But it seems to me that if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by the untutored man, and to do no violence to what he feels to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge—between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye—would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages would consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly, and more easily learned, both by children and adults, than is now practicable. Looked at thus, the matter becomes one of the greatest practical importance.

This is what I have attempted to achieve in stating my theory; but, assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it will be observed that it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many accepted definitions, and, while admitting much that is

usually taught, it both adds and omits many details. Taken all round, it is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. Hence the interest that Mr. Portman's efforts possess for myself.

But, as I have already pointed out in my review of his book, he has not strictly applied the theory, and has mixed it up in his application with the accepted teaching. I will therefore now put it to the test in my own way, using for the purpose Mr. Portman's sixth chapter on "The Andaman Fire Legend," which he gives in all the five languages of the South Andaman group.

The story is in each case a very short one, and is given by Mr. Portman as follows:—

THE ANDAMAN FIRE LEGEND.

AKA-BEADA LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Taul-l'oko-tima—len Puluga—la mami—ka | Luratut—la
 (a Place) — in God asleep—was | (a Bird)
 chapa tap —nga omo —re | chapa—la Puluga—la
 fire steal—ing bring—did | fire God
 pugat —ka | Puluga—la boi —ka | Puluga—la chapa
 burning—was | God awake—was | God fire
 eni —ka | a ik chapa—lik Luratut
 seizing—was | he taking fire —by (Bird)
 l'ot—pugari—re | jek Luratut—la eni —ka | a
 burn —t | at—once (Bird) taking—was | he
 i—Tar—cheker l'ot—pugari—re | Wota—Emi—baraij —len
 (a Bird) burn —t | Wota—Emi—village—in
 Chaoga—tabanga oko—dal—re | Tomolola |
 The—ancestors made—fires | Tomolola |

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping at Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God. God woke up. God seized the fire; He took the fire and burnt Luratut with it. Then Luratut took (the fire); he burnt Tar-cheker in Wota-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were the) Tomola.

AKAR-BALE LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Dim-Daura—le rita Keri-l'ong-tauwer—te Puluga
 (a Man) long-ago (a Place) —by God
 l'i toago choapa l'—omo —kate | ong ik
 his platform fire bringing—was | he taking
 akat-paura puguru—t l'—a—re | Bolub ka Tarkaur
 all-men burn —t di-d | (a Man) and (a Man)
 ka Bilichau ongot oto—jurugmu —t—ia | ongot
 and (a Man) they in-the-sea-wen—t—did | they
 at—yaukat mo —nga | ongot oaro—tichal-ena —te
 fish becom—ing | they carry-taking—by
 Rokwa-l'ar-tonga-baroi—j—a oko—dal —nga l'—a—re
 (a Place) -village-in fire-mak-ing di—d

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

Dim-Daura, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tauwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkaur and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

PUCHIKWAR LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Taul-l'oko-tim—an Bilik l'ong—pat —ye | Luratut |
 (a Place) —in God sleep—did | (a Bird) |
 l'ong at ab—lechi—nga | Luratut l'ong—di —ye |
 he fire bring—ing | (a Bird) seiz—ed |
 kota ong Bilik l'ab—biki—ye | kota Bilik
 then he God burn—t | then God
 l'ong—konyi —ye | Bilik | l'ong at li —ye | ong
 awaken—ed | God | he fire seiz—ed | he
 e Luratut l'oto—toi-chu—nga | kota kol ong
 then (a Bird) (with) fire-hitt—ing | then again he
 e Tarchal l'ote— toi-chu—ye | Chalther
 then (a Man) (with) fire-hit—did | (a Bird)
 l'ong—di —ye | ong Lao-Cham —len da —nga |
 seiz—ed | he ancestors —to giv—ing |
 Wanta-Emi—en ota Lao-cham | n'ong o—kadak —nga.
 Wanta-Emi—in then ancestors | they fire-mak—ing.

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping in Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wauta-Emi.

AUKAU-JUWOI LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Kuro-t'on-mik—a Mom Mirit —la | Bilik
 (a Place) —in Mr. Pigeon | God
 l'aukau—ema —t | peakar at —lo top —chike |
 slep—t | wood fire—with stealing—was |
 at laiche Lech —lin a | kotak a
 fire the-late (a Man)—to he | then he
 auko—kodak —chine at—lo Karat-tatak-emi—in |
 fire-make—did fire-with (a Place) —at |

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t'on-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

KOL LANGUAGE.

Interlined Text.

Taul-l'oko-tim—en Bilik—la pat —ke | Luratut—la
 (a Place) —in God asleep—was | (a Bird)
 Oko-Emi—t at kek—an | Kaulotat—ke | lin
 (a Place)—in fire too—k | (a Man) —was | by
 l'a—chol—an Min-tong-ta—kete | Min-tong-ta—kete-lak
 (he)—wen—t (a Place) —to | (a Place) —to -by
 l'—ir—bil —an | Kaulotat l'ir—pin
 (it)—out-wen—t | (a Man) charcoal
 l'ir—dauk —an | k'irim—kaudak —an | n'a
 break—did | fire-make—did | they
 n'otam—tepur—an | at —ke n'ote —tepur—an |
 alive —became | fire—by (they)—alive —became |

Min-tong-tauk-pauroich—in Jangil | n'a
 (a Place) -village —in ancestors | they
 l'oko—kaudak —an |
 fire-make—did |

Mr. Portman's Rendering.

God was sleeping at Taul-l'oko-tima. Luratut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kaulotat went to Min-tong-ta, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kaulotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tauk village.

In making an analysis of the language in which the above story is couched, it is at first all plain sailing, and it will be seen at a glance from any of these sentences that the Andamanese sentence is the expression of a complete meaning, capable at once of being divided into subject and predicate. This can be seen as under, making S. mean that the word is in the subjective, and P. that it is in the predicative, part of the sentence.

AKA-BEADA.

Taul-l'oko-tima-len (P.) Pulugala (S.) mamika (P.).
 Luratutla (S.) chapa-tapnga (S.) omore (P.). Chapala (S.).
 Pulugala (P.) pugatka (P.). Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).
 Pulugala (S.) chapa (P.) enika (S.). A (S.) ik (S.) chapa-
 lik (P.) Luratut (P.) l'ot-pugarire (P.). Jek (P.) Luratutla
 (S.) enika (P.). A (S.) Itareheker (P.) l'ot-pugarire (P.).
 Wota-Emi-baraij-len (P.) Chaoga-tabanga (S.) oka-dalre
 (P.). Tomola (S.) (P. wanting).

AKAR-BALE.

Dim-Daurale (S.) rita (P.) Keri-l'ong-tauwer-te (P.)
 Puluga (P.) l'i (P.) toago (P.) choapa (P.) l'omokate (P.).
 Ong (S.) ik (S.) akat-paura (P.) pugurut-l'are (P.). Bolub
 (S.) ka (S.) Tarkaur (S.) ka (S.) Bilichau (S.) (P. wanting).
 Ongot (S.) otojurugmutia (P.). Ongot (S.) atyaukat (P.)
 monga (P.) Ongot (S.) oarotichal-ena-te (S.) Rokwa-l'ar-
 tonga (P.) baraij-len (P.) oko-dalnga-l'are (P.).

PUCHIKWAR.

Taul-l'oko-tim-an (P.) Bilik (S.) l'ong-patye (P.).
 Luratut (S.) (P. wanting). L'ong (S.) at (P.) ab-lechinga
 (P.). Luratut (S.) l'ong-diye (P.). Kota (P.) ong (S.)
 Bilik (P.) l'ab-bikiye (P.). Kota (P.) Bilik (S.) l'ong-
 konyiye (P.). Bilik (S.) (P. wanting). L'ong (S.) at (P.)
 liye (P.). Ong (S.) e (P.) Luratut (P.) l'oto-toi-chunga
 (P.). Kota (P.) kol (P.) ong (S.) e (P.) Tarchal (P.) l'ote-
 toi-chuye (P.). Chalther (S.) l'ong-diye (P.). Ong (S.)
 Laocham-len (P.) danga (P.). Wauta-Emi-en (P.) ota (P.)
 Laocham (S.) (P. wanting). N'ong-o-kadaknga (P.).

AUKAU-JUWOL.

Kuro-t'on-mik-a (P.) Mom-Miritla (S.) (P. wanting).
 Bilik (S.) l'aukau-emat (P.). (S. wanting) peakar (P.)
 at-lo (P.) topchike (P.). At (P.) laiche (P.) Lech-lin (P.)
 a (S.) (P. wanting). Kotak (P.) a (S.) auko-kodakchine
 (P.) at-lo (P.) Karat-tatak-emi-in (P.).

The whole narration in this language is extremely elliptical, and what Mr. Portman defines as the first 'phrase' seems to me to be three elliptical sentences.

KOL.

Taul-l'oko-tim-en (P.) Bilikla (S.) patke (P.). Luratutla
 (S.) Oke-emit (P.) at (P.) kekan (P.). Kaulotat-ke (S. and
 P.). Lin (P.) l'a-cholan (S. and P.) Min-tong-ta-kete
 (P.). Min-tong-ta-ketelak (P.) l'ir-bilan (S. and P.).
 Kaulotat (S.) l'ir-pin (P.) l'ir-daukan (P.). (S. wanting)
 k'irim-kaudakan (P.). N'a (S.) n'otam-tepuran (P.). Atke
 (P.) n'ote-tepuran (S. and P.). Min-tong-tauk-pauroich-in
 (P.) jangil (S.) n'a (S.) l'oko-kaudakan (P.).

There are instances in these languages of combining the subject and predicate in one expression, which are an indication of grammatical growth. E.g., *Kaulotat-ke* is really an indicator (noun) with a predicative (verbal) suffix, and signifies some such expression as: 'Now, there was one Kaulotat.' In *n'ote-tepuran* we have the subject and predicate again combined into one expression—*n'* (they) *-ote-tepuran* (became alive).

The next point for consideration, viz., that the components of the sentences are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part, needs no special illustration, and one may pass on to the functions of the words, using the abbreviations given below in the illustrations exhibited. To make these clear to the reader, I will recapitulate the explanations given in the Theory.

Functionally a word is either—

- (1) An *integer*, or a sentence in itself. *Int.* (Interjection, vocative, etc.)
- (2) An *indicator*, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence. *In.* (Noun.)
- (3) An *explicator*, or explanatory of its subject or complement. *E.* (Adjective.)
- (4) A *predicator*, or indicative of its predicate. *P.* (Verb.)
- (5) An *illustrator*, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement. *Ill.* (Adverb.)
- (6) A *connector*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components (words). *C.* (Conjunctions, pre- and post-positions, etc.)
- (7) An *introducer*, or explanatory of its purpose. *Intd.* (Conjunctions.)
- (8) A *referent conjuncter*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them. *R.C.* (Relative adverbs, pronouns, etc.)
- (9) A *referent substitute*, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. *R.S.* (Pronouns.)

By 'complement' is meant the 'object,' and hence the indicators, explicators, and illustrators belonging to the 'objective' or complementary part of the sentence are marked as 'complementary indicators, etc.,' thus: *C.Ind.*, *C.E.*, *C.Ill.*

The various sentences in the Legends can therefore be analyzed as follows:—

AKA-BEADA.

Taull'okotimalen (Ill.) Pulugala (In.) mamika (P.). Luratutla (In.) chapa- (C.In.) -tapnga (P.E. phrase) omoro (P.). Chapala (In.) Pulugala (C.In.) pugatka (P.). Pulugala (In.) boika (P.). Pulugala (In.) chapa (C.In.) enika (P.). A (R.S.) ik (E.) chapalik (Ill.) Luratut (C.In.) l'otpugarire (P.). Jek (R.C.) Luratutla (In.) enika (P.). A (R.S.) Itarcheker (C.In.) l'otpugarire (P.). Wota-Emi-baraijlen (Ill.) Choaga-tabanga (In.) okodalre (P.). Tomolola (In., P. wanting).

AKAR-BALE.

Dim-Daurale (In.) rita (Ill.) Keril'ongtauwerte (Ill.) Puluga- (In.) -l'i- (C.) -toago- (In.) (E. phrase) choapa (C.In.) l'omokate (P.). Ong (R.S.) ik (E.) akatpaura (C.In.) pugurut- (P.) -l'- (C.) -are (P. phrase). Bolub (In.) ka (C.) Tarkaur (In.) ka (C.) Bilichau (In., P. wanting). Ongot (R.S.) otojurugmutia (P.). Ongot (R.S.) atyaukat (C.In.) monga (P.). Ongot (R.S.) oarotichal-enate (E.) Rokwal'artonga-baroiia (Ill.) okodalnga- (P.) -l'- (C.) -are (P. phrase).

PUCHIKWAR.

Taull'akatiman (Ill.) Bilik (In.) l'ongpatye (P.). Luratut (In., P. wanting). l'ong (R.S.) at (C.In.) ablechinga (P.). Luratut (In.) l'ongdiye (P.). Kota (R.C.) ong (In.) Bilik (C.In.) l'abbikiye (P.). Kota (R.C.) Bilik (In.) l'ongkonyiye (P.). Bilik (In., P. wanting). l'ong (R.S.) at (C.In.) liye (P.). Ong (R.S.) e (R.C.) Luratut (C.In.) l'ototoi-chunga (P.). Kota (R.C.) kol (Ill.) ong (R.S.) e (R.C.) Tarchal (C.In.) l'ototoi-chuye (P.). Chalter (In.) l'ongdiye (P.). Ong (R.S.) Laochamlen (Ill.) danga (P.). Wanta-Emi-en (Ill.) ota (R.C.) Laocham (In., P. wanting). N'ong (R.S.) okadasknga (P.).

AUKAU-JUWOL.

Kurot'onmika (Ill.) Mom (E.) Miritla (In., P. wanting). Bilik (In.) l'aukauemat (P.). (In. wanting) pekar (C.In.) atlo (C.Ill.) topchike (P.). At (C.In.) laiche- (E.) -Lech- (In.) -lin (Ill. phrase) a (R.S., P. wanting). Kotak (R.C.) a (R.S.) aukokodakehine (P.) atlo (Ill.) Karattatak-Emi-in (Ill.).

KOL.

Taull'okotimen (Ill.) Bilikla (In.) patke (P.). Luratutla (In.) Oko-Emit (Ill.) at (C.In.) kekan (P.). Kaulotat- (In.) -ke- (P., the whole expression being an Integer). Lin (Ill.) l'- (R.S.) -acholan- (P. P. phrase) Mintongtakete (Ill.). Mintongtaketelak (Ill.) l'- (R.S.) -irbilan (P. P. phrase). Kaulotat (In.) l'irpin (C.In.) l'irdaukan (P.). (In. wanting) k'irimkaudakan (P.). N'a (R.S.) n'otaintepuran (P.). Atke (Ill.) n'- (R.S.) -otetepuran (P. P. phrase). Mintongtauk-pauroichin (Ill.) jangil (In.) (P. wanting). N'a (R.S.) l'oko-kaudakan (P.).

The above method of syntactical analysis shows that all the languages arrive at a complete meaning, i.e. construct their sentences, in precisely the same way. In other words, they are all the outcome of the same habit of thought. It shows further, that that habit of thought is the simplest possible. Complications or extensions of ideas barely arise, and then only in the most direct form. E.g., *Putuga-l'i-toogo-choapa* (God-his-platform-fire, i.e. the fire from God's platform) and *Ongot atyaukat monga, ongot oarotichal-enate Rokwa-l'artonga-baroija okodalnga-l'are* (they fish becoming, they carrying-taking-by Rokwa-l'artonga-village-in fire-lighting-did, i.e. they became fish and taking (the fire) to the village of Rokwa-l'artonga lit a fire). The only signs of old habit or use in the languages are the frequent ellipses, indicating familiarity with them. The analysis also shows the languages to be purely colloquial, and therefore to have never been subjected to the modifications necessary when communication by signs, i.e. by writing, is resorted to. In short, the analysis seems to prove that the languages are the outcome of minds capable of but a very limited range of thought. Here, then, is one measure of the "Universal Theory" as a working hypothesis.

Leaving the syntax here and passing on to the accidentence according to the Theory, it will be best to state for the sake of brevity of exposition, that an analysis of the words composing the Andamanese sentences shows that all the languages are agglutinative; i.e., the words are formed by

means of affixes to roots and stems without alteration of the radical forms of the affixes. It will also show that, like all other languages, they have not developed solely on one principle, and that rudiments of synthesis, or the attachment of affixes to roots and stems with alteration of form, are also present.

Andamanese words are, therefore, as a rule, easily dismembered, and further examination will show that all the forms of affixes, i.e. prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, are present in them by agglutination. The use of the infixes is to modify the root or stem, and so they are what I have called radical affixes. The use of the prefixes is principally as radical affixes, but also to indicate the functions of the words or their relation to other words. They can, therefore, also be functional affixes. The use of the suffixes is likewise twofold: as functional affixes, or to indicate the inherent qualities of the words, i.e. to show which class they belong to. They are, therefore, either functional or qualitative affixes.

With this preliminary information let us set to work to analyze the words in the Legend, omitting proper names for the present, and premising that in the following analysis R. = Root, S. = Stem, P.F. = Functional prefix, P.R. = Radical prefix, I. = Infix, S.F. = Functional suffix, S.Q. = Qualitative suffix.

AKA-BEADA.

- (1) Mami (R.)—ka (S.Q.). So also pugat—ka : boi—ka :
 sleep(ing) —was emi—ka.
- (2) Chapa (R.).
 fire
- (3) Tap (R.)—nga (S.Q.).
 steal —ing
- (4) Omo (R.)—re (S.Q.).
 bring —did
- (5) Chapa (R.)—la (S.Q.).
 fire —(hon. suf.)
- (6) A (R.).
 he

- (7) Ik (R.).
tak(ing)
- (8) Chapa (R.)—lik (S.F.).
fire —by
- (9) L' (P.F.) —ot (P.R.)—pugari (R. or S.)—re (S.Q.).
(ref. pref.)— —burn —t
- (10) Jek (R.).
at-once
- (11) Baraij (R. or S.)—len (S.F.).
village —in
- (12) Oko (P.R.)—dal (R.) —re (S.Q.).
—fire(light)—did

AKAR-BALE.

- (1) Rita (R. or S.).
very-long-ago.
- (2) L' (P.F.) —i (R.).
(ref. pref.)—he (ref. subst.) = his
- (3) Toago (R. or S.).
platform
- (4) Choapa (R.).
fire
- (5) L' (P.F.) —omo (R.)—kate (S.Q.).
(ref. pref.)—bring —was.
- (6) Ong (R.).
he
- (7) Ik (R.).
tak(ing)
- (8) Akat (P.R.)—paura (R. or S.).
all (men)
- (9) Puguru (S.)—t (S.Q.).
burn —t
- (10) L' (P.F.) —a (R.)—re (S.Q.).
(ref. pref.)—di —d
- (11) Ka (R.).
and
- (12) Ongot (S.).
they
- (13) Oto (P.R.)—jurugmu (S.)—t (S.Q.)—ia (S.F.).
sea-wen —t —was
- (14) At (P.R.)—yaukat (S.).
fish.

- (15) Oaro (S.) + tichal (S.) + ena (R.)—ta (S.Q.).
 carry + hand + take —did = carried
- (16) Baroij (R. or S.)—a (S.F.).
 village —in
- (17) Oko (P.R.)—dal (R.) —nga (S.Q.).
 fire(light)—ing.

PUCHIKWAR.

- (1) L' (P.F.) —ong (R.).
 (ref. pref.)—he
- (2) Pat (R.)—ye (S.Q.). So also di—ye: li—ye.
 slep —t
- (3) At (R.).
 fire
- (4) Ab (P.R.)—lechi (R.)—nga (S.Q.).
 bring —ing
- (5) Kota (R. or S.).
 then
- (6) Ong (R.).
 he
- (7) E (R.).
 then
- (8) L' (P.F.)—oto (P.R.)—toichu (S.) —nga (S.Q.).
 (he) with-fire-hit—ting. Cf. l'oto-
 toichu-ye, (he) with-fire-hit-did.
- (9) Kol (R.).
 again
- (10) Da (R.)—nga (S.Q.).
 giv —ing
- (11) Ota (R.).
 then
- (12) N' (P.F.) —ong (R.).
 (plu. ref. pref.)—he = they
- (13) O (P.R.)—kadak (R. or S.)—nga (S.Q.).
 fire-mak —ing.

AUKAU-JUWOL.

- (1) Mom (R.).
 Mr.
- (2) L' (P.F.)—aukau (P.R.)—ema (R.)—t (S.Q.).
 (he) —slep —t

- (3) Peakar (S.).
wood
- (4) At (R.)—lo (S.F.).
fire —with
- (5) Top (R.)—chike (S.Q.).
steal —was
- (6) Laiche (S.).
Deceased
- (7) A (R.).
he
- (8) Kotak (S.).
then
- (9) Auko (P.R.)—kodak (S.)—chine (S.Q.).
fire-make —did.

KOL.

- (1) Pat (R.)—ke (S.Q.).
sleep —was
- (2) Kaulotat (S.)—ke (S.Q.).
(male-name) —was To use the current grammatical terminology, this is a most interesting instance of a verbal termination to a noun.
- (3) At (R.).
fire
- (4) Kek (R.)—an (S.Q.).
take —did
- (5) Liu (R.).
by
- (6) L' (P.F.)—a (P.R.)—chol (R.)—an (S.Q.).
(he) —wen —t
- (7) L' (P.F.)—ir (P.R.)—bil (R.)—an (S.Q.).
(it) out-wen—t
- (8) L' (P.F.)—ir (P.R.)—pin (R.).
(he) charcoal-(getting)
- (9) L' (P.F.)—ir (P.R.)—dauk (R.)—an (S.Q.).
(he) break —did
- (10) K' (P.F. or P.R.)—irim (P.R.)—kaudak (S.)—an (S.Q.).
fire-make —did
- (11) N' (P.F.) —a (R.).
(plu. ref. pref.)—he = they

- (12) N' (P.F.)—otam (P.R.)—tepur (S.)—an (S.Q.).
 (they) —kindle —d Cf. n'ote-tepur-an, they-kindle-d.
- (13) At (R.)—ke (S.F.).
 fire —by
- (14) Pauroich (S.)—in (S.F.).
 village —in
- (15) L' (P.F.)—oko (P.R.)—kaudak (S.)—an (S.Q.).
 (he) —fire-make —did.

Now the above mode of verbal analysis shows how few of the possible 'parts of speech' these Tribes require to use in order to express the ideas contained in a complete narration, how very simple is the mental mechanism employed, how extremely limited the development of the ideas when started. It shows that we are, in fact, dealing here with savage languages. Here, then, is another measure of the "Universal Theory" as a working hypothesis.

I now propose to go into the proper names, and to see what their analysis tells us.

AKA-BEADA PROPER NAMES.

- (1) Taul (R.)—l' (P.F. = I.)—oko (P.R.)—tima (R.)
 Taul-tree —(its) —corner
 (P.R. + R. = S.) len (P.F.).
 in. So the whole expression signifies 'in the village at the corner among the Taul trees.'
- (2) Puluga (S.)—la (S.Q.).
 God (hon. suf.). The Deity, i.e. a supernatural anthropomorphic being. The word *may* mean 'the Rain-bringer.' N.B. 'Rain' often = 'Storm' in the Andamanese tropics.
- (3) Luratut (S.)—la (S.Q.).
 Luratut. This is the name of a well-known bird, but in the context clearly signifies some man named after the bird. Here, however, we have an indication of legendary growth. For the Andamanese nowadays naturally mix up those of their ancestors who had 'bird' and 'animal' names with the birds and animals after whom they were named.

- (4) I (P.R.)—Tarcheker (S.).
Kingfisher. A 'bird' name, see (3).
- (5) Wota (R.)—Emi (R.).
rise-up—hut. 'The village of the huts from which the Tribes rose (like a flight of birds),' i.e. the traditional cradle of the race.
- (6) Chaoga (S.)—taba (R.) —nga (S.Q.).
spirit —greatest-be—ing. Chaoga denotes properly the appearance a dead person is supposed to assume, and the whole term signifies 'the dead who were greatest,' i.e. 'greater than ourselves,' the (revered) ancestors.
- (7) Tomol (S.) —ola (S.Q.).
Tome(la)'s-sons—(hon. suf.). The Tomolola are the earliest traditional chiefs, i.e. the very earliest personages beyond 'the ancestors.'

AKAR-BALE PROPER NAMES.

- (1) Dim (P.R.)—Daura (R.) —le (S.Q.).
(male-name)—(hon. suf.).
- (2) Keri (R.)—l' (P.F. = I.) —ong (P.R.)—tauwer (S.)
Keri-tree—(its) —sand
(P.R. + S. = S.)—te (S.F.).
by i.e., 'by the village on the sand among the Keri-trees.'
- (3) Puluga (S.).
God.
- (4) Bolub (S.).
'fish' name. See the 'bird' names above.
- (5) Tarkaur (S.).
'fish' name. See (4).
- (6) Bilichau (S.).
Flying-fish. A 'fish' name. See (4).
- (7) Rokwa (S.)—l' (P.F. = I.) —ar (P.R.) —to (R.)
stone —(its) —row-be
(P.R. + R. = S.)—nga (S.Q.).
—ing i.e., 'the village by the row of stones.'

PUCHIKWAR PROPER NAMES.

- (1) Taul (R.)—l' (P.F. = I.) —oko (P.R.) —tim (R.)
Taul-tree—(its) —corner

(P.R. + R. = S.)—an (S.Q.).

—in. See identical Aka-Beadá term.

(2) Bilik (S.).

God.

(3) Luratut (S.).

'bird' name. See Aka-Beadá term.

(4) Tarchal (S.).

'fish' name. See (3).

(5) Chalter (S.).

Kingfisher. A 'bird' name. See (3).

(6) Lao (R.)—cham (R.) (R. + R. = S.)—len (S.F.).

'the ancestors' —to. See
chaaga-tabanga, the Aka-Beadá term.

(7) Wauta (S.)—Emi (S.)—en (S.F.).

Wauta —Emi —in. See the Aka-Beadá
name Wota-Emi.

AUKAU-JUWOI PROPER NAMES.

(1) Kuro (S.)—t' (P.F. = I.)—on (P.R.)—mika (R.)

Kuro-tree—(its) —very-big

(P.R. + R. = S.). i.e., 'the village among the great
Kuro-trees.'

(2) Mirit (S.)—la (S.Q.).

Pigeon —(hon. suf.). A 'bird' name.

(3) Bilik (S.).

God.

(4) Lech (R.) —lin (S.F.).

male-name—to.

(5) Karat (S.) —t' (P.F. = I.)—atak (P.R.)—emi (R.)

Karat-creeper—(its) —hut

(P.R. + R. = S.)—in (S.F.).

—in i.e., 'in the village
where the huts are among the Karat-creeper.'

KOL PROPER NAMES.

(1) Taul (R.)—p' (P.F. = I.)—oko (P.R.)—tim (R.) (P.R.
+ R. = S.)—en (S.Q.). For this name see Aka-Beadá.

(2) Bilik (S.)—la (S.Q.).

God —(hon. suf.).

(3) Luratut (S.)—la (S.Q.). For this name see Aka-Beadá.

- (4) Oko (R.)—Emi (R.)—t (S.F.).
 Oko —Emi —at This is the same place
 as the Wota-Emi and Wauta-Emi already given, but
 it appears here in a presumably simpler form, signifying
 'the (original) huts.'
- (5) Kaulotat (S.)—ke (S.Q.).
 Kaulotat-tree—was. This is an instance of a 'tree'
 name. See Aka-Beda (3). The peculiar 'verbal'
 termination to the word in the text is commented
 on elsewhere.
- (6) Min (R.)—tong (R.)—ta (R.) [or tauk (S.)] (R. +
 Min-tree —leaf —bone
 R. + R. [or R. or S.] = S.)—kete (S.F.)—lak (S.F.).
 —by —to I.e.,
 'at the village of the rib-leafed Min-trees.'
- (7) Jangil (S.).
 'the ancestors.'

Now these proper names bear out in every respect the conclusions to be drawn from the former analysis, because they are clearly either mere roots or stems, or compounds of roots and stems thrown together by means of infixed affixes, the infixes themselves being in their nature plain functional prefixes of what is usually called a "pronominal character." The sense of the words is also usually immediately apparent, showing the difficulty the speakers have in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas—indicating, that is, the 'savage' condition of their minds.

But the 'savage' nature of the languages comes out even more clearly if we apply the theory in another way, i.e., if we exclude the proper names and pick out the roots or stems of all sorts to be found in the five versions of the "Fire Legend." This will show that, leaving out persons and places, the five tribes tell five versions of an abstract story by an effort of memory with the aid between them of only seven separate indicators (nouns), seventeen separate predicators (verbs), and eight separate radicals, indicating the other parts of speech. Only once is an explicator (adj.) used in all the versions; only thrice an

illustrator (adv.), and then only once in any instance in the same language. No introductory words to sentences are used at all; only one conjunction between words and only two between sentences, referring in each case to what has been already said. There are no forward references, and there is only one referent substitute (pronoun, in this case of the 3rd person). In telling the Legend, we therefore see that, to employ the old familiar phraseology, the Aka-Beda use two nouns, eight verbs, one ref. conj., and one pronoun. The Akar-Bale use five nouns, nine verbs, one adv., one conj., one pron. in two forms. The Puchikwar use one noun (fire), six verbs, one adv., one ref. conj. in two forms, one pron. The Aukau-Juwoi use two nouns, three verbs, one adj., one pron. The Kol use three nouns, seven verbs, one adv., one pron. Poverty of thought and idea could hardly go lower than this. We are really brought face to face with the speech of undeveloped savages.

The evidence is as follows:—

TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS.

Indicators (Nouns).

English.	Aka-Beda.	Akar-Bale.	Puchikwar.	Aukan-Juwoi.	Kol.
village	baraij	baroij			pauroich
platform		toago			
all-men	paura				
fire	chapa	choapa	at	at	at
fish		yaukat			
wood				peakar	
charcoal					pin

Predicators (Verbs).

seize	eni	ena	di, li		
take	ik	ik			kek
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kodak	kaudak
do		a			
sleep	mami		pat	ema	pat
steal	tap			top	
bring	omo	omo	lechi		

English.	Aka-Boda.	Akar-Bala.	Puchikwar.	Ankau-Juwei.	KoL
burn	pugat, } pugari }	puguru			
wake	boi		konyi		
go-into-sea		jurugmu			
become		mo			
carry		tichal			
give			da		
go					chol
extinguish					bil
break-up					dauk
kindle					tepur

Explicators (Adjectives).

deceased	laiche
----------	--------

Illustrators (Adverbs).

long-ago	rita	
again		kol
past (by)		lin

Connectors (Conjunctions).

and	ka
-----	----

Introducers (Conjunctions).

Nil.

Referents.(a) *Conjunctors (Conjunctions).*

at-once	jek	
then		ota, kota, } e }

(b) *Substitutes (Pronouns).*

he	a	i, ong	ong	a	
(they)		ongot	n'ong		n'a

Incidentally the above tables indicate the extent to which the languages belong, in the first place to a family, and in the next to a group, which may be further indicated by examination of the affixes. But, as the examples available are so few, nothing beyond indication can be here expected.

The proof can be seen by an examination of Mr. Portman's Comparative Vocabulary and his most patient analysis of the words therein.

TABLES OF AFFIXES.

Prefixes, functional.

English.	Aka-Benda.	Akar-Bale.	Puchikwar.	Aukau-Juwai.	Kol.
his, its	l'-	l'-	l'-	l'-, t'-	l'-
(?) his			k'-		k'-
theirs			n'-		n'-

Prefixes, radical.

(?)	ot-	oto-	oto-		otam, ote-
(?)		atak-		atak-	
(?)		at-			
(?)	oko-	oko-	oko-	aukau-, auko- }	oko-
(?)			ab-		
(?)			o-		a-
(?)		ar-			ir-, irim-
(?)	i-	i-			
(?)		ong-		on-	

Suffixes, functional.

by	-lik	-te	-ke		-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, } -en }	-in	-eu
with				-lo	
to			-len	-lin	-kete
at					-t

Suffixes, qualitative.

was	-ka	-kate, -ia	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t
(honorific)	-la, -ola	-le	-la	-an, -chine -la

The reader will by this time have perceived that the development of the fundamental meanings of the roots and stems of Andamanese words is effected by means of radical prefixes; a consideration that brings us in contact

with the most difficult and most interesting feature of the Andamanese languages.

To the Andamanese mind roots present themselves as being divided off roughly into classes as under, to use Mr. Portman's classification, which is, of course, an impossible one, according to the general system of grammar he purports to follow. But, as his classification is sufficient for the purpose of illustrating my points, I shall not now disturb it.

Mr. Portman's classification is stated by him thus :—

The Andamanese roots appear to be divided into five groups, which are as follows :—

(1) Names of parts of the body, with special reference to the human body. Roots referring to the human race generally.

(2) Names of other natural animate and inanimate objects.

(3) Roots which are capable of being converted into either Explicators or Predicators, as well as being Indicators.

(4) Pronouns.

(5) Postpositions, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Exclamations, Proper Names of Andamanese men and women, the Flower Names given to Andamanese girls, Honorific Names, etc., Particles.

Now, with reference to the above statement, the main function of the radical prefixes is to indicate the group to which a root belongs, either primarily or secondarily by implication. In the groups, or in some of them at least, there are sub-groups, e.g., in group 1 we find sub-groups, of which the following are samples :—

TABLE OF SUB-GROUPS IN GROUP I.

English.	Aka-Beda.	Akar-Bale.	Pachikwar.	Aukau-Jawoi.	Kel.
head	ot-cheta	aut-chekta	ote-ta	auto-tau	aute-toi
hand	on-kauro	ong-kauro	ong-kaure	aun-korau	aun-kaure
mouth	aka-bang	aka-boang	o-pong	aukau-pong	o-pong
knee	ab-lo	ab-lo	ab-lu	a-lu	o-lu
ear	ik-puku	id-puku	ir-bo	re-baukau	er-bokau
spine	ar-gorob	ar-kate	ar-kurab	a-kurup	o-kurup

As might be expected of savages, the Andamanese are intensely anthropomorphic, and this fact comes out in their languages, the radical prefixes in form and origin revolving for all Groups chiefly round those used to differentiate the parts of the human body or human attributes and necessities. There are, however, radical prefixes, whose function is purely to modify the meaning of a root, and so to form, in combination with the root, a pure stem. Here are instances out of Mr. Portman's book:—

Yop(-da) is, in Aka-Beda, 'soft' or 'pliable'; then, a sponge is *ot-yop*, soft; a cane is *auto-yop*, pliable; a pencil is *aka-yop* or *auko-yop*, pointed; the human body is *ab-yop*, soft; certain parts of it are *ong-yop*, soft; fallen trees are *ar-yop*, rotten; an adze is *ig-yop*, blunt.

Chaurog(-nga) means in Aka-Beda generally 'tie(ing) up.' Unmodified by a radical prefix it refers to the tying up of bundles of firewood or plantains, whence *chaurog-nga(-da)*, a faggot. But when so modified it can mean as follows: *aut-chaurog-nga*, tying up the carcasses of dead pigs so that they may be carried on the back; *aka-chaurog-nga*, tying up jack-fruit into bundles; *ar-chaurog-nga*, tying up birds; *ong-chaurog-nga*, tying together the feet of little pigs while alive to prevent escape.

The anthropomorphism of the Andamanese, already noticed, induces them to refer all words, capable of such reference, directly to themselves, by means of referent prefixes to stems composed of roots plus radical prefixes; thus:—

THE HEAD.

English.	Aka-Beda.	Akar-Bale.	Puchikwar.	Aukan-Juwei.	Kol.
head	-cheta	-chekta	-ta	-tau	-toi
his-d°	ot-	aut-	ote-	auto-	aute-
my-d°	d'ot-	d'aut-	t'ote-	t'auto-	t'aute-

THE HAND.

hand	-kauro	-kauro	-kaure	-korau	-kaure
his-d°	on-	ong-	ong-	aun-	aun-
thy-d°	ng'on-	ng'ong-	ng'ong-	ng'aun	ng'aun-

The last three forms seem to explain the origin of this curious habit, for in them we find a special referent prefix for 'their,' and so, when it is necessary to make 'their' clearly referent, we find a second prefix *le* superadded. We can therefore also say that the referent prefix *P'* seems to indicate one of the signs of 'growth' in the languages, as we now have them.

Lastly, when the natural conditions require that an Andamanese should throw into a single expression more than one idea, he does so by direct and simple combination, with the aid of his referent prefix for 'its,' as may be seen from the proper names and some of the compound words in the texts of the Legend. Thus: Taul-l'-okotima, Taul-tree-its-corner, i.e. (the village at) the corner (among) the Taul-trees; Keri-l'-ongtauwer, Keri-tree-its-sand, i.e. (the village on) the sand (among) the Keri-trees.

So here, again, it appears to me that the languages, even in the complicated forms and usage of the prefixes, show themselves to be purely and directly the expression of 'savage' thought, affording yet another measure of the Theory as a working hypothesis.

Now, of course, the Andamanese go far beyond this skeleton in the details of their speech, but everything else to be found in it seems to me to be a development of these fundamental laws, arising out of a mere following up to a further expansion the ideas contained in them, or out of the necessities of speech itself. There are no more further 'principles' to explain, so far as I can at present see, and I would refer the reader to Mr. Portman's careful and laborious pages for a proof of the present assertions. I would also take leave to refer him to those pages and to the foregoing observations, should he desire to judge for himself how far the Theory may be called a successful attempt to meet the conditions.

I will now proceed to state the Theory in skeleton form, believing that its bones can be clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of direct natural development of detail,—that a clear and fair

explanation of all the phenomena of speech can be logically deduced from the general principles enunciated therein.

It seems to me to be necessary to say very little at present by way of preface. The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, viz. the expression of a complete meaning, or, technically, the sentence. Words are then considered as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them, and next as to the means whereby they can be made to fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. This course of reasoning commends itself to my mind as logically correct, and if it be so, must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech.

Terminology is a matter of convenience, and I have in the exposition of the Theory, changed the familiar terminology of the Grammars of the orthodox sort merely as a convenience. The question presents itself to me as one of choosing between the devising of new terms and the giving of new definitions to well-known old ones, used habitually in other senses. To my own mind it is easier to apprehend and retain in the memory the meaning of a new word than to keep before the mind a new definition of an old and familiar one. Hence my choice. But this is so much a personal matter, that it is a question of indifference to myself which method is adopted.

The familiar terminology has accordingly been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition, and conjunction become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector, and referent conjunctive, while interjections and pronouns become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs are converted into introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjugation, and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion—the object becomes the complement of the predicate, and concord becomes correlated variation. Also for obvious reasons subjects,

necessarily occupying an important place in Grammars which aim at explaining all that there is to say about a language—such as its phonology, orthography, and elocution—are not now considered in the exposition of the Theory.

THE SKELETON

OF

A THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR.

SPEECH is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. LANGUAGES are varieties of speech.

The *units* of languages are SENTENCES. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a WORD. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the *components* of a sentence are words placed either in

the subjective or predicative part of it, having a *relation* to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil *functions*. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject or indicative of the COMPLEMENT. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either—

- (1) INDICATORS, or indicative of the subject.
- (2) EXPLICATORS, or explanatory of the subject.
- (3) PREDICATORS, or indicative of the predicate.
- (4) ILLUSTRATORS, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
- (5) COMPLEMENTS, or complementary of the predicate.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also *complementary indicators* may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And *complementary explicators* may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a *purpose*. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the POSITION of its components, by VARIATION of the forms of its components, or by the addition of introductory words to express it or INTRODUCERS.

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, *connected purposes* may be indicated by CONNECTED SENTENCES. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or REFERENTS. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore CONJUNCTORS OR SUBSTITUTES.

Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or CONNECTORS, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are especially connected with indicators; explicators with indicators; illustrators and complements with predicators; and referent substitutes with their principals; there is an *intimate relation* between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by *correlated variation* in the forms of the especially connected words.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a **PHRASE**. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a **CLAUSE**. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a **PERIOD**.

Therefore a word is functionally either—

- (1) A sentence in itself or an **INTEGER**,
- (2) An *essential component* of a sentence, or
- (3) An *optional component* of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either—

- (1) An **INTEGER**, or a sentence in itself.
- (2) An **INDICATOR**, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
- (3) An **EXPLICATOR**, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
- (4) A **PREDICATOR**, or indicative of its predicate.

- (5) AN ILLUSTRATOR, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
- (6) A CONNECTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of its components.
- (7) AN INTRODUCER, or explanatory of its purpose.
- (8) A REFERENT CONJUNCTOR, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by joining them.
- (9) A REFERENT SUBSTITUTE, or explanatory of the inter-relation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its *position* in the sentence, either without variation of form or with variation of form. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF WORDS.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also, since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its *position* in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its FORM.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class, and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a *new function*, it becomes a *new word* connected with the original word. The relation

between CONNECTED WORDS is that of parent and offshoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offshoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or STEM, and an additional part or FUNCTIONAL AFFIX. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This *modification* may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or SIMPLE STEM, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or COMPOUND STEM. A compound stem consists of a principal part or ROOT, and additional parts or RADICAL AFFIXES. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the *modifications* by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess *inherent qualities*. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by QUALITATIVE AFFIXES.

Affixes are, therefore, *functional*, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; *radical*, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; *qualitative*, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be—

- (1) PREFIXES, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word ;
- (2) INFIXES, or fixed into the root, stem, or word ;
- (3) SUFFIXES, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their *full form*, or in a *varied form*. When there is variation of form, there is INFLEXION or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and *inflected words* may conform to particular KINDS OF INFLEXION.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms.

Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, CLASSES OF LANGUAGES.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into SYNTACTICAL LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into FORMATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into SYNTHETIC LANGUAGES, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) PRE-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that prefix their

affixes; (2) INTRO-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that infix their affixes; (3) POST-MUTATIVE LANGUAGES, or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either pre-mutative, intro-mutative, or post-mutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be CONNECTED LANGUAGES, or those that vary the forms or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered or altered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose *stems* are common belong to a GROUP. Connected languages whose *roots* are common belong to a FAMILY; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on Zarathustra's Doctrine regarding the Soul.* By E. W. WEST.

ON reference to the Millennial Chronology of the Bundahis (as corrected and extended in S.B.E., vol. xlvii, Introduction, § 55) it will be seen that the first millennium commenced in B.C. 9630 with the formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remained insensible and motionless for 3,000 years. At the beginning of the fourth millennium (B.C. 6630) the spiritual body of Zarathustra was framed together and remained 3,000 years with the Amesaspentas, while the primeval man and ox existed undisturbed in the world, because the Maleficent spirit was still confounded and powerless. But, at the beginning of the seventh millennium (B.C. 3630) the Maleficent spirit rushed into the creation, destroyed the Primeval ox, and distressed Gayomart, the primeval man, who died thirty years later; but Zarathustra was not born till B.C. 660.

Descriptive of these evils we have the second Hā, or chapter, of the first Gātha (Yasna, xxix), in which the Geus-urvan, or Soul of the Primeval Ox, bewails the hard fate of cattle in general, owing to drovers, robbers, and brutes who lacerate and plunder; he begs the protection of the Amesaspentas, and an assurance of good pasture for the animals he represents.

The creator of the Primeval Ox, Ahura-mazda himself, asks Asha ('righteousness') whom it is that he has appointed to control the masters of cattle, and what benevolent ruler to prevent violence. Asha replies that the bad masters do not yet understand the future recompense they will themselves receive for kindness to their cattle, nor the future punishment they will suffer for cruel

treatment. And Vohumanō ('good-thought') adds that he has found a man, in Zarathuštra the Spitāma, who will listen to their instructions and teach mankind accordingly.

As in this case we find the term *soul* applied to the representative spirit of the Primeval Ox, so in other cases we shall find the representative and responsible spirit of a human being is the soul. The *fravashi*, or guardian-spirit, is a totally distinct spiritual adjunct which every individual and object of the good creation possesses; it is a kind of primary idea, and is the spiritual counterpart of a deceased person, that is invoked, or revered, in certain ceremonies. Its duty is to protect the body which it represents.

In the Gāthas the following passages occur, regarding the soul and its responsibilities, and are here explained according to Darmesteter's translations:—

Yasna, xxviii, 4. I who give Paradise to the soul, with the help of Vohumanō.

xxxi, 20. To him who shall have wished to deceive the righteous, there come groanings hereafter, long dwelling in darkness, unwholesome food, and words of insult. Such is the world, you wicked! to which your works and religion lead.

xxxiii, 9. Ahura-mazda occasions happiness, along with Vohumanō; they do the work together perfectly, their souls being in unison.

xxxiv, 2. These are the works of the man of benevolence, whose soul has righteousness for companion.

xliv, 8. And how my soul will be able to go and find joy in both worlds.

xlv, 7. The soul of the righteous aspires to immortality and strength, whilst the wicked will be in torment.

xlvi, 10. For all those whom I shall induce to address their prayer to you, a way over the Cinvat bridge will disclose itself.

xlvi, 11. The Karapans and Kavis are united in power to destroy the world of mortals by their evil deeds. But their soul and their conscience will groan when they arrive

before the Cinvat bridge, to reside for ever in the abode of the fiend.

xliv, 11. As to the wicked and the bad princes, of evil deeds, evil words, evil religion, and evil thoughts, their souls go to receive impure nourishment; truly they shall go to inhabit the abode of the fiend.

li, 9. With the knowledge which thou givest, among adversaries in conflict, by means of thy red fire, O Mazda! with the sign thou givest in both worlds, by means of melted metal, thou afflictest the wicked and causest the happiness of the righteous.

li, 13. Both the wicked and the righteous render an exact account of their religion; the former soul will groan before the Cinvat bridge, because he has destroyed the path of the good by his actions and his tongue. 14. From the Karapans there is no generous friendship, nor any goodness of action; they do not teach the good treatment of herds, either in their practice or in their doctrine; and their doctrine will give them, in the end, the abode of the fiend for a dwelling. 15. But the recompense, that Zarathuštra has promised to the pure, is the supreme heaven (*garō-demāna*) where Ahura-mazda first came.

The state of society described in the Gāthas is of a primitive character. Apparently scattered settlements of cattle-owners and agriculturists, under local chieftains, all subject to some central control, but the people not nomadic. The Gāthic period was evidently a time of religious revolution; the old priesthood, whether Karapans or Kavis, are always classed as evildoers and reprobates, trying to injure the reformed faith in Ahura-mazda and his attributes, the Amēšaspentas; but the exact differences between the rival faiths and practices are by no means clearly explained. One man is wicked and the other righteous; one is demoniacal and the other divine; one merits hell until the resurrection and the other deserves eternity in heaven; but, except that the wicked man is disobedient, and the righteous man is obedient, to the

reformer, the reasons given for treating them differently are not always quite satisfactory, especially as the wicked are not said to be *daēvayasna*, 'demon-worshipping,' the usual epithet for polytheists, or heathens, in the later Yasna and Vendīdād.

Regarding the fate of the soul shortly after death we have also two Hās, or chapters, both Avesta and Pahlavi, which are reported to be fragments of the Hadhaokhta Nask, but cannot be traced in the Pahlavi account of that Nask given in *Dinkard*, viii, xlv, 1-15 (S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 166-169). These Hās were published by Hoshangji and Haug, along with the *Book of Arta-Virāf* (pp. 309-316). They state that the soul remains near the head of the corpse for the first three nights after death. If it be righteous it sits calmly reciting the beginning of Yasna xliii, and feels as much pleasure as ever it did before death. If it be wicked it rushes about, reciting in despair the beginning of Yasna xlvi, and suffers as much misery as ever it had experienced during life.

At the end of the third night the righteous soul advances, through a grove of trees, with a sweet-scented breeze blowing on him from the south, and presently meets a beautiful maiden, who tells him that she is his own good religion and actions, in fact, his clear conscience; and he himself feels that he has become youthful. He then steps forth on to the heaven of good thoughts, then upon that of good words, then upon that of good actions, and finally upon the eternal luminaries, where a soul previously arrived asks him how he has come. But Ahura-mazda reproves the inquisitive soul for troubling him with questions after so hazardous a journey, and the righteous soul is supplied with nutritious food.

At the end of the third night, the wicked soul advances through terrors and stenches, with a foul-smelling wind blowing upon him from the north, and presently meets his conscience in the shape of a hideous hag who upbraids him on account of his wickedness. Then, stepping on to the hells of evil thought, evil speech, and evil action,

with the fourth step he rushes into the nethermost hell, where he is jeered at by a previous arrival, who is reproved by the Maleficent spirit, and the wicked soul is supplied with impure and poisonous food.

The Cinvat bridge, easy for the righteous, but impassable by the wicked, is mentioned several times in the *Gāthas*, and also occurs in *Vendidad* xix and the later *Yasna*, but is not noticed in these *Hās* of the *Hadhaokhta Nask*. The female representative of the good conscience also appears in *Vendidad*, xix, 30, accompanied by dogs, to assist the righteous soul over the bridge; while the wicked soul is left to be dragged to hell by the demon *Vizareša*.

According to the Pahlavi accounts, in *Mainyō-i Khirad*, ii, 114-194, and *Artā-Virāf nāmak*, iv, 6-v, 5; xvii, 2-27, the soul is assisted by the *yazatas* *Mithra*, *Sraoša*, and others, and the balance of its good works and sins being ascertained and settled by *Rashnu*, it is conducted either to heaven by the *yazatas*, or to hell by the demons, according to its deserts. But the *Yashts* of the particular *yazatas* do not seem to allude to these circumstances; although the ceremonies prescribed for the days following a death evidently assume the spiritual presence of these *yazatas*.

But, besides the righteous and the wicked, there is a third class of soul provided for; that whose good works very nearly balance its evil deeds. This kind of soul is kept in an inert state, till the resurrection, in the open space between the earth and the fixed stars; the place of the *Hamēstagān*, the "ever-stationary, or those staying together," where they suffer only from the daily variations of heat and cold (see *Mainyō-i Khirad*, vii, 18). This species of purgatory for a fixed period is evidently mentioned in the *Gāthas* (*Yasna*, xxxiii, 1) as follows:—"As they are scrutinized, so one shall practise the laws which are of the primitive world; the justest actions of the priestly authority are for the wicked, as well as for the righteous, and for him in whom something of the false, as well as what are truths, alike prevails (?)."

The Avesta verb *hēmyāsaitē*, which I have doubtfully translated by 'alike prevails,' is probably the word from which the various Pahlavi forms of the name of this purgatory are derived, such as *Hamēstakān*, *Hamēstān*, *Hamēstānik*, *Hamēstānagān*, *Ham-hastakān*, *Ham-hastānik*, and *Hamastān*. So the Pahlavi notion of 'immobility' should probably be modified, either into 'crowding together' or 'equal propensity for good and evil.'

So far, the Parsi is more certain of the immediate fate of the soul than people of most other religions; but there is still the future ordeal of the resurrection to pass through. As the chief object of this is to destroy evil, the righteous soul is little affected by the ordeal, which also concludes the torments of the wicked soul, unless it has been exceptionally wicked, in which case it has to endure three nights more of extreme torment before it is purified. Then each soul is sent to that particular grade of heaven to which its actions entitle it. The demons are destroyed by the good spirits, the space occupied by hell is annexed to the earth, and both are freed from mountains and ice, and remain imperishable for ever and ever. This is told in *Indian Bundahis*, xxx, which is practically the same as xlii of the Iranian version; and Darmesteter, in his *Zend-avesta*, ii, p. 640, n. 138, gives a French translation of some further details from the Pahlavi *Marvels of the month Fravardīn and day Khurdad*.

Westergaard's *Avesta Fragment* iv is the original text of the last fargard of the *Varštumānsar Nask*, as Darmesteter first discovered from my translation of the Pahlavi version in *S.B.E.*, xxxvii, pp. 302-3. It contains a distinct allusion to the resurrection, and to the Airyaman supplication being used as a spell by *Saošyāns*, the last of the future apostles, to overcome the evil spirits, who are driven by it underground, where their bodies are completely shattered. So there can be no doubt that the resurrection was expected in Avesta times, and Darmesteter himself admits that it was a belief of the Achaemenians.

As Zarathuštra is supposed to have been born thirty years

before the commencement of his millennium, so each of the three succeeding apostles, Ukhshyaṭ-ereta, Ukhshyaṭ-nemañh, and Saošyāns, is supposed to be born thirty years before the commencement of each of the three succeeding millenniums, so as to assume priestly control at the vigorous age of thirty, when his millennium begins. According to the rectified Millennial Chronology of the Bundahis, before mentioned (p. 605), the millennium of Zarathuštra began B.C. 630; that of Ukhshyaṭ-ereta in A.D. 371; that of Ukhshyaṭ-nemañh in A.D. 1371; that of Saošyāns ought to begin in A.D. 2371; and the resurrection, at the end of his fifty-seventh year, may be expected in A.D. 2398. But, owing to the errors that have crept into the Bundahis chronology, the Parsis themselves are quite uncertain about these dates. What they know of their religious history after the Muḥammadan conquest of Persia, and what they expected for the future, in A.D. 900, may be learned from *Dinkard*, VII, chs. viii-xi, in S.B.E., xlvii, pp. 94-118.



ART. XVIII.—*The Chahár Maqála* ("Four Discourses") of Nidhāmi - i - 'Arūdi - i - Sāmargandi. Translated into English by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN my article on *The Sources of Dawlatsháh*, which appeared in the January number of the Journal, I have already spoken of the excellent work which I now have the pleasure to present in English dress. For my translation I have used the Tihrán lithographed edition of A.H. 1305, which I have carefully collated throughout with the older of the two British Museum MSS. (Or. 3,507, dated A.H. 1017), and, in all doubtful passages, with the second MS. (Or. 2,955, dated A.H. 1274) also. These MSS. are fully described in Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 244-245 and 265, Nos. 390 and 418. It remains only to say a few words concerning the author and the book.

The *Chahár Maqála* contains, as its name implies, four discourses, each of which treats of a class of men deemed by the author indispensable for the service of kings, to wit, (1) scribes (*dabirán*) or secretaries; (2) poets; (3) astrologers; and (4) physicians. Each discourse begins with certain general considerations on the class in question, which are afterwards illustrated by anecdotes, drawn, in large measure, from the personal reminiscences of the author, who was himself a court-poet and a frequenter of royal assemblies. The total number of these anecdotes, which constitute at once the most entertaining and the most valuable portion of the book, is about forty, an average of ten to each "discourse." So far as I know, only two of them, one concerning Firdawsí and the other about 'Umar Khayyám, have hitherto been cited from this work. Of these the first (translated by Ethé in vol. xlviii of the

Z.D.M.G., pp. 89-94) was taken, not from the *Chahár Maqála* itself, but from Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Tabaristán*, where it is quoted *in extenso*; while the second seems to have been known only in abridged citations, the misunderstanding of which gave rise to the Rose-tree cult of the 'Umar Khayyám Society, referred to at p. 414 of the April number of the Journal.

Of the excellent style of the *Chahár Maqála*, a style at once strong, concise, and pregnant with meaning, though not always easy or simple, I have already spoken at pp. 40, 53, 56-57, and 61-69 of the January number of the Journal, so that there is no occasion to insist upon it further. As, however, my translation will occupy two numbers of the Journal, it may be convenient that I should here give a brief table of its contents.

INTRODUCTORY (*Tihrán ed.*, pp. 1-27).

- (1) *Doxology, and Dedication to the Ghúrid Prince Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd, son of Fakhru'd-Din Mas'úd, brother of Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad, and nephew of "the World-consumer" (Jahán-sûz) 'Alá'u'd-Din Husayn who reigned A.D. 1149-1170 (pp. 1-6).*
- (2) *Beginning of the book. The author here gives his full name as Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Alí an-Nidḥāmi as-Samarqandí, and states that he has been in the service of the House of Ghúr for forty-five years (pp. 6-7).*
- (3) *Excursus i, on the different grades of Being, and the Creation and Disposition of the World (pp. 7-11).*
- (4) *Excursus ii, on the Development of the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms (pp. 11-14).*
- (5) *Excursus iii, on the Evolution, Faculties, and Senses (internal and external) of Man; the three classes of men; and the Kingly and Prophetic Offices (pp. 14-26), including—*
- (6) *Anecdote i, on the Nasnás, or Wild Man (pp. 20-21), and ending with—*
- (7) *Plan of work and brief statement of contents (pp. 26-27).*

FIRST DISCOURSE : SECRETARIES (pp. 27-59).

Nature of the Secretarial Function and Qualifications of the Perfect Scribe (pp. 27-33).¹

Anecdote ii, concerning Iskáfí (pp. 33-36).

Anecdote iii, on Iskáfí's despatch announcing the defeat of Mákán (pp. 36-40).

Anecdote iv, showing that a Secretary of State should not be exposed to domestic worry (pp. 40-42).

Anecdote v, concerning the Šāhib Isma'il ibn 'Abbád (pp. 42-43).

Anecdote vi, concerning Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand and the Lamghán deputies (pp. 43-46).

Anecdote vii, concerning al-Ma'mún's wedding (pp. 46-51).

Anecdote viii, concerning al-Mustarshid's oration against the Seljuqs (pp. 51-53).

Anecdote ix, concerning the Gúr-Khán (pp. 53-54).

Anecdote x, concerning the supernatural eloquence of the Qur'án (pp. 54-55).

Anecdote xi, concerning Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh, Bughrá Khán's secretary (pp. 55-59).

SECOND DISCOURSE : POETS (pp. 59-113).

Nature of the Poetic Art, and Qualifications of the Expert Poet (pp. 59-69), including—

Anecdote xii, concerning Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh of Khujistán (pp. 59-61), and—

List of the eminent poets who have shed lustre on the courts of the various Persian dynasties down to the author's time (pp. 62-64).

Anecdote xiii, concerning Rúdagí's skill in improvisation (pp. 69-76).

Anecdote xiv, concerning Maḥmúd and Ayáz, and 'Unşuri's improvisation (pp. 76-79).

Anecdote xv, concerning Farrukhi's improvisation (pp. 79-87).

¹ p. 31 is by mistake omitted in the pagination, which, for convenience of reference, I have followed without correction.

- Anecdote xvi, concerning the author's early struggles, and Mu'izzi's counsel and encouragement (pp. 87-93).*
Anecdote xvii, concerning the anger of Tughān Shāh and Azraqi's improvisation (pp. 93-95).
Anecdote xviii, concerning the imprisonment of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān and others by Sultān Ibrāhīm (pp. 95-98).
Anecdote xix, concerning Am'aq and Rashidi (pp. 98-101).
Anecdote xx, concerning Firdausi (pp. 101-109).
Anecdote xxi, autobiographical (pp. 109-113).

THIRD DISCOURSE: ASTROLOGERS (pp. 113-138).

- Nature of Astrology, and Qualifications of the Expert Astrologer (pp. 113-115).*
Anecdote xxii, concerning Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (pp. 115-118).
Anecdote xxiii, concerning Sultān Maḥmūd and Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (pp. 118-123).
Anecdote xxiv, concerning the skill possessed by an old woman in the author's service in the Lore of the Stars (pp. 123-125).
Anecdote xxv, concerning Maḥmūd Dā'ūdī, the crazy sooth-sayer (pp. 125-128).
Anecdote xxvi, concerning al-Maṣṣilī, the Astrologer, and the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk (pp. 128-130).
Anecdote xxvii, concerning 'Umar Khayyām's prediction as to his place of burial (pp. 130-131).
Anecdote xxviii, concerning a weather forecast made by 'Umar Khayyām (pp. 131-133).
Anecdote xxix, concerning a vagrant and irresponsible Astrologer (pp. 133-136).
Anecdote xxx, concerning a successful prognostication made by the author (pp. 136-138).

FOURTH DISCOURSE: PHYSICIANS (pp. 138-173).

- Nature of the Science and Art of Medicine, and Qualifications of the Physician (pp. 138-141).*

- Anecdote xxxi, concerning faith-healing (pp. 141-146), including a dissertation on the most excellent works on Medicine, and the pre-eminence of Avicenna.*
- Anecdote xxxii, concerning a heroic cure wrought by Bukht-Yishú' (pp. 146-147).*
- Anecdote xxxiii, concerning a remarkable cure of Rheumatism (pp. 147-149).*
- Anecdote xxxiv, concerning another remarkable cure effected by Muḥammad Zakariyyá ar-Rázi by the instrumentality of mental emotion (pp. 149-154).*
- Anecdote xxxv, concerning the adventures and the skill of Avicenna (pp. 154-163).*
- Anecdote xxxvi, concerning a heroic cure wrought by 'Aḡudá'd-Dawla's physician Kámilú's-Šaná'at (pp. 163-165).*
- Anecdote xxxvii, concerning a remarkable cure of Melancholia effected by Avicenna (pp. 165-168).*
- Anecdote xxxviii, concerning the restoration to life of a man apparently dead by Adib Isma'il (pp. 168-169).*
- Anecdote xxxix, concerning the reproof addressed by a physician to a theologian whom he had saved from imminent death (pp. 169-170).*
- Anecdote xl, concerning a cure effected by Galen (pp. 170-171).*
- Anecdote xli, concerning a remarkable cure wrought by the author (pp. 171-173).*
- Conclusion (pp. 173-174).*
- Postscript by the editor of the Tihrán edition (pp. 174-176).*

As regards the author, Nidhámí-i-'Arudí of Samarqand, he will best reveal himself by his own numerous allusions to his career and adventures. His present work was written, at least in part, during the lifetime of 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn Jahán-súz ("the World-consumer"), who died in A.D. 1161, and since he speaks of himself as having been forty-five years in the service of the House of Ghúr, it is evident that he must have been born towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. The chief dates which he gives in the autobiographical portions of his work are as

follows. In A.H. 504 (A.D. 1110-1111) he heard traditions concerning Rúdagí at Samarqand (Anecdote xiii). In A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) he met 'Umar Khayyám at Nishápúr (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-1116) he was at Herát (Anecdote xvii). In the following year he was at Nishápúr (Anecdote i) and Tús (Anecdotes xvi and xx), where he visited Firdawsí's tomb. His position and income were at this time precarious, but, encouraged by the poet Mu'izzí, he succeeded in attracting the king's notice and winning his approval. In A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118-1119) he was again at Nishápúr (Anecdote xxxi), and once more in A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-1136), when he visited 'Umar Khayyám's grave, and remarked the fulfilment of the prediction uttered by the Astronomer-poet twenty-four years earlier (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-1153) he was involved in the defeat of the army of Ghúr by Sanjar b. Maliksháh the Seljúq, and was for a while in hiding at Herát (Anecdotes xxx and xli). His life, in short, seems to have been spent chiefly in Khurásán at royal courts, where he had opportunities of meeting many noteworthy persons. Though a poet by profession, he seems to have been equally ready to practise Astrology (Anecdote xxx) and Medicine (Anecdote xli). Of his personal character, as of his ability, his work produces, on the whole, a very favourable impression, and the book itself I should be disposed to describe as one of the most interesting, the most instructive, the most charming, and the best written Persian prose works which it has been my fortune to come across. Of this, however, the reader shall judge for himself.

Notices of the writer occur in 'Awfi's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* (ch. x, § 2, Poets of Transoxania), from which we learn nothing about his personality save that he bore the *laqab* of Najmu'd-Dín; Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkira* (Tabaqa i, No. 13, pp. 60-61 of my forthcoming edition), where laudatory mention is made of the *Chahár Maqála*; Háji Khalífa (No. 4,348, s.v. *نجم الدين*), who calls him *Nidhámú'd-Dín* (instead of *Najmu'd-Dín*), which is probably correct; the

Majma' u'l-Fuṣṣahá of that most accomplished of recent Persian writers, Riḍá-qulī Khán (vol. i, p. 635), who places him higher as a prose-writer than as a poet; and, no doubt, other biographical works. But, leaving these aside, let us now allow the author to speak for himself, only premising that, where reference is made to various readings, the older MS. (Or. 3,507) is denoted by A, the other MS. (Or. 2,955) by B, and the Tíhrán lithographed edition by L.

THE FOUR DISCOURSES (CHAHÁR MAQÁLA) OF NIDHÁMÍ-I-
'ARUPÍ-I-SAMARQANDÍ.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.

Praise and thanks and glory to that King who, by¹ the instrumentality of the Cherubim and Angels of the Spirit World, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means thereof, created and adorned the World of Becoming and Decay, maintaining it by the Command and Prohibition of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets, and invocations of grace upon his Companions and those of his Household, who were the most excellent of Saints and Vicars. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-favoured, victorious, and heaven-aided monarch, *Husámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Supporter of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of mankind, Protector of these days, Fore-arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Order of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, *Shamsu'l-Ma'áli*,

¹ L. has *بلا توسط*, "without the intervention."

Maliku'l-Umarā, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Mas'ūd,¹ Help of the Prince of Believers, may his life be filled with success, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the ordering of the affairs of Adam's seed be directed by his care! For to-day he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, doughty deeds, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour, and generosity, as well as in the adorning of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safeguarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquilizing of the realms,² and also in that upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve, and firm determination, by the excellence of which the concatenation of the House of Shansab³ is held together and maintained in order, and by the perfection of which the strong arm of that Dynasty is strengthened and braced. May God Almighty give him full portion, together with the other kings of that line, of dominion and domain, and throne and fortune, by His Favour and His Grace!

But to proceed. It is an old custom and ancient practice, which custom is maintained and observed, that the Author, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince, will make mention in this book of those favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Almighty to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in

¹ This Prince belonged to the Bamiyān line of the Ghūrīd Dynasty, was the son of Fakhr'u'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, and brother of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, and flourished in the latter part of the sixth century of the *Ajra*.

² L. has *از ممالک*, "from perils," instead of *ممالک*.

³ See *Tabaqāt-i-Nizārī* (ed. Nassau Lees), p. 101 et seqq. The correct reading is found only in A. B. has *انسانیت*, L. *آل شیب*.

the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word, God says, "*Verily if ye be thankful, We will give unto you increase*"¹; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Prince to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green firmament,² there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious, heaven-aided *Fakhrü'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*,³ Prince of the realms of Irán, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his continuance and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant of the monarchs of the age, and the most excellent of the princes of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, chivalry, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure, and muniment! Supported by ten⁴ thousand men bearing spears and handling reins, he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that no disturbing blast of the zephyr may so much as blow on one of their servants. Under his high protection and unassailable precaution (may God increase their degree!), prayers, of which each clause is breathed upwards at full morning-tide to the Court of God, co-operate with a far-trailing host and wheeling army. What a brother, too, like the royal Prince *Shamau'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*, Light of Islám and the Muslims (may his victories be rendered glorious!), who reaches the extreme limit of endeavour in the service of this my master (whose exaltation may God perpetuate!). Praise be to God that this my master omits naught either

¹ Qur'án, xiv, 7.

² A. has *جتر*, "umbrella," for *جبرج*, "firmament."

³ *Fakhrü'd-Din Mas'üd b. 'Izzü'd-Din Hasan*, A.H. 560 (A.D. 1155).

⁴ L. om. "ten."

in reward or retribution! ¹ And a favour yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unchanging Giver hath bestowed on him an uncle like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn, ² *Ikhtiyāru Amiri'l-Mūminin* (may God prolong his life ³ and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, obliterated the hosts of the world, and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, and give all long enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

BEGINNING OF THE BOOK.

Your loyal servant and faithful retainer Aḥmad b. 'Umar ⁴ b. 'Alī an-Nidhāmī al-'Arūḍī as-Samarqandī, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of the vassals of this Dynasty, desireth to render a service to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!), and to set forth, according to the canons of Philosophy, duly adorned with decisive proofs, trenchant arguments and sound counsel, what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner one ought to show one's gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so as to be second to the Lord of the children of men and third to the All-Provider of the Universe; for in the

¹ A. adds: بلکه جهان روشن بروی او همی بیند و عمر شیرین
بجمال او همی گذارد.

² 'Alā'u'd-Din Ḥusayn, called *Jahān-sāz*, "the World-consumer," A.H. 544-556.

³ I. for عمر has عزّ, "his glory."

⁴ I. om. [بن عمر].

Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word God hath co-ordinated on one thread the pearls represented by these three exalted titles: "*Obeys God*," saith He, "*and obeys His Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves.*"¹

Now in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, apart from the prophetic function, which is the supreme limit of man's degree, there is no rank higher than sovereignty, which is naught else but a Divine gift. God, glorious is His Name, hath accorded this position to the King of the age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

EXCURSUS I.

The August Discernment (may God exalt it!) must know that every being which inhabits the Universe falls necessarily into one of two categories. Either it is a being which is self-existent, and is called '*the Necessarily Existent*,' which is God Almighty, great is His Glory, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath existed for ever, since He dependeth not on aught else; and who was always, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called '*Contingent Being*,' and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the sun, the earth, the water and the air, which in turn are from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. Now when reflection is carried to the uttermost, it appeareth that this Causal Nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth by itself; and that the Creator is all, and from Him all deriveth its existence and subsistence. And when this matter is somewhat pondered, it will become clear that

¹ Qur'án, iv, 62.

Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He IS by a continuity which reaches from Eternity Past to Eternity to come. And since the essence of Phenomena is of Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing; and again, as touching the basis of the human race,¹ it is said, "*Everything shall return unto its Origin,*" more especially in this world of Becoming and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is the Essence of Being, even as He (glorious is His state) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Support, "*All things perish save His Countenance.*"²

Now you must know that this world lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon³ and within the circle of this first sphere, and is called "the World of Becoming and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Orb of Fire, round about which extends the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Heaven of Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire, and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the earth, with the Water round about it. And in the midst of the earth is an imaginary point, from which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point and what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of "up," we mean the sphere of the remotest heaven, together with what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven⁴ above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end.

¹ I here follow L., which has: *و نیز در بنیان زمرهٔ انسان گفته اند*. A. has *نبتیان*, "the Prophets of the human race have said."

² Qur'án, xxviii, 88.

³ This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's *Makrokoosmos*, p. 178 et seqq.

⁴ This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the *Primum mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, the *Falak'ul-Akhar* or *Falak'ul-Afak* of the Muslim philosophers.

Now when God Almighty, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals, and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon he made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is this, that by its reflection it warms all things when it stands over against them, and supplies them through a medium with heat, and draws them up—that is, attracts them. So, by its juxtaposition, it warmed the water; and by means of the warmth, attracted it; until, in a long while, it laid bare one quarter or more of the earth's surface, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now the nature of the water is this, that it can become stone, as it is well known to do in certain places, as may be actually witnessed.¹ So mountains were produced from the water and the shining of the sun; and hereby the earth became somewhat raised from what it was, while the water sank and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called '*the Uncovered Quarter*,' for the reason above stated; and it is also called '*the Inhabited Quarter*,' because animals dwell therein.

EXCURSUS II.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the whole of² these elements, they were reflected back from the midst of the earth and water, from that imaginary point [mentioned above], by the aid of the fire and wind, and the phenomena of the inorganic world were produced, such as mountains and mines, clouds, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, shooting stars, comets, meteors, . . . ,³ halos, conflagrations, earthquakes, and all manner of

¹ The author alludes either to petrification and the formation of stalactites, or to ice.

² A., B., در اقطار, "on [all] parts." L. has وقسط, which seems to me to be nonsense.

³ A., B., L. add وعصى, a word of which I have been unable to ascertain the meaning.

fountains, as has been fully explained in works treating of the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and discussion of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the composition of this lower world became matured, and the time was come for the fertilization of that interspace which lay between the water and the air, the vegetable world was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance whereby the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces, one was that which kept drawing to it whatever was suitable for its purpose, and this is called 'Attraction' (*Jádhiba*). Another keeps what the first may have attracted, and this is called 'Fixation' (*Másika*). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called 'Assimilation' (*Hádima*). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and is called 'Excretion' (*Dáfi'a*). And of the three faculties, one is that which increaseth it by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a suitable and equal diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards defect, appears and produces germs, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, these may become its substitute and representative, so that the order of the world may be guarded from detriment, and the species may not cease. This is called the 'Reproductive Faculty' (*Qiwat-i-Mucallida*).

So this kingdom rose superior to the mineral and vegetable kingdoms in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained, that these kingdoms should be connected successively and continuously, so that in the mineral kingdom the first thing which attained completeness and underwent the process of evolution became higher in organization until it grew to coral (*marján*, i.e. *bussad*), which is the ultimate term of

the mineral world,¹ until it was connected with the first stage of plant life. And the first thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the last the date-palm, which has been assimilated to the animal kingdom, since it needs the male to fertilize it so that it may bear fruit;² while another [member of this kingdom] flees from its foe, for the vine flees from the '*ashaga*,³ a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they are connected with the superior kingdom, and have outstepped the limits of their own world, and have evolved themselves in a higher direction.

EXCURSUS III.

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the 'Fathers' of the upper world had worked on the 'Mothers'⁴ below, and these had assumed a finer temper, and the interspace between the air and the fire became involved, and a finer offspring resulted, the manifestation of the animal world took place. This took to itself the faculties possessed by the vegetable kingdom, and added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the 'Perceptive Faculty' (*Mudrika*), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves automatically, approaching that which is agreeable to it and retreating from that which is offensive to it; and this is called the 'Motor Faculty' (*Muharrika*).

Now the *Perceptive Faculty* is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the *External Senses* and five the *Internal Senses*. The former are *Touch, Taste, Hearing, Sight,*

¹ The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 11.

² See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 25.

³ A species of *Dolichos*. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v.

⁴ By the 'Seven Fathers above' and the 'Four Mothers below' the seven planets and the four elements are intended.

and *Smell*. Now *Touch* is a sense distributed throughout the flesh and skin of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which touches it, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. *Taste* is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which apprehends tastes and dissolved flavours from those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. *Hearing* is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say, two bodies brought into contact with one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, inasmuch as it acts upon the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus, comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. *Sight* is a faculty located in two nerve-bulbs, which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured by the medium of a translucent substance which subsists between it and the surfaces of reflecting bodies. *Smell* is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or what is impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

*The Five Internal Senses.*¹ Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive sense-impressions, while others are such as apprehend ideas. The first is the 'Composite Sense' (*Hias-i-mushtarika*), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and receptive into itself of any image apprehended by the external senses, or impressed upon them for communication to it, such

¹ See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144, 145.

perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (*Khayál*), a faculty located in the posterior ventricles of the second convolution of the brain, which preserves what the *Composite Sense* has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the 'Imaginative Faculty' (*Mutakhayyila*), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the 'Cogitative Faculty' (*Mutafakkira*). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to co-ordinate with one another, and to preserve, those particular percepts which are stored in the *Imagination*, and to keep them distinct from one another by the control of thought. The fourth is the 'Apprehensive Faculty' (*Wahima*), which is a faculty located in the extremity of the middle ventricle of the brain. Its function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts. By it the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a piece of rope and a serpent. The fifth is the 'Retentive Faculty' (*Hâfidha*), also called the 'Memory' (*Dhâkira*), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the *Apprehension*; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the *Imagination* and the *Composite Sense*, though the latter preserves forms and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the *Animal Soul*, a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the *Animal Spirit*, but when in the brain, the *Psychic Spirit*, and when in the liver, the *Natural Spirit*. It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these Perceptive and Motor faculties, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the snake has no ears, the ant no eyes, and these two are called deaf and blind; but none is more defective than the maggot,

which is a red worm found in the mud of streams,¹ called therefore *gil-khura* ('mud-eater'), but in Transoxania *Za'ák-kirma* (?).² This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (*nasús*),³ a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage, of vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees them, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off; nay, it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first, in its erect stature; secondly, in the breadth of its nails and in the hair of its head.

Anecdote i.

I heard as follows from Abú Ridá b. 'Abdu's-Salám of Nishápúr, in the Great Mosque at Nishápúr, in the year A.H. 510 (=A.D. 1116-1117):—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj,⁴ and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the midday heat, we saw on a hillock a woman, bare-headed, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although I spoke to her, she made no reply; and when I approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that no horse could overtake her. Our guides,⁵ who were

¹ Cf. Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 43.

² A. reads زعاکت کرمه, B. زعاکت کرمه, L. زعاکت گربه.

³ The term *nasús* either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g. the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the *Shiqq* or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the *Dir-mardum* of the Persians. See Qazwini's *Ajál'ibul-Makhlúqat*, p. 449; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165, 267.

⁴ See Qazwini's *A'tharul-Bilád*, p. 275.

⁵ The meaning of this word is conjectural. The sentence runs in A.: . . وکری کشان ما ترکان بودند. B. has وکرای کشان, otherwise the same as A. In L. the sentence runs: . . وکوی کشان تا برکان بودند.

Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *naxás*."

Now you must know that it is nobler than other animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, by lapse of long ages and time, organization waxes more delicate, the moment comes for that interaction which takes place between the elements and the heavens, and man comes into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, to which is added the capacity for intellectual concepts. So he becomes king over all, and brings all things under his control. For from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his embellishment and adornment, while from iron, tin, copper, and lead he fashioned utensils for his use. From the vegetable kingdom also he made his food and raiment and carpets; and from the animal world he provided himself with steeds and beasts of burden. Moreover, from all three kingdoms he chose out medicaments wherewith to heal himself. Whence did there accrue to him all this superiority? By this, that he knew himself, and, by means of intellectual concepts, knew God. "*He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.*"

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that class which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose intelligence doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood, seek their own advantage, and ward off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilization, mutually assist one another, and discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organizing of such association as subsists between them, to the end that the different classes¹ may continue to exist. The third class comprises such as are independent of these things, whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, "Who

¹ Or perhaps "races." The word is *الأنواع*.

are we; for what reason did we come into existence, and who hath brought us into being?" In other words they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, "How have we come? Whither do we go?"

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by means of masters, by laborious toil and absorption, and by reading and writing; and such are called *philosophers*. But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called *prophets*.

Now, the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three: first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledges; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that his soul hath such power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever they have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say, communion with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the *Prophetic Function*, and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now, so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him a Code derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings. And assuredly he requires to act as his substitute, and to maintain his Law and Practice, a vicegerent, who must needs be the most excellent of mankind and the most perfect product of his age, in order that he may revive this Law and carry out this Practice; and such an one

is called an *Imám*. This *Imám* can cope with the disasters of the East and the West, the North and the South, in such wise that the effects of his care extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, while his command and prohibition reach alike the intelligent and the ignorant. But he must needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to admit it. Hence there must be a leader, an administrator, a compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a *Monarch*, that is to say, a *King*; and his vicarious function *Sovereignty*. The King, therefore, is the lieutenant of the *Imám*, the *Imám* of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!).

Well has it been said on this subject :

چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری ' دو گوهر بود در یک انگشتی '

"Then know that the functions of Prophet and King
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."

Know, therefore, that the Regal and Prophetic offices are as two jewels in one ring, for the Prince of the sons of men himself hath said "*State and Church are twins*," since in form and essence neither differs, either as regards increase or defect, from the other. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic office, is weightier than *Sovereignty*, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement, and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every case the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

Now of the special ministers of Kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician, and these can in no wise be dispensed with. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician.

These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician's Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises *Four Discourses*, to wit:—

First Discourse, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the Secretary.

Second Discourse, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and what it behoves the Poet to be.

Third Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the distinguishing signs of the Astrologer.

Fourth Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the function and nature of the Physician.

In all these divisions of Philosophy, then, that will be advanced which is appropriate to this book; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest germane to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be added, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is indispensable; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons—the Scribe, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

FIRST DISCOURSE.

On the Essence of the Secretarial Function and the Nature of the Perfect Scribe.

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising reasoned modes of address and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, provocation, and conciliation, as well as in magnifying

matters or minimizing them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording antecedents; and displaying, in every case, orderly arrangement, so that all may be enunciated primarily and finally¹

Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of firm judgement; and the amplest portion and fullest share of the methods and attainments of this art must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical judgements; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover, he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of prejudiced persons and tattlers, or pay any heed to them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and dangerous practices. And in the course of his letter, while pursuing his duties of correspondence, he should not quarrel with eminent and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack him, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say: "*One for one,² and he who begins is most in the wrong.*"

And in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which befits his position, whereunto his kingdom, domain, army, and treasure are a guide; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested an arrogance which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such

¹ i.e. "once and for all," with such clearness as to leave no ambiguity, or ground for future dispute.

² واحدٌ بواحدٍ والبادئ اظلم, i.e., "Tit for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame."

correspondence, and unsuitable in epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Scribe to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for they say: "*Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work.*"¹ But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of conflict in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method which the orators of the Arabs have thus described: "*The best speech is that which is brief and significant, and not wearisome.*"² For if the ideas accord not with the words, the discussion will be protracted, and the Scribe will be stigmatized as prolix, and "*He who is prolix is a babbler.*"³

Now the words of the Scribe will not attain to this elevation until he becomes familiar with every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muḥammad the Chosen One (on whom, and on whose family, be God's blessing and peace), the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the *Correspondence* of the Šāḥib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād⁴ and Šābī; the *Qābūs-nāma*⁵; the compositions of Ḥamādi, Laqānī, and Ibn Qudāma⁶; the *Gests* of Badī'u'z-Zamān

¹ التَكْبَرُ مَعَ الْمُتَكَبِّرِ صَدَقَةٌ.

² خَيْرُ الْكَلَامِ مَا قَلَّ وَدَلَّ وَلَمْ يُعْمَلْ.

³ الْمُكْثَرُ مَهْذَارٌ.

⁴ See the *Yatimatul-d-Dahr* (ed. Damascus), vol. iii, pp. 31-112; De Slane's *Ibn Kallikān*, vol. i, pp. 212-217. L. omits "and Šābī."

⁵ Composed by Kaykā'ūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs b. Wāshmgīr in A.H. 475 (A.D. 1082-3). See Perisch's *Cat. of Berlin Persian MSS.*, pp. 302-3.

⁶ See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 269, 270.

al-Hamadání,¹ al-Ḥarirí,¹ and al-Ḥamídí²; the *Rescripts* of al-Bal'amí,³ Aḥmad-i-Ḥasan,⁴ and Abú Naṣr Kundurí⁵; the *Letters* of Muḥammad 'Abd, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, and the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá; the *Séances* of Muḥammad-i-Manṣúr,⁶ Ibn 'Abbádi,⁷ and Ibnu'n-Nassába, the descendant of 'Alí; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the *Diwáns* of Mutanabbí,⁸ Abiwardí,⁹ and Ghazzí¹⁰; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Ḥakím Rúdagí,¹¹ the Epic of Firdawsí,¹² and the panegyrics of 'Unṣurí¹³; since each one of these works which we have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every scribe who hath these books, and stimulates his mind, polishes his wit, and enkindles his fancy by their perusal, will ever raise the level of his diction, whereby a scribe becomes famous.

Now if he be well acquainted with the Qur'án, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskáfí.¹⁴

¹ See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 470-476; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, pp. 93-94 and 276-278.

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³ Abú 'Alí Muḥammad al-Bal'amí (d. A.H. 386).

⁴ The Ghaznavid Minister, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand (d. A.H. 424), is probably meant.

⁵ See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. iii, pp. 290-295.

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¹⁰ Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 253. A., however, reads غَزَّيْ .

¹¹ See Ethé's monograph, and also his article on Rúdagí in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

¹² See especially Noeldeke's *D. Iranische National-epos* in vol. ii (pp. 130-211) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*.

¹³ See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224, 225.

¹⁴ Abul-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Yatima*, vol. iv, pp. 29-33; iii, 4.

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¹⁰ Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 253. A., however, reads عَزْزِي .

¹¹ See Ethé's monograph, and also his article on Rúdagí in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹² See especially Noeldeke's *D. Iranische Nationalepos* in vol. ii (pp. 130-211) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*.

¹³ See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224, 225.

¹⁴ Abú'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Fatima*, vol. iv, pp. 29-33; iii, 4.

Anecdote ii.

Iskáfi was one of the secretaries of the House of Sámán, and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse all obstacles, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Núh b. Maṣṣúr,¹ but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours adequate to his pre-eminence. He therefore fled from Bukhárá to Alptagín at Herát. Alptagín, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, so that at length he became one of his ministers. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, while Alptagín patiently bore their presumption, matters at last culminated in rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him. Then Amír Núh, incited by a party of the new nobles, wrote from Bukhárá to Zábulistán that Sabuktagín should come with that army, and the sons of Simjúr² with their army from Níshápúr, and should make war on Alptagín. And this war is very celebrated, and the event most notorious.

So when these armies reached Herát, the Amír 'Alí b. Muḥtáj³ sent Kisá'í,⁴ who was the Chief Chamberlain (*Sāhibu'l-Bāb*), to Alptagín, with a letter like fire and water blended together, containing threats and menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write in his absence to his disobedient

¹ This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Maṣṣúr b. Núh (Maṣṣúr I), who reigned a.h. 350-366; for Núh b. Maṣṣúr (Núh II) reigned a.h. 366-387, and Alptagín died in a.h. 362 or 354. Concerning the *Divānu'r-Rasá'id*, see Von Krenmer's *Culturgegeschichte, d. Arab.*, i, pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski's *Menoutechekeri*, pp. 38 and 43. According to Ibnū'l-Athīr (Bulāq ed. of a.h. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagín's revolt took place in a.h. 361.

² See DeFrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, pp. 260, 261.

³ Concerning this general, see DeFrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 248.

⁴ A. has الكشای both here and in l. 4 of the next page, and in the second place adds 'Alí b. Muḥtáj after Abū'l-Ḥasan.

servants, the whole letter filled with such expressions as "I will come," "I will take," "I will bind," "I will strike," "I will slay." When the Chamberlain Abu'l-Hasan Kisá'í submitted this letter and delivered the message, not withholding aught, Alptagín, who was already vexed, grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying: "I was his father's servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, it is in fact quite otherwise, for when you examine this matter, a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this house, not supporters."

Then he asked of Iskáfí, "How wilt thou answer this letter?" Iskáfí, on the spur of the moment, wrote the first draft of the answer as follows:—

*"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Núh, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly."*¹

When this letter reached Núh b. Manşúr, the Amir of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers in wonder. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfí fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núh sent a messenger to him to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary. So his affairs prospered, and he became conspicuous and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the Qur'án, he would not thus have distinguished himself on this occasion, nor would his position have risen from the station he occupied to this high degree.

¹ Qur'án, xi, 34.

Anecdote iii.

When Iskáfí's affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of Núh b. Manşúr, Mákán the son of Kákí¹ rebelled at Ray and in Kúhistán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár, Samnán and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish,² and paid no heed to the Sámánids. Núh b. Manşúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the commander-in-chief, to march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this sedition, and put an end to this grave incident in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tásh was very wise and clear in judgement, emerging swiftly and skilfully from the straitest passes; and he was also victorious in warfare, and had never turned back in defeat from any one of the countless battles he had waged, nor come forth worsted from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion and authority of the House of Sámán enjoyed the greatest brilliancy and prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amír, being much preoccupied and distressed, sent a messenger to summon Iskáfí, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this occurrence; for Mákán is a brave man, and an able, and hath, in addition to his bravery and courage, administrative capacity and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamis. You must co-operate with Tásh, and whatever he lacks for the raising of an army at this juncture, you must supply.

¹ The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán b. Kákí occurred in A.H. 329, towards the end of the reign of Naşr II b. Ahmad, i.e. long before the rebellion of Alptagiu (see n. 1 on p. 638, *supra*). See DeFrémery's *Samanides*, pp. 248 and 263-4.

² Better known as *Qimis*, the Arabized form of the name. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, pp. 464-5. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 213, 317, and 318.

And I will establish myself at Nishápúr, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foeman discouraged. Every day a swift messenger must come from you to me with dispatches, wherein you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskáfí bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tásh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhárá, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amir followed him with the remainder of the army to Nishápúr. There he invested Tásh and the army with robes of honour; and Tásh, raising his standard, marched into Bayhaq, whence he marched forwards into Kúmish to confront the enemy, with fixed purpose and in the best of spirits.

Meanwhile Mákán, with ten thousand mailed men, was encamped at the gates of Ray, where he had taken up his position. Tásh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers passed to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mákán was puffed up with pride on account of that formidable army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tásh was an aged warrior, who for forty years had held the position of commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so manœuvred that when the two armies met, and the doughty warriors and champions of Transoxania and Khurásán moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tásh, when he had ceased from taking and binding and slaying, turned to Iskáfí and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier: but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfí took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the

Clement. As for *Mákán*, he hath become as his name"¹ [*Má kán* = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "*má*" he intended the negative, and by "*kán*," the verb substantive, so that the Persian of it would be, "*Mákán* hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amír Núh, he was not more delighted at the victory than at this dispatch, and he ordered Iskáfí's salary to be increased, saying: "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression."²

Anecdote iv.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise, the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not hit the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such words.

It is related that a certain Secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maidservant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind that he lost the thread of his diction, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and saw this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and inquired of him

¹ اما ماكان فصار كاسمه.

² The substance of this anecdote is given in the *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, and is cited by Defrémery at pp. 247-8 of his *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845).

concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said: "The beginning of this letter excels the latter part by as much as the *súra* '*Say, He is God, the One*'¹ excels the *súra* '*The hands of Abú Lahab shall perish*,'² and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessities of life." Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announcement as this from ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

Anecdote v.

The *Šāhib* Isma'il ibn 'Abbād,³ entitled *al-Kāfi* ("the Competent"), of Ray,⁴ was minister to the *Shāhanshāh*. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the *Šāhib* was a man of just dealings, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, not holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of [righteous] enmity; and his servants and retainers and agents for the most part followed his example.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the *Šāhib* in whose godliness and piety he had the firmest belief, though there were some who asserted the contrary, and brought information against him, which, however, left the *Šāhib* unconvinced, until certain trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that

¹ Qur'an, cxii.

² Qur'an, cxi.

³ For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. i, pp. 212-217, and n. 4 on p. 636, *supra*.

⁴ So B. Both A. and L. have الوادي.

in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred *tímáns*. This was mightily displeasing to the Šáhib for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupulousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:—

*"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, so Come!"*¹

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect of its brevity, concision, and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and repeat it to the people of the world.

Anecdote vi.

Lamghán² is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna; and at this present time naught but one range of mountains separates its inhabitants from the heathen, so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghán are of good courage, sharp and frugal, and combining with their sharpness no small rascality,³ to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg; while for even less than this they were ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and would remain there one or two months, and then return without having accomplished their object. In short, they are wonderful hands at patience, and are most stiffnecked in importunity.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، أَيُّهَا الْقَاضِي بَقِمُ قَدْ عَزَلْنَاكَ فَتَمُ.

I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.

² Or Lámaghán. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, p. 503; Pavet de Courteille's *Mém. de Baber*, ii, pp. 120, 121.

³ The texts differ considerably in this sentence. I follow A., which has:

أَمَّا لَمَغَانِيَانِ مَرْدَانِ بِشَكْوِهِ بَاشَدَنْ وَجَلْدِ وَكُشُوبِ وَبَا جَلْدِي

زَعَرِي عَظِيمِ . . .

Now in the reign of Sultán Mahmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla, the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befel them. But these were men who could raise a harvest without soil; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their rascality, impudence, dissimulation, and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Ahmád Hasan of Maymand,¹ took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of the next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghánis returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, divulging their secret to no one.² When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had effectively extended to them his protection, so that they were now able to dwell in peace on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that, as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted

¹ See n. 4 on p. 637, *supra*.

² This I take to be the meaning of آب بکس ندادند.

itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it: "*Al-kharáju khuráj^{un}, adá'uhu dawá'uhu*," that is to say, "*The tax is a running sore: its cure is its discharge.*" And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

Anecdote vii.

There were great statesmen under the 'Abbásid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent were their gifts and rewards. [Ibn] Sahl, called *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*¹ ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Fadl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma'mún espoused Fadl's daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma'mún should go to the bride's house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period return home with the bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma'mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbásids; till one day Yahyá b. Aktham² inquired of him, "Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?" Ma'mún replied to the Judge: "Black garments are for man and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead

¹ There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Hasan ibn Sahl was the father of Párán, al-Ma'mún's bride, while Fadl bore the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*. See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 268-272 and 408-409; vol. ii, pp. 472-476. Also the *Lafá'ifu'l-Ma'drif* of ath-Tha'libí (ed. De Jong), pp. 73, 74, where a full account is given of this marriage.

² See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, iv, pp. 33-51.

man buried in black." Yahyá was greatly surprised by this answer. So on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, of royal fabric, of fur, hand-woven, of various colours, hand-cut, of fine black silk,¹ he neither approved nor accepted one, but clad himself in his customary black, and mounted, and turned his face towards the bride's house. Now on that day Faḍl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace, he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese spring, and more delightful than the assurance of faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul; and he said to himself: "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I was content with this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Faḍl on that day, one was this, that when Ma'mún reached the middle of the palace yard, he saw a tray filled with wax, round which was arranged a pattern of pearls.² And at the feet of each guest were cast several nuts, in each of which was a piece of paper whereon was inscribed the name of a village; and whoever drew one, to him were delivered the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion faced with gypsum and adorned with paintings,³

¹ The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. The list runs as follows: و نسیم [A., B., طمیم] و نسیم و ممزج و مقراضی و اکسون

² This sentence is not quite clear. It runs: پر [A., B. om. دید] طبقی کرده [B. om. L.] از موم بهیئت مروارید گرد کرده هریکی چند [چند A.] فندقی در پای او ریخت [ریختند L.].

³ A., B. have منقش و مجصص. L. reads: مجصص.

strewn with perfumes of China, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden in the season of the rose. He saw, moreover, cast down and spread out at the entrance of the house, mats of cloth of gold,¹ embroidered with rubies, pearls, and turquoises; and in like manner six cushions placed thereon, on which was seated a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the noble cypress would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and with eyes after the likeness of the onyx and the narcissus.² She, rising to her feet, advanced towards Ma'mún, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, brought him forward and seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated herself on her knees,³ hanging her head and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the pocket of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow's egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay, more luminous, than Jupiter or Saturn. These rolled on the surface of the carpet, and, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma'mún's passion further increased, and he extended

¹ This sentence, again, is not clear. It runs:

.. و خانه واری حصیر از شوشه^۱ زر کشیده افگندود.

² A., B: 'و چشم او از جسم جزع و عیبر بود'. L. has: 'و چشمی چون چشم جدع و عیبر'

³ I.e., in the Persian fashion, on the heels, with the knees together in front.

his hand to caress her, and would have opened the door of amorous dalliance. But this caress aroused her modesty and covered her with confusion, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women, and the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she suddenly exclaimed: "*O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!*"¹

Thereat Ma'mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme beauty of this citation, and her graceful application of it. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught save two occupations. And the affairs of Faḍl prospered, and he attained to that high position to which he attained.

Anecdote viii.

Again in the time of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, in the reign of al-Mustarshid bi'lláh² (may God make his tomb fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), the son of al-Mustadhḥir bi'lláh, the Prince of Believers came forth from the city of Baghdad with a well-equipped army in full panoply, and much treasure, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurásán, on account of a reparation which he would exact from the King of the World Sanjar.³

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and representations of conspirators, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirmánsháh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and reached the support and

¹ Qur'án, xvi, 1. Cf. De Slane's *Ibn Kallikán*, vol. i, p. 270.

² The twenty-ninth 'Abbásid Caliph, reigned A.H. 512-529.

³ This happened in A.H. 529. See Houtema's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. ii (1859), pp. 174-178.

crown of the guard-stars.¹ In the course of this harangue, after expressing his distress and despair, he complained of the House of Seljúq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia have confessed that, after the companions of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace rest on him and his family), who were the disciples of the Focus of the Prophetic Function and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid: "*We entrusted our affairs to the House of Seljúq, but they contended against us, and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened, and many of them sinned,*"² that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in the Religion of Islám.

Anecdote ix.

The Gúr Khán of Khitá fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Maliksháh, at the gates of Samarqand, and so fateful was the day to the army of Islám that Transoxania passed into his power.³ After putting to death the Imám of the East Husámu'd-Dín (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace!), the Gúr Khán bestowed Bukhárá on Alptagín.⁴ When the Gúr Khán turned back, he entrusted the son of the Amír Bayánání,⁵ the nephew of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh,

¹ *Fargadayn*, two bright stars near the Pole-star, β and γ of Ursa Minor. See vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 125, n. 2.

² فَوَضَّأْنَا أُمُورَنَا إِلَى آلِ سَلْجُوقٍ فَمُبْرَزُوا عَلَيْنَا فَطَالَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْإِمْدُ
فَقَسَّتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

³ See Mirkhwánd's *History of the Seljuqs*, ed. Vullers, pp. 176-180. Professor Ross has pointed out to me that Gúr Khán is a generic title. See *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, by Elias and Ross, p. 287 et seqq. See also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, p. 34 et seqq.

⁴ So L., agreeing with Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. 29, where A.N. 536 is given as the date of this event. For *Alptagín* A. and B. read اُتْمَتَكِين throughout.

⁵ L. has سامانی, A. بیابانی (uncertain), B. بیانانی, but I cannot identify the name.

to the Imám Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was the Imám of Bukhárá, and the leading man of his time,¹ so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should not take any step without his instructions. Then the Gúr Khán turned back and retired to Bars-ján.²

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands, and, indeed, in these two things lies the essence of kingship. But when Alptagín saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as an embassy to the Gúr Khán³ to seek redress. The Gúr Khán, after the way of good Muslims, wrote a letter in Persian to Alptagín as follows:—

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. Let Alptagín know that, although wide distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Alptagín do that which Aḥmad commands, and Aḥmad that which Muḥammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have I seen anything like it.

Anecdote x.

The extreme eloquence of the Qur'án is in its concision of words and marvellous presentation of ideas; imitation thereof results but in citation, to such a degree that a sense

¹ For *و پيشرو زمان*, A. and B. have *ويسر برهان*, "and the son of Burhán."

² Name uncertain. L. has *Zanján*, which is quite unsuitable; A., *برسيحان* (not clearly legible); B., *برسيحان*.

³ A. has, instead of *نزد گورخان* (L.'s reading), *سوی برسيحان*; B., *سوی برسيحان*.

of awe is produced, and the wise and understanding man is converted from his state [of doubt]. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor issue from any human lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is the stigma of its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one day one of the Muslims was reciting before Walid b. Mughíra this verse:—“*And it was said, ‘O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up’; and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it [i.e. the Ark] rested upon Mount Judi.*”¹ “By God,” said Walid b. Mughíra, “verily it hath beauty and sweetness, and verily at its highest it is terrible as a wild beast in fury, and at its lowest is as the deepest mine!”² When even enemies reached such a level of enthusiasm, by reason of the eloquence of the Qur’án and its incomparable height in the domain of religion and equity, to what degree must friends attain?

Anecdote xi.

In former times it was customary with the kings and tyrants of the world, such as the Pishdádi, Kayání, and Sásánian monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another in justice and accomplishments, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings, riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils

¹ Qur’án, xi, 46.

² L. has ‘*ان اعلاء متنقرو ان اسفله لمعدن*’. In the margin *للمعدن* stands as a variant on *لمعدن*. A. and B. have *لمعدن* and *لمنقر* for *متنقر*.

would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and when the inner meanings of these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, then they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of Maḥmūd b. Sabuktagīn Yamīnu'd-Dawla (may God have mercy upon him!). One day he despatched an ambassador to Bughrá Khán in Transoxania, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—*"God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you.'*"¹ The acute and critical are agreed that here he [i.e. the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this, nor is there aught lower than the fault of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion God's Word also bears witness: *"[God will raise up those of you who believe] and those to whom knowledge hath been given to [superior] degrees."*² Therefore we desire that the Imáms of the land of Kháqán's Court should give so much information touching essentials as to state what the Prophetic Office is, what Saintsship, what Religion, what Islám, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Justice, and what Pity."

When this letter reached the Court of Bughrá Khán,³ and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imáms of Transoxania from the different towns and districts, informed them of the matter, and requested them to answer these words, bidding each one compose a treatise on this subject, and introduce in the course of their dissertation and argument a reply to these

¹ Qur'án, xlix, 13.

² Qur'án, lviii, 12.

³ Here A. has *غراخان* and B. *قراخان*, though they agree with L. above and below.

interrogations. They craved a delay of four months; which period dragged on with all sorts of detriments, the least of which was the disbursements from the treasury for the salaries of the ambassadors and the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’lláh the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán’s private secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being one of the most eloquent stylists amongst the Muslims both in prose and verse, said: “I will answer these questions in two words, in such wise that when the greatest scholars and most conspicuous men of al-Islám shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration.” So he took up his pen and wrote under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (*fatwá*): “*Saith God’s Apostle (upon whom be the Blessing of God, and also on his Family), ‘Reverence for God’s command and loving-kindness towards God’s people.’*” All the Imáms of Transoxania bit their fingers in amazement and expressed their admiration, saying, “Here indeed is an answer which is perfect, and an utterance which is comprehensive!” And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and not left to the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished Secretary is a great ornament to the brilliancy of a King’s Court. And with this anecdote we conclude this chapter. And from God cometh assistance.

SECOND DISCOURSE.

On the Nature of Poetry, and the Utility of the Skilful Poet.

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions, and adapts the deductions, with the result that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the garb of good. By acting on the imagination,

he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with exultation or depression; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

Anecdote xii.

Thus they relate that Ahmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání¹ was asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd, become Amir of Khurásán?" He replied: "One day I was reading the Diván of Handhala of Bádghís,² in Bádghís of Khujistán, when I chanced on these two couplets:—

‘مېترى گربكام شیر درست’ شو خطر كن ز كام شیر بجوى
‘يا بزرگى و ناز و نعمت و جاد’ يا چو مردانت مرگت رويارى

*'If lordship lies within the lion's jaws,
Go, risk it, and from those dread portals seize
Such straight-confronting death as men desire,
Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.'*

An impulse stirred within me such that I could in no wise remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of 'Amr b. Layth.³ At that time the fortune of the Šaffáris still floated at the zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alí was the youngest, and Ya'qúb and 'Amr had precedence over him.

¹ "Khujistan.—In the mountains near Herát. From this country issued Ahmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání, who revolted at Nishápúr and died in A.H. 264." (Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 197.) The learned editor points out, however, that, according to Ibnu'l-Athir, Ahmad was assassinated in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 268, after having reigned at Nishápúr for six years. See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, p. 345 et seq. of the second half.

² See Ethé's *Rüdagi's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 38–40, where these verses, and others by the same poet, are cited.

³ Brother of Ya'qúb b. Layth, the founder of the short-lived Šaffári dynasty. 'Amr reigned from A.H. 265 to A.H. 267.

When Ya'qúb came from Khurásán to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alí b. Layth sent me back from *Ribát-i-Sangia* ("the Stone Rest-house") to act as his agent to his feudal estates in Khurásán. I had collected an army of a hundred on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alí b. Layth one was Karúkh¹ of Herát, a second Khán-i-Nishápúr. When I reached Karúkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwáf,² and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwáf contested it, saying, 'Do we want a magistrate with [a bodyguard of only] ten men?'³ I thereupon decided to renounce my allegiance to the Šaffáris, looted Khwáf, proceeded to the village of Yashb,⁴ and came to Bayhaq, where two⁵ thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Nishápúr, and my affairs prospered and improved until all Khurásán lay open to me, and I took possession of it for myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the cause."

Salámí⁶ relates in his history that the affairs of Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh prospered so greatly that in one night at Nishápúr he distributed in largesse 300,000 dínárs, 500 head of horses, and 1,000 suits of clothes, and to-day he

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 487. B. and L. have "of Merv."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

³ The text and sense are both very doubtful. A. (f. 128) has گفتند ما را گفتند که ما را خواجه , while the lithograph has گفتند که ما را گفتند که ما را , while the lithograph has گفتند که ما را گفتند که ما را .

⁴ The MSS. have plainly بیروستای یشب بیرون شدم , while the lithograph has و یشب بیرون شدم . I cannot, however, find mention of the village.

⁵ The lithograph reads "a thousand."

⁶ Concerning Ibn Salám, the author of a *Tabaqatu'sh-Shu'ard* (d. A.D. 845-6), who is probably intended, see J.R.A.S. for January, 1899, p. 48, footnote.

stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two couplets of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall conduce to the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in *diwāns* and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape,¹ no trace will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet's verse, as Sharif-i-Mujallidi of Gurgān says:—²

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی ' که ماند از آل سامان و آل سامان
 ثنای رودگی ماندست و مدحش ' نوا' بارید ماندست و داستان

*"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses
 Of Sāsān and of Sāmān, in our days
 Nothing survives except the song of Būrbād,
 Nothing is left save Rūdagi's sweet lays."*

The names of the monarchs of the age and the princes of the time are perpetuated by the admirable verse and widely-current poems of this guild; as, for instance, the names of the House of Sāmān by Ustād Abū 'Abdillāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad *ar-Rūdaki*,³ Abū'l-'Abbās b. 'Abbās⁴ az-Zanjī, Abū'l-Mathal⁵ al-Bukhārī, Abū Ishāq Jūybārī,⁶ Abū'l-Hasan al-'Ajī,⁷ and Ṭahāwī, and Khabbāzī⁸ of Nishāpūr, and Abū'l-Hasan al-Kisā'ī⁹; and the names of

¹ i.e., when he comes to die.

² B. omits the poet's name altogether. L. has *Majdi*.

³ al-'Awfi's *Lubāb*, part ii, No. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 8, and Horn's ed. of the *Lughat-i-Asadi*, p. 24, first paragraph.

L. has رازی, and A. (f. 128) زنجی.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 25, and Asadi, p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 10.

⁷ The lithograph omits this name and the next; A. (f. 13a) has الأعجی,

I suppose for العجی, "enfant nourri d'un lait étranger"; while B. has الإعجی.

⁸ 'Awfi, No. 29.

⁹ See Ethé's monograph, *Die Lieder des Kisā'i*.

the kings of the House of Násiru'd-Dín [i.e. the Ghaznavids] by such men as 'Unsurí, 'Asjadí, Farrukhí,¹ Bahrámí,² Zaynatí,³ Buzurjmíhr of Qá'in,⁴ Mudhaffar,⁵ Manshúrí,⁶ Manúchihrí,⁷ Mas'údí,⁸ Qasárámí,⁹ Abú Hanífa Iskáf ("the Cobbler"),¹⁰ Ráshidí, Abú'l-Faraj of Rúna,¹¹ Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán,¹² Muḥammad Abú Nasr,¹³ Sháh Abú Rijá,¹⁴ Aḥmad Khalaf, 'Uthmán Mukhtárí,¹⁵ and San'í¹⁶; and the names of the House of Kháqán through Lúlú'í, Gulábí, Najibí,¹⁷ Farkhárí,¹⁸ 'Am'aq of Bukhárá,¹⁹ Ráshidí of Samarqand,²⁰ Najjár ("the Carpenter")²¹ -i-Ságharjí, 'Alí Pánidí,²² the son of Darghúsh,²³ 'Alí

¹ Well-known contemporaries of Firdawsí. Mention is made of the first and last (of whose poems lithographed editions have been published at Tíhrán) further on.

² Abú'l-Hasan 'Alí of Sarakhs. See *Majma'u'l-Fuḡahí*, vol. i, p. 173.

³ Zaynatí-i-'Alaví-i-Mahmúdí-i-Khurasáni. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 241.

⁴ Qásim b. Ibráhím b. Mansúr. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 66.

⁵ Or Mudhaffarí, of Panj-dih. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 505.

⁶ Abú Sa'd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Samarqand. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 506.

⁷ See the edition of his *Dirán* by A. de Biberstein Kazimirski.

⁸ Mas'údí of Ray (see *M.F.*, i, p. 503), another Ghaznavid poet, is apparently intended.

⁹ L. substitutes *Ghadrí*. For Qasárámí see Horn's *Asadí*, p. 27.

¹⁰ Of Merv or Ghazna. See 'Awf's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 21, and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 83-85.

¹¹ See *M.F.*, i, pp. 70-78.

¹² Abú'l-Fakhr Mas'úd b. Sa'd b. Salmán of Ghazna (died A.H. 515 or 525). See Horn's *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadí, p. 28, and *M.F.*, i, p. 514.

¹³ L. has Majd-i-Násir. I can find no particulars concerning him.

¹⁴ See *M.F.*, i, pp. 68-70. He was of Ghazna, and also bore the *lagab* of Shihábu'd-Dín.

¹⁵ See Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkiras* (pp. 93, 94 of my forthcoming edition), *Tabaqa ii*, No. 8.

¹⁶ A. adds "Mawjúd," an error for "Majdúd." See Dawlatsháh (pp. 95-99), *Tabaqa ii*, No. 9; *M.F.*, i, pp. 264-274.

¹⁷ L. omits this name and the next. Najibu'd-Dín Jurbádhakáni (i.e. of Gulparagán) is meant. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 634, 635.

¹⁸ See Dawlatsháh (pp. 69, 70), *Tabaqa i*, No. 18.

¹⁹ See Dawlatsháh (pp. 64-67), *Tabaqa i*, No. 15; *M.F.*, i, pp. 345-350.

²⁰ See Horn's *Asadí*, p. 18.

²¹ See Anecdote xix, *infra*; and Horn's *Asadí*, p. 31.

²² The second word is very uncertain. L. has تائیدی; A., or تائیدی, or تانیدی; B., تاپیدی; but lower (Anecdote xix), A. has بانیدی (i.e. پانیدی, or پانیدی), which I take to be the correct form.

²³ L. omits. B. has درغوشی. In both MSS. the first word is written برسر, which may stand for بشر, or possibly the correct reading is *Bashshár-i-Marghazí*. See *M.F.*, i, p. 171.

Sipihri,¹ Jawharí,² Sa'dí, the son of Tisha,³ and 'Alí Shatranjī ("the Chess-player")⁴; and the names of the House of Seljūq by Farrakhī, Karkhānī, Lāmi'ī of Dabistān,⁵ Ja'far of Hamadān, Fīrūzi-i-Fakhri,⁶ Burhānī,⁷ Amīr Mu'izzī, Abu'l-Ma'ālī of Ray,⁸ Amīd Kamālī,⁹ and Shihābī¹⁰; and the names of the rulers of Ṭabaristān through Qumrī of Gurgān,¹¹ Rāfi'ī of Nishāpūr,¹² Kafāyatī¹³ of Ganja, Kūsa Fālī, and Būrkala¹⁴; and the names of the kings of Ghūr, the House of Shansab (may God cause their rule to endure for ever!), through Abu'l-Qāsim Rafī'ī, Abū Bakr Jawharī, this least of mankind Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī, and 'Alī Sūfī. The *diwāns* of these poets are eloquent as to the excellence, comeliness, munitions and forces [of war], justice, bounty, worth, nobility, doughty deeds, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor. How many nobles there were under these dynasties who enjoyed the favours of kings, and dispensed untold largesses to these poets, and conferred on them sources of income, of whom to-day no trace remains; though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are

¹ See 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ch. viii, No. 30; *M.F.*, i, pp. 244, 245; but the identity is uncertain.

² Called "the goldsmith" (*Zargār*). See Dawlatshāh (pp. 118-121), *Tabaqa*, ii, No. 18.

³ Very doubtful. L. omits. A. has *و بصر تیشه*; B. *و بوسید*.

⁴ Noticed in ch. x of 'Awfī's *Lubāb*; *M.F.*, i, pp. 344, 345.

⁵ *M.F.*, i, pp. 494-501.

⁶ Both MSS. have *و در فیروز فخری*.

⁷ The father of Mu'izzī. Both are mentioned in Anecdote xvi, *infra*.

⁸ *M.F.*, i, pp. 79, 80.

⁹ Kamālū'd-Dīn 'Amīd of Bukhārā. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 486, 487.

¹⁰ Shihābū'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mu'ayyad of Naasī, near Samarqand. *M.F.*, i, pp. 310, 311.

¹¹ *M.F.*, i, pp. 477, 478.

¹² *M.F.*, i, pp. 220, 221.

¹³ L. has *کنائی*.

¹⁴ L. has Qā'ini for Fālī, and omits Būrkala.

levelled with the ground and uniform with the deserts and ravines! Says the author :—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد

که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد

نه بینی ز آن ده یک خشت بر پای

مدیح عنصری ماندست بر جای

*"How many a palace did great Mahmūd raise,
At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo 'Unşurī's sweet lays."*

When the Monarch of the World Sultān 'Alá'u'd-dunyá wa'd-Dīn Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious!) marched on Ghazna to avenge those two martyred kings and laudable monarchs,¹ whom Sultān Bahrámsháh had previously put to death after the fashion of common thieves, treating them with every indignity, and speaking lightly of them,² he sacked Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd, and Ibráhīm, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. In that army and in that city none dared call them king, yet he himself would read that *Sháhnáma* wherein Firdawsí says :—

¹ Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Sayīd-Dīn Sūri, both killed by Bahrámsháh the Ghaznavid, towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (A.H. 550, A.D. 1155-6) 'Alá'u'd-Dīn Ḥusayn the Ghūrīd received the title of *Jahán-sir* ("the World-consumer").

² This sentence is obscure in the first portion. It runs as follows in A. :—

خداوند عالم بکین خواستن آن دو ملک شهید و یادشاد
حمید [که ل.] بغزنین رفت و سلطان بهرامشاد از پیش [او
برفت و در راه دزدان هر دورا شهید کردند و [که او] استخفافها کرده
بودند و گزافها گفته [و ل.] غزنین را غارت کرد

چو کودک لب از شیر مادر بشست ' ز کُھواره محمود گوید نخست
 جهاندار محمود شاه بزرگ ' بآبشخور آرد همی میش و گِرت

*"Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry
 From the milk of its mother, 'Mahmūd!' is the cry!
 Mahmūd, the Great King, who such order doth keep
 That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"*

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Mahmūd, but only admiration for Firdawsi and his verse. Had Mahmūd understood this, he would probably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

EXCURSUS.

Now the poet must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in genius, clear of vision, quick of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and quick to extract what is best from his environment; for as poetry is of advantage in every science, so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level that it is written on the page of Time and celebrated on the lips and tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus confirmed and published it is ineffectual to this end, and this result cannot accrue from it; it will not survive its author, and, being ineffectual for the immortalizing of his name, how can it confer immortality on another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory

20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients and 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, holds them constantly before his eyes, and continually reads and marks the *dicáns* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the fashion and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his taste has been formed by wide reading of poetry, and his style of expression is thus strengthened, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and peruse the works of Master Abu'l-Hasan Bahrámi of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (*Gháyatu'l-'Aridiyyin*), the "Thesaurus of Rhyme" (*Kanzu'l-Qáfiya*), and the works treating of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a master as he deemeth best, that thus he in turn may come to merit the title of Master, that his name may remain on the page of time like the names of those other Masters which we have mentioned, and that he may be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him, so that his name may endure for ever.

Now it behoves the King to patronize such a person, so that he may remain in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, he should waste no money on him and pay no heed to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, and according to the Law of Chivalry it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to maintain him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king's mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rúdagí obtained from the House of Sámán by his improvisations and by virtue of his verse, none other hath experienced.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. HUMĀYŪN'S INSCRIPTION AT JĀM.

Shottermill.

April 7, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—It may interest the readers of our Journal to know that the inscription from Turbat-i-Jām, which was sent by the lamented Mr. Ney Elias and published in the Journal for January, 1897, is referred to by the author of the *Māsir-i-Raḥīmī*, who was a native of Persia and wrote early in the seventeenth century. He says (M.S., A.S.B., 284*a*) that he had read the inscription and noticed the blessed handwriting of the Emperor, but that the exact words of the verse had not remained in his memory. This statement occurs in his life of Bairām *Khān*.

H. BEVERIDGE.

2. BALONGA, THE OLDEST CAPITAL OF CHAMPA.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—When the first part of Captain Gerini's paper on the "Early Geography of Indo-China" appeared (now nearly two years ago) I was much struck by one of his identifications of Ptolemy's place-names, which seemed to me both to corroborate strongly the general correctness of the method employed, and to be in itself of some intrinsic interest. After awaiting, with much curious expectation, but in vain, the continuation

of that paper,¹ I now think it may be worth while to point out what I refer to.

Captain Gerini's Table V, No. 121, reads:—

"*Balanga*, metropolis . . [rectified position] 104° 43' [E.] . . 14° 16' [N.] Quin-hon in Bin-dinh or Cha-ban (Canh-vanh) near *Ba* or Dalang (? Balang) river . . . 109° 1' [E.] . . 13° 44' [N]."

This points to a place nearly half-way up the eastern coast of Indo-China, in Annam, the ancient Champa.

M. Aymonier, in a paper entitled *Les Tchames et leurs Religions*, writes: "Qu'elles soient venues par terre de l'Ouest ou qu'elles aient été apportées de l'Inde par mer, la civilisation et la puissance du Tchampa se propagèrent d'abord du sud au nord, avant d'être refoulées en sens inverse par les attaques du Céleste Empire et des Annamites, élèves et pupilles des Chinois. Les derniers descendants des habitants de ce royaume, qui se nomment aujourd'hui les Tehames, ont conservé la tradition de trois capitales historiques. La plus ancienne en date, *Shri-Banany*, était au nord, vraisemblablement au Quang-Binh actuel, vers 17° 30' de latitude. Le seconde, *Bal-Hangor*, a laissé des vestiges encore reconnaissables près de Huê, la capitale actuelle de l'empire annamite. La troisième, *Bal-Angoué*, nous montre ses remparts bien conservés dans la province de Binh-Dinh, à quatre lieues du port de Qui-Nhôn, 14° degré de latitude."

This last capital, *Bal-Angoué*, appears to have been exactly where Captain Gerini puts Ptolemy's *Balanga*, and there seems to be little possibility of doubt as to their identity.

In the second century of our era, therefore, it would seem that the metropolis of Champa was the most southern of its three historic capitals, the one that became the capital again more than a thousand years later, when the Chams

¹ The continuation, being too long for this Journal, is being published by our Society, in co-operation with the Geographical, as a separate book.

were driven from their northern provinces. This fact illustrates M. Aymonier's statement that the Cham civilization originally advanced from the south northwards, and long afterwards was driven back towards the south again, till in the end it was practically annihilated by the Annamese.

Moreover, it is evident that Indian influences had already in Ptolemy's time struck root in Indo-China, and that the Indian names he gives to places on that coast are not all merely due to the nomenclature of casual Indian traders and seafarers. For *bal* is the Cham for 'palace, capital, seat of royalty,' and no doubt corresponds with the Malay *balei*, which, according to Favre, represents the Sanskrit *valaya*, 'enclosure.' A *capital*, with a name that is specifically *Cham*, but appears to be derived in part from *Sanskrit*, implies something of the nature of a local organized government borrowing, as the Cham civilization throughout its ascertained history certainly did borrow, a good deal from Indian sources. Thus Ptolemy's short entry of *Balonga, metropolis*, which antedates the evidence of the local inscriptions by at least a century or two, has preserved for us what is probably the oldest scrap of authentic Indo-Chinese history on record.—I am, etc.,

C. OTTO BLAGDEN.

3. MRAMMĀ (ꨀꨣꨩ).


This is the classical name of the people whom we call Burmese and the country which is commonly called Burma, from the colloquial pronunciation Bāmā.

The word Mrammā, though spelt with *r*, is properly pronounced as if spelt with *y*, and Bāmā is easily deducible from Myammā, though Brahmā cannot be turned into Mrammā. Notwithstanding this, Sir Arthur Phayre and others have held that Mrammā is a modern appellation, the outcome of the national pride. Sir Arthur, at p. 2 of his *History*, says: "the Indian settlers gave to them and adopted themselves the name Brahmā, which is that used

in Buddhist sacred books for the first inhabitants of the world This term, when used to designate the existing people, is now written *Mrammā* and generally pronounced *Bamā*."

As I have stated above, the language naturally lends itself to this change, as *tan-myet* to *tabyet*, a broom. Other instances might be given. *Brahmapā* and *Brahmā* constantly appear in Burmese books, but are not changed in spelling or pronunciation, and no one has yet adduced any proof to show that this change was made when using the word *Brahmā* to designate the people, if such really was the case.

The Burmese have been called by the Chinese *Mien* and by the Shans and others *Man*. In poetry their country is always the country of *Mran* or *Myan*, and I think we may safely conclude that this was the original name of the race or tribe.

Why, then, is it now called *Mrammā*? The answer appears to me to be perfectly simple. The original name of the tribe was *Mran*, which is written with a simple nasal final which can be represented by *n* or *m*. When the monks wrote this name in classical Pali it became *Marammo*, plural *Marammā* (see Childers' Dictionary, Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of A.D. 1476, and the *Sāsanavamsa* of Paññasāmi), which in the Burmese character would be  *Mrammā*, colloquially *Bamā*.¹ Mr. Taw-sein-ko has lately made a statement that the word is connected with Prome (Brome) on the Irrawaddy, a town whose name he derives from *Brahm*. These conjectures and statements all require a certain amount of evidence, without which they are valueless and misleading.

It is no use to ask a Burmese for a derivation if you want the correct one. He is always for "*lucus a non lucendo*."

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

Wadham College, Oxford.

May 4, 1899.

¹ The fact that the Pali word has two *m*'s militates against the *Brahmā* theory.

4. ARI.

*Secretariat, Rangoon.**April 26, 1899.*

DEAR SIR,—I have read with interest Mr. St. John's letter on the word 'Ari' in the Society's Journal for January, 1899. Mrs. Bode suggests that the word may be connected with the Pāli word *ariyo*, while Mr. St. John feels sure that it stands for *araññaka* or *araññako*, 'one who dwells in the forest.' I have consulted a number of pandits, and they all confirm Mrs. Bode's derivation. They tell me that အရိယ becomes အရည် in Burmese in the same way as ဝိဇယ becomes ဝိဇည်း and ဝစ္ဆယ becomes ဝစ္ဆည်း, and that in Burmese literature the word အရည် has the meaning of 'noble, excellent,' when used as an adjective. A number of extracts have been shown me to support the latter portion of their statement.

Burmese history and Burmese archæology are almost a *terra incognita* in Europe. The field is large, but the labourers are few. However, an Archæological Department and a Provincial Museum are soon to be established in Burma, and it is hoped that the darkness, which now enshrouds things Burmese, will soon be dispelled.—Yours very truly,

TAW SEIN KO.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

5. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT ATTRIBUTED TO FAKHRU'DDĪN RĀZĪ,
WITH A NOTE ON RISĀLATU 'L GHUFRĀN BY ABŪ 'L 'ALĀ
AL-MA'ARRĪ AND OTHER MSS. IN THE SAME COLLECTION.

*Trinity College, Cambridge.**May 17, 1899.*

DEAR SIR,—I was much interested to learn from Dr. Horn's letter that a copy of the Persian MS.,

حفظ الصحة, which I described in the January number, is catalogued in the Aya Sofia at Constantinople under the title of حفظ البدن. This seems to put Rāzī's authorship beyond question. As regards his originality, perhaps I expressed myself rather carelessly when I said that my MS. had "every appearance of being an original work." As the context shows, I meant to say that in my opinion it was not translated from the Greek, and could so far claim to be an original composition. I never doubted that it was largely compiled from older sources: this was *a priori* to be expected, and in many cases Rāzī actually cites his authority. While I am not prepared to assert positively that he was indebted to the ذخيرة خوارزمشاهی, a perusal of Dr. Horn's paper has convinced me that the two works, differing widely in scope, are yet to a large extent arranged on parallel lines. It is curious that I should have unconsciously anticipated Dr. Horn's admirable suggestion to identify the authority whom Rāzī cites by the name of Seyyid or Imām Ismā'īl with Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Jurjūnī, author of the ذخيرة خوارزمشاهی; for Al-Sharīf Sharafu'ddīn Ismā'īl, to whom I thought Rāzī might be referring, is in fact the same person (Rieu, Persian Catalogue, p. 467; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ed. A. Müller, vol. ii, p. 31 seq.).

Since writing my article on the حفظ الصحة, I have had occasion to make for my own use a rough catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. gathered many years ago by my grandfather, the late Dr. John Nicholson of Penrith. The private owner of MSS. may not improperly be likened to the innocent receiver of stolen goods, whose best apology is straightway to publish what has befallen him. I hope therefore to be pardoned if I give some slight account of the rarer volumes and notice briefly a few more which have an interest apart from rarity.

The Persian MSS, both in number and quality, are much inferior to the Arabic. Besides the Hifẓ al-Siḥḥa I need

only mention the *Tuḥfatu 'l Mū'minīn*, the *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, the *Khamṣa* of *Niẓāmī*, *Jāmī's Dīvān* (two copies), and an exquisitely written *Kulliyāti Amīr Khusrau*, which belonged in turn to the libraries of Dr. Adam Clarke and Miss Richardson Currer.

There are about 150 Arabic MSS., and to one of these, the *Risālatu 'l Ghufrān*, I would call special attention, because it is, as I believe, a genuine work, hitherto unknown and undescribed, of the famous blind poet and man of letters, *Abū 'l 'Alā al-Ma'arrī*. The title runs:

هذه رسالة الغفران تأليف أبو (sic) العلا أحمد ابن عبد الله التنوخي
المعري وأرسلها لعلي ابن منصور المحدث بحلب

A work entitled *رسالة الغفران* occurs in *Hājī Khalīfa* (vol. iii, p. 422), but it has no connection with my MS. I think, however, that *Hājī Khalīfa* does mention this *Risāla* in the passage (vol. iii, p. 459) where he describes the *Rasū'il* of *Abū 'l 'Alā* in the following terms:—

رسائل أبي العلا . . . وهي ثلاثة أقسام الأول رسائل طوالت تجري
مجرى الكتب المصنفة مثل رسالة الملائكة والرسالة السندسية
ورسالة الزعفران ورسالة العروض والثاني الخ

For the words *رسالة الزعفران* read *رسالة الغفران*—a very easy change. The MS. now before me fully answers to *Hājī Khalīfa's* description, that is to say, it is really a rhetorical composition, which cannot save in courtesy be styled an Epistle. It extends to 219 pages in all. The first and longer portion consists of a series of imaginary conversations between the Shaikh 'Alī b. Mansūr and poets of the Ignorance who have been forgiven (hence the title) and received into Paradise. Many verses are quoted and commented on, each poet explaining and defending his own, and various amusing incidents are introduced. The second part deals mainly with heresies and heretics, e.g. *الزنادقة* and *الدهريون*. As I hope to print some extracts from the *Risālatu 'l Ghufrān* in an early issue of the Journal,

I refrain from giving further details just now. It appears to me to have great interest, not only as a new and probably unique specimen of Abū 'l 'Alā's literary powers, but also as being in itself a noteworthy accession to the huge mass of writings which fall under the general head of 'adab' or 'Litterae Humaniores.' The date is not formally stated, but we may infer from a passage on p. 156 that the *Risāla* was composed in 414 A.H.

Poetry and Commentaries thereon.

(1) *Tanwīru 'l Siqt*, containing the text of Abū 'l 'Alā's *Siqtu 'l Zand* with an excellent commentary called *Tanwīru 'l Zand*. This commentary is mentioned by Hājī Khalīfa (vol. iii, p. 601), who says that it incorporates with many enlargements and corrections the commentary which Abū 'l 'Alā himself dictated, and which was called *Ḍau'u 'l Siqt*. The author of this commentary is not known; Hājī Khalīfa says *بعضهم*. An ancient hand has ascribed it on the title-page to the Imām Fakhru'ddīn Rāzī. Rāzī did indeed compose a commentary on this *Dīvān*, but Ibn Abī Uṣaibia (ed. A. Müller, vol. ii, p. 29, fifth line from the foot) declares that it was left unfinished, which is clearly not the case here. Moreover, Rāzī was born in 543 A.H., two years after the date of this work (541 A.H.). This copy was written in the year 709 A.H., *في مدرسة البغائية*, in the city of Jājarm in Khorāsān. My MS. is undoubtedly identical with the commentary which De Sacy mentions in his *Chrestomathy* (vol. iii, p. 92) and cites as 124 R.

(2) *Sharḥu Tarjumāni 'l Ashwāq*. This MS. contains a *Dīvān* by the celebrated Muḥiyyu'ddīn b. al-'Arabī, entitled *ترجمان الاشواق*, with the author's own commentary, which is here called *الذخائر والأغلق* (see Hājī Khalīfa, vol. ii, p. 276). It has the preface (quoted in the Leyden Catalogue, vol. ii, p. 74 seq.) giving the date of the author's arrival in Mecca as 598 A.H., not 611 A.H. as is stated by Hājī Khalīfa, and begins with the same doxology, viz. *الحمد لله الحسن العال*. It would be interesting to know

whether the text of the poems in this MS. agrees with that in the Leyden MS. (No. 596) and the Gotha MS. (No. 2,268); and I hope to investigate this point at the first opportunity. Inscriptions on the last page of this volume certify that it has twice been diligently collated and corrected, so that it should be an uncommonly exact manuscript. It was copied in 1029 A.H.

(3) *Sharḥ Lāmīyati 'l 'Ajam*. The title of this commentary by *Salāḥu'ddīn Ṣafādī* on *Toghṛā'rī's* celebrated poem is—

غیت الادب الذی انسجم و شرح لامیة العجم.

The copy of *Ṣafādī's* commentary from which the original of this MS. was transcribed was written from the author's autograph in 888 A.H., and the present copy was made in 1071 A.H.

Among the remaining poetical MSS. I may just mention the *Mu'allaqāt*, with commentaries by *Tibrīzī* and *Zauzanī*, the *Dīvān* of *Mutanabbī* (two copies, one of which contains the commentary by *Wāḥidī*), the *Siqtu 'l Zand*, *Dīvānu 'l Ṣabāba*, the *Dīvān* of *'Alawān b. 'Aṭīya* (cf. *Ahlwardt*, *Berlin Cat.*, Nos. 3,283 and 7,936), and a mystical *Dīvān*, which at present I am unable to identify, with the following title:

کتاب دیوان ابن العربی العالم الفاضل المرشد الزاهد الورع سیدی
العارف بالله محمد وفا المصری.

It begins:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه العون
وقال رضى الله عنه
توهم ذات الفرق اقصى كما ادنا
فلا غرضا اقصى ولا مقصدا اسنى.

As the words *کتاب دیوان ابن العربی* in the title are by a different and apparently older hand, I think it likely that

the others are a spurious addition. In any case I shall be grateful for information throwing light upon this work or its alleged author.

My account of those MSS. that are not strictly poetical must be deferred to some future occasion.—Yours sincerely,

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

6. THE AUTHOR OF THE SĀSANAVAMSA.

June 14, 1899.

DEAR SIR,—Feeling that it would be of interest to hear something of the author of a modern Pali work from one of his contemporaries in the Buddhist community, I wrote, a short time ago, to the Venerable Subhūti, of Waskaduwa, asking him some questions about the author of the *Sāsana-vamsa*. He has not only replied most kindly, giving me a few particulars and mentioning his own relations with Paññāsāmi, but also sends me a copy of a letter written by the Burmese *rājaguru* himself to Ceylon, on the occasion of a visit of certain Singhalese monks and others to Mandalay, in the year 1862.

Of Paññāsāmi Subhūti writes as follows:—

“The venerable priest was known by the name of Rājaguru Paññāsāmi. He lived at a monastery called ‘Sahassarodhārāma’ in the neighbourhood of Mandalay about thirty-five years ago. The friendly feelings that existed between him and me and the pleasant correspondence we then carried on are still fresh in my memory. ‘Sāsana-vamsa’ was compiled in 1864, and the sad death of its author occurred several years later. He was also the author of many other works, the last of which was ‘Saddanītiṭṭhikā,’ which his death unfortunately rendered him unable to complete. He was a pure Burmese, and does not at all belong to the Singhalese nationality, nor did he ever visit Ceylon. ‘Sāsana-vamsa’ was compiled at the request of the High Priest Sumaṅgala, the Principal of the Vidyodaya College, and Saraṇapākara Indāsabha Waraṇṇasāmi, the

late High Priest of Rāmaññanikāya in Ceylon, who, it appears, are mentioned in the book."

I add below a transcript of Paññāsūmi's Pali letter.

MABEL BODE.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Pahitam idam aditthasabāyabhūtassa sabrahmacārino Dhammāṃkāra-Sirisumanatissattherassa Paññāsūmisirikavidhamahādhammarājādhirājagurūti laddhalañcena therenā ti datthabham.

Tumbhākam hi sissū Dhammadassī Silakkhandho ti dve bhikkhū Saraṇaṃkaro Dhammapālo Sumanāgalo cā ti tayo sūmaṇerā tayo upāsakū kaliyuge bhāvisādhike dvisato sahasse ca sampatte amhākam Marammamaṇḍale Tambādīparaṭṭhe Ratanāpuṇṇaṃ nāma imaṃ mahārājadhāniṃ sampattū te ca chekena ācariyena dammitū viya assā chekassa ācariyassa guṇaṃ pakāseto saṃgharājavarassa vihāre āgantukadhammaṃ avikopentū nisīdimasu. Mayā yeva saddhiṃ te ca sabbe rājantopuraṃ pavisitvā dhammarājassa santike kathāsallāpaṃ pavattayimsu. Tadāpi mahādhammarājā tesam yeva Saraṇaṃkarādīnaṃ kathāsallāpaṃ sutvā ativiya pamodī. Ekasmiṃ ca samaye te sūmaṇerā upasampadaṃ labbituṃ icchāma. Bhikkhū ca pubbe gāhitasikkhaṃ kammavācā dosena saṃkiliṭṭhanti maññitvā tam apanetvā puna sikkhaṃ gaṇhituṃ icchāmāti vadanti. Atha mahādhammarājā saṃgharājassa ārāme viṣuṃ gāmasīmāyaṃ upasampadaṃ gaṇhūpesi saṃgharājena upajjhāyena. Tato pacchā pi te udakukkhepasīmāyaṃ puna sikkhaṃ gaṇhitukāmā ahesuṃ. Tadāhaṃ vanakutṭhanāyakenānaccena ekena anuggahaṇā kārāpetvā Erāvatiyaṃ nāma nadiyaṃ saba Paññājoti-Nāgaratanehi te Saraṇaṃkarādayo puna sikkhaṃ labhūpesiṃ. Mayā ca yathāsantiṃ yathābelam mahassāhena sithiladhanitaniggahitavimuttādikam uccāraṇavidhiṃ ayāddham katvā kammavācaṃ vācetvā parisuddhopasampalōjīmīṃ āropayimbā. Te ca saṃgharājassa santike

gandham uggāhetvā tumhehi dinnovādānurūpaṃ yeva nisi-
danti. Athāparam pi vattabbaṃ atthi. Taṃ idāni paccū-
rocissāmi. Taṃ supātha manasikarotha. Kathaṃ. Tum-
hehi imaṃ Jambudīpaṃ Marammarattham Ratanāpuṇṇā-
nagaraṃ āgantukāma hutvā pubbe ceva idāni ca mahā-
dhammarājassa anumatiyā āgantum icchāmāti vuttaṃ.

Tam ahaṃ mahādhammarājassa ārocemi. Atha so evaṃ
vadati: sādhu bhante ahaṃ āṅgalissānaṃ ārocessāmi. Sukhena
idhāgamanatthāya tvam pana bhante asukā asukā nāma therā
ānituṃ yuttāti niyamam karohīti. Mahādhammarājena
vuttatā Dhammāṃkāra Sirisumanatissādayo katipayatherā
ānituṃ yuttāti. Tesam tesam nāmaṃ likhivā āṅgalissānaṃ
amaccānaṃ santikaṃ pesesi. Sace ete therā Jambudīpaṃ
āgantuṃ iccheyyūṃ sukhena' eva āgantuṃ kāraṇam dethāti
tasmā ettha idisā pavatti dātthabbāti.

Idaṃ kaliyuge tevīsūdhike dvisate sahasse ca sampatte
māghamāsassa kāḷapakkhadasaṃyāṃ sūrajjavāre Lankādīpe
Gādenagare Paramānandavihāre nisinnassa aditthasahāyassa
Dhammāṃkāra - Sirisumanattherassa santikaṃ pahitaṃ
Jambudīpe Marammanāḍale Tambadīparatthe Ratanā-
puṇṇanagarassa puratthimadisābhāge Sahassorodhārāne
dhaññādhivāsabhūte mahādhammarājānā kārūpita nivāsina
Paññāsāmisirikavidhajamahādhammarājādhirājagurūti la-
ddhalañcena therenāti dātthabbaṃ.

Tumhākañcatthāya pāṇiyabhājanam veḍamaṃ ekañ ca
khuddakakaraṇḍakam Saraṇaṃkarādīnaṃ hatthe niyyūdemi.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HISTORIA DOS PORTUGUESES NO MALABAR, POR ZINADIM.
 Manuscrito Arabe do Seculo XVI, publicado e traduzido
 por DAVID LOPES, S.S.G.L. pp. ciii, 96, 134. (Lisboa :
 Imprensa Nacional, 1898.)

In 1833 there was published, as one of the volumes printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, the "Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen, an Historical work in the Arabic Language. Translated into English by Lieut. M. J. Rowlandson, Cor. M.R.A.S., Persian Interpreter to the Head-quarters of the Army, Fort St. George." The work of which this is a translation is by Zain-ud Dīn, a writer who lived during the reign of Ali Adil Shāh, the fifth sovereign of the Adil Shāhī dynasty at Bijāpur, and gives a history of Malabar, especially during the Portuguese period down to 1586. The importance and accuracy of this work have been recognized by all writers on Indian history ; and Rowlandson's translation has been often quoted. Unfortunately, however, his translation is in many places inaccurate, and his rendering of proper names is often erroneous. The late Sir Henry Yule, in the List of Books prefixed to his *Hobson-Jobson*, inserts after the title of Rowlandson's work the remark, "Very badly edited" ; and after a quotation from it, s.v. 'Capucat,' he adds : "The want of editing in this last book is deplorable." A new translation properly edited was therefore a great desideratum ; and such has now appeared in Lisbon, in connection with the fourth centenary of the discovery of India by Vasco da Gama. Mr. David Lopes, the translator and editor, has collated four MSS.

for this edition, one being in the British Museum Library, a second in that of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the other two in the India Office Library. He prints the Arabic text, so that scholars may judge for themselves of the accuracy of his translation. To the latter he has appended numerous elucidatory footnotes, showing where the writer agrees with (or, rarely, differs from) the Portuguese historians. In a scholarly introduction Mr. Lopes gives a rapid survey of the commerce of India down to the sixteenth century, a succinct history of Malabar, a historical sketch of the St. Thomas Christians, and another of the Jews of Cochin, a brief chapter on the Portuguese dominion as referred to by Oriental writers, and, finally, one on Zain-ud Din and his work. In an appendix are given translations of passages from various Indian writers bearing on the subject of the work. There is a good index; and the value of the book is enhanced by four maps reproduced from Drs. Bittner and Tomaschek's *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohit* (Vienna, 1897). Our only regret is, that, being in Portuguese, Mr. Lopes's work will be read by so few English scholars.

DONALD FERGUSON.

MITTHEILUNGEN DES SEMINARS FÜR ORIENTALISCHE SPRACHEN
an der K. F. W. Universität zu Berlin. Herausgegeben
von Director, Geh. Reg. Rath. Professor Dr. SACHAU.
3 vols. (Berlin: Spehmann, 1898.)

Our distinguished Honorary Member, Geheimrath Dr. Sachau, has with these volumes commenced a series of publications which will add new lustre to the famous school of Oriental learning over which he so efficiently presides. As a sort of preface we have an account of the work of the School in 1897 and 1898. In the latter year there were seventeen professors and seven lecturers, who gave instruction in thirteen languages, and in four special subjects—hygiene, agriculture, geography, and the method for travellers of taking scientific observations. These

courses were attended by 166 students; and two special courses of lectures on Russian and Spanish, specially designed to suit the requirements of commercial men, were attended by 199 other students. On the completion of their course of studies various students, whose names are given, received diplomas for knowledge of Chinese, Japanese, and Swaheli. And accounts are given of a legacy bequeathed to the school, and of collections of Moorish and Arabic and Persian MSS. presented to it.

The object of the present publications is stated to be: (1) To follow up the latest developments of the languages taught in the College, and of their allied idioms; (2) to help towards an all-round progress in the scientific knowledge of those languages, and especially in fields so far insufficiently explored; (3) to work up old and to open out new ground in the interests of the commerce, the foreign missions, and the colonies of Germany; and (4) to devote a careful study, in connection with all the above objects, to the literatures, habits and customs, religions, laws, institutions, and the historical and economic development of the peoples who speak the above-mentioned languages.

The scheme may seem ambitious, splendidly ambitious. But it is not running much risk to say that under the guidance of Geheimrath Sachau and his able coadjutors it has every likelihood of a great success, and the present volumes are fully worthy of the high standard thus set up.

We have here a series of monographs by the most competent hands on an Arabic chronicle from Zanzibar, on the present movement among Turkish writers towards a greater purity of diction; on a story from Oman; on the present state of legal studies and institutions in Turkey; on inscriptions from Syria; on Russian works on Western Asia; on the language of Galicia; on metre in modern Arabic; on proverbs current in Morocco; on a journey from Pekin to Chang-an and Lo-yang; on the position of women in Japan; on the modern history of Japan; and on Russian works on the far East; on

Muhammādan law as administered in East Africa; on law and custom among the Bantus; on fruit production in Zanzibar (from native sources); on the numerals in five Bantu dialects; on the dialect of Gulf Speke; and on East-African place-names.

When we see such studies, thorough and scholarly of course—for are they not the work of teachers attached to a German University?—but yet carefully chosen with a view to practical acquaintance with the peoples lately brought under German influence, and within the reach of German trade, we may begin to understand one of the advantages that trade enjoys. And we may ask whether the time has not come for England, also, to make up for lost time by establishing a similar school, and by encouraging Englishmen thrown into contact with Eastern and African peoples to give up their habit of learning at second-hand, and of conversing only through interpreters.

THE *GĀTAKA* (= *JĀTAKA*) *MĀLĀ*, OR GARLAND OF BIRTH-STORIES. By ĀRYA SŪRA. Translated from the Sanskrit by J. S. SPEYER. (London: Frowde, 1895.)

This forms the first volume of a series of "Sacred Books of the Buddhists," edited by Professor Max Müller. He states in the preface that when the series of "Sacred Books of the East" had closed, he still continued to receive offers of translations of important texts. They were chiefly Buddhist texts, and the King of Siam having promised material support, the present series was started. In thus providing the necessary means for the publishing of this volume the King of Siam has afforded a fresh proof of his enlightened patronage of literature, already well known by his support of the Pali Text Society, by the magnificent edition he has had printed of the Buddhist canonical works, and by his projected edition of the chief commentaries upon them. The cordial thanks of the increasing numbers of those interested in the comparative study of religion and

philosophy, of those interested in the history of India, and especially of those interested in Buddhism, are due to His Majesty for this fresh proof of his munificence.

The work itself is a small collection of old stories, originally current in Prakrit, and here retold in good orthodox Sanskrit by the author, whom the editor, Professor Kern, assigns to the seventh century A.D., and the translator, Dr. Speyer, thinks may be a century or two older. Now and again the learned author, Ārya Sūra, has misunderstood some word in his Prakrit original (see, for instance, Kern's notes on pp. 88, 113) and thus makes a mistake which clearly shows the method of his work. As his date is about a thousand years, more or less, after the Buddha, the work bears about the same relation to the Buddhist canonical books as a work of some mediæval monk who retold the New Testament parables in a greatly amplified version would bear to the New Testament itself. It is good evidence of the literary ability of Ārya Sūra, of the style current at his time, and even, to a slight degree (in the additions made by the author), of beliefs held at the time and place when and where it was composed. Of especial value in this respect are the half-dozen references to older Sūtras as authoritative documents, and the fact that the work is exclusively Hīnayāna, not Mahāyāna, is evidence of the still continued popularity of the older Buddhism at a comparatively late date.

There is very little, however, that is distinctively Buddhist in this work. The doctrines of previous births, and of the effect worked in this birth by a man's deeds in his previous births, are no doubt Buddhist; but they are also both pre-Buddhist, and common to other Indian systems of thought. And the sort of simple ethics inculcated is common ground not only to Buddhist, but to Indian, and indeed very much also to all, tellers of fables. We could wish therefore that subsequent volumes of this series might be chosen from the canonical books, or at least from books dealing with philosophic and religious conceptions.

The present volume is very readable. The excellent

English of the translations, and the careful and scholarly introduction, reflect the greatest credit on the translator. And we hope that the well-known organizing ability of Professor Max Müller, who has prefixed an interesting introduction of his own, will meet with as much success in the excellent idea of this series as it has already done in the case of the "Sacred Books of the East."

THE PREACHING OF ISLĀM: a History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith. By T. W. ARNOLD, B.A. 8vo; pp. 388. (Westminster: Constable & Co.)

An account of the ways and means adopted by the disciples of Islām to propagate their belief throughout the world should be of great interest and importance. Not many have a clear notion of the real extent of the followers of the Muslim Church, much less are they acquainted with the manner in which they took root in countries of quite heterogeneous races. That from the outset Islām exercised missionary powers was due to the force of circumstances. In viewing this point one must start from the idea that it came to aid the spread of monotheism among pagans, and it is chiefly in countries inhabited by such that Islām has obtained a lasting foothold. This is sufficient to secure it the character of a universal religion, although so extensive a programme, as the author makes the founder of Islām responsible for, was not anticipated in the original scheme. Mr. Arnold goes too far when he asserts that Muhammed in the initial stages of his ministry claimed to have a mission to all mankind (p. 24). He certainly does not upset Sir William Muir's theory that the universalistic idea in Islām was only an afterthought. The words of the Qorān upon which Mr. Arnold bases his argument (Sūra xvi, 86) do not extend beyond the Jews and Christians of the Arab peninsula. Even when Muhammed's temporal power was on the increase, his energies were in the main directed towards his immediate neighbourhood, and he bequeathed

to his successors the very arduous task of strengthening the bonds which held many indifferent members to the mother church.

Mr. Arnold's views on the methods preached by Muhammed are altogether too ideal. All was not so pure and inoffensive as he seems to think. The passages he quotes in support of his theory that the Qorān "forbids violence and force in the conversion of unbelievers" should not have been selected without a look into the circumstances under which they were revealed. No one will be astonished to hear Muhammed proclaim patience as a great virtue or recommend gentle methods of persuasion during the Meccan period, when his cause was weak and his personal safety endangered. How different is his attitude after the conquest of Mecca, when in a bold manifesto he "in the name of Allāh" repudiates treaties existing between him and unbelievers: "When the sacred months have passed away, kill the idolators wherever you may find them; and take them and besiege them, and lie in wait for them in every place of observation" (ix, 5) . . . "Fight those who believe not in Allāh and the last day," etc. (*ibid.*, s. 29). We have only quoted the most striking passages, but there are many more, indeed, during the whole of Muhammed's life in Medina, and sword and dagger are more prominent than is compatible with a peaceful spread of Islām. A history of Muhammed's mission cannot be written without taking into account the forcible measures *as well as* the peaceful ones which were adopted. Mr. Arnold also omits another of the attractions possessed by early Islām, viz. the material gain promised to the converts of the poorer classes. Many who were all but starving when joining the ranks of the Faithful, died rich men.

The author will find some difficulty in convincing the reader that the mere 'preaching' of Islām is identical with the history of its propagation. How about the slaughter of the B. Koreiza *after* their surrender? That the wars of Muhammed were not aggressive but defensive is a sweeping assertion, which it would be extremely embarrassing to

prove. In his account of peaceful conversions Mr. Arnold places too much reliance on traditions more conspicuous by religious bias than good authority. He reproduces, e.g., the story of the conversion of Dhīmām b. Tha'laba (the ambassador of the B. Sa'd b. Bakr) according to Sprenger's translation ("Leben Mohammad's," iii, 202), but without sharing this scholar's scepticism as to its historical accuracy. Now it is interesting to compare this account of the matter, which is taken from Ibn Sa'd's large work, with the older version of Ibn Ishāq. According to the latter the conversion did not take place till A. 9 of the Hijra (and not A. 5 as Mr. Arnold believes), and the whole fantastic relation of the event is given on the ill-famed authority of Ibn Abbās. Now while in Ibn Sa'd's version Dhīmām asks the Prophet if he was not sent by Allāh to "all men," Ibn Ishāq has only the words "to us." This shows more clearly than anything that the universalistic tendency in Islām was still far from its full development in the second century.

Mr. Arnold's theory of the nearly absolute toleration granted by early Moslems to followers of other creeds should also undergo some slight modification. He forgets, for instance, Omar's treatment of the Christians in Najrān and of the Jews in Khaibar, who were both expelled from their territories in spite of the treaties they held from Muhammed. The harsher treatment allotted to Jews and Christians in later centuries is but a consequence of maxims laid down in the Qorān. The law admits neither of them as witnesses, because it denies them the character of integrity, a measure derived rather artificially from a phrase in the Qorān (lxv, 2, "Bring as witnesses men of equity from among you"; cf. Sachau, "Muhammed. Recht," p. 739). Religious tolerance, wherever found among Moslems, is perhaps a question of rare or inborn qualities rather than anything else, just as the intensity of religious feeling varies among the different nations of the Muhammedan creed. At any rate, no general rule can be laid down in this respect; on the contrary, the course of history, even

in our century, is far from bearing out Mr. Arnold's optimistic opinions.

Otherwise Mr. Arnold has spared no pains in sketching out, both geographically and historically, the wanderings of Islām over Western Asia and Europe, Central Asia, India, China, Africa, and the Malay Archipelago. This list of names alone is sufficient to show that Islām is by no means dying. In his retrospect of the causes which make it a missionary religion the author, although not giving many new ideas, is yet on the right track. The extreme simplicity of the fundamental tenets, which tax the mind of the would-be believer very little, was and is no doubt a powerful agent in the promotion of propagandist efforts, particularly when applied against a decaying fetishism. Islām to-day probably meets with the same experiences among savage nations as it did in bygone times when its advances were met half-way by the pagans who had lost confidence in their old gods, the present circumstance being only dissimilar in that there are no more the enormous difficulties to overcome which were placed in its way by tribal and personal interests. If Mr. Arnold had done nothing but dispel the false notions which are rife among general readers regarding the vitality of Islām, he deserved success, but he has done more by giving a bird's-eye view of the present extent of one of the most interesting general upheavals on record.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

GENESIS DES MAHĀBHĀRATA, VON JOSEPH DAHLMANN, S.J.
8vo; pp. xxiv + 290. (Berlin: Dames, 1899.)

This new work by Father Dahlmann has a misleading title. One expects a book setting forth the author's views as to the way in which the Mahābhārata was put together into its present shape. Instead of that, one has a series of replies to the various scholars who do not accept the position, put forward in Father Dahlmann's previous works, that the Mahābhārata existed, as we have it, before the

fifth century B.C. Professors Hopkins, Ludwig, Jacobi, and Weber, Drs. Winternitz and Lüders, and last, not least, M. Barth, will find themselves here the subject of very strongly worded criticism. But the reader, acquainted with the other works by the same author, will find little that has not been already stated, over and over again, in them. The best sentences in the present work are the ones on p. 50 and p. 150, where the author promises a detailed statement of what can be gathered from the epic as to law and custom, government, social organization, religion, and philosophy. Such a collection of data will be of the very greatest importance if all the evidence is impartially included; and equally important whether they lead up to the author's conclusion or to that of the many scholars of first rank who hold a view so different from his. The present work does not throw much light on that point. The methods of controversy, even in the ablest hands, are necessarily different from those of original research. And when the controversy is so much expanded by reiterated assertion of the author's solution of the very questions at issue, it is even less instructive than controversies usually are. We shall do well, therefore, to await the very interesting volumes which are promised. It is by them, really, that the gifted author will either stand or fall.

ZOROASTER, THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. 8vo; pp. 312. (New York: published for the Columbia University Press by the Macmillan Co., 1899.)

During the last twenty years considerable progress has been made in correcting and extending our knowledge of the Zoroastrian Scriptures, both Avesta and Pahlavi. In Geldner's edition of the Avesta we have probably an exhaustive revision of the complete texts; and this has been supplemented by Darmesteter's transcripts and partial translations of many surviving Avesta fragments. In the *Sacred Books of the East* we have eight volumes of English

translations of Avesta and Pahlavi texts; to which we must add Darmesteter's French translation of the Avesta, in three quarto volumes of *Le Musée Guimet*. The Pahlavi scriptures have not been so exhaustively translated, though several texts, previously unknown in Europe, have been examined, and others heard of; so that the probability of any important discovery of unrecorded religious texts in Pahlavi is now very small.

Next in importance to the doctrines of a religion are the life and actions of its founder, and the want of some really trustworthy history has been especially felt in the case of Zarathuštra (the Zoroaster of classical writers), because the original Avesta and Pahlavi narratives have both been lost. But Professor A. V. Williams Jackson has, at length, supplied what was wanted, partly from old summaries of the Pahlavi narrative, and partly from hints in the Avesta and statements, more or less vague, made by classical and Oriental writers. The result is a book which "deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster" in a singularly lucid, interesting, and exhaustive manner.

After a short introduction, emphasizing the fact that Zoroaster must have been a really historical personage and not a myth, the book narrates what is recorded about his family history and genealogy, his date and native place, his parents, birth, and childhood, his persecution by the old priesthood, his education and religious preparation, his conference with Ahura Mazda (probably in a vision), his two-years' preaching in vain to the Turanians and Karaps, his conferences with the six Amesāspentas, his temptation by Aūra-main-yu, and the first real convert he obtained, in his cousin, after ten years of conferences and preaching. Two years more are requisite for the conversion of Vistāsp and that king's family and court, owing to the violent opposition of the Kavīs and Karaps, the old sages and priests, whose influence is at length overcome by the personal interference of the archangels Vohuman and Ashavahišta, aided by the Propitious Fire.

After this conversion of King Vistāsp, when Zoroaster

had completed his forty-second year, the old traditions contain fewer details. The war of the religion, with King Arjāsp, occurred eighteen years before Zoroaster's death, according to tradition, although Jāmāsp had already succeeded him as chief councillor of the king. Whether the Turanians who are said to have killed Zoroaster at Balkh, eighteen years later, were led by Arjāsp is perhaps less certain. Tradition, however, attributes the writing of the Avesta to Jāmāsp, from the teaching of Zoroaster, eight years before the death of the latter.

To the narrative of Zoroaster's mission, here briefly sketched, is added an equal bulk of appendixes, comprising all the further information, ancient and modern, that has been discovered regarding the incidents mentioned. These appendixes contain explanations of Zoroaster's name; statements regarding his date, with discussion and results; a table of Zoroastrian chronology; a comprehensive discussion of all allusions to Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry; classical passages mentioning his name; allusions to him in various other old literatures; and notes on sculptures supposed to represent him.

Classical writers report the birth of Zoroaster as having occurred earlier than B.C. 6,000, although the traditional date is B.C. 660. This serious difference is, however, easily explained when we find that tradition also states that his *spiritual* body was first formed A.D. 6,630; as it then becomes evident that the classical writers mistook this spiritual formation for actual birth in the material world. At the same time, this classical error affords an interesting proof of the existence of the traditional system of Zoroastrian chronology as early as the fourth century B.C., the date of the older manuscripts which the classical writers quote as their authorities on the subject.

The identification of Zoroaster's native place, and of the scenes of his activity, has engaged much of Professor Jackson's attention, and is treated most exhaustively. Although at first inclined to seek Zoroaster's early home in the east, he has been compelled to admit that most of

the best evidence is strongly in favour of finding it in the west. The conclusion being that Zoroaster was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān, between Lake Urumiah and the Caspian; his father's family residing either at Urumiah, Šiz, or on the Daryai river; and his mother's family at Rai. Regarding the scenes of his activity, he appears to have had little success in his own country, and his early preaching tours among the Turanians were practically useless, even when made in the south-east region of Sagastān. He must then have returned by degrees to his native land, as the localities of his later conferences, with the Amēśaspeñtas, may be traced south of the Caspian and in Ādarbaijān.

Where he had to seek Vištāsp is not stated in any Avesta or Pahlavi text, although Sagastān is sometimes mentioned as belonging to the Kayān dynasty. Muhammadan writers are almost unanimous in placing Vištāsp's kingdom in Bactria, and his capital at Balkh, which appears to have been founded by his father Lohrūsp (Aurvataspā), who is said to have abdicated and lived there in retirement. Thirty-five years after the conversion of Vištāsp, Zoroaster was killed by Turanians at the storming of Balkh, according to Firdausi and other Persian writers. But the Pahlavi tradition, though it gives the name of the assassin, does not mention the locality of the massacre.

Several eminent Iranian scholars dispute the claims of Bactria to being the scene of Vištāsp's conversion and Zoroaster's death, and advocate those of Media. Professor Jackson has stated the evidence on both sides of the question, but wisely refrains from drawing any positive conclusion which, by hastily accepting the evidence on one side, would reject all that which is offered on the other. It is safer to wait for further discoveries and, in the meantime, this valuable work will supply the reader with very nearly all the known materials for understanding the life and work of Zoroaster, the Zarathuštra of the Avesta.

It may be useful to add that two or three names, quoted in the book from Persian works, illustrate the marvellous

ingenuity of Persian scribes in misusing diacritical points, so as to corrupt foreign names. In such cases the reader has only to write the name in Persian characters without the points, and then try all possible combinations of other points, when he will soon discover the original reading of the name. Thus, the place called Darbišt, or Zarbišt, in p. 97, lin. 11 and p. 224, n. 2, is found to be a corruption of Diḡ-i-nipišt, or 'fortress of documents,' which is mentioned in the last chapter of the third book of the Dinkard, in a Pahlavi passage translated in S.B.E., xxxvii, xxxi. Again, the strange Mobed Torru of Būsāwāri, quoted in p. 202, lin. 26, from the Dabistān, is evidently Barzū of Nawsāri, commonly called Dastūr Barzū Kāmdīn, who was still living in 1670.

Another Persian name, which has been sadly ill-treated by Arab and Persian scribes, is that of the supreme highpriest of Ardasīr Pāpākān, which has recently been partially corrected from Tōsar into Tansar. In the Arabic text of Mas'aūdi's *Meadows of Gold* (ed. B. de Meynard), vol. ii, p. 161, the best out of five readings of the name is Bšar, and this becomes Tansar when *all* the diacritical points are altered. But the name is Pahlavi and occurs six times in the Dinkard; thrice it can be read either Tansar or Tōsar, and thrice the letter *n* or *o* is doubled. In the Persian text of Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristān the name occurs five times, and the *n* is certainly doubled once. The Persian translator also explains (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, pp. 205, 508) that the owner of the original Pahlavi MS. had noted that the name implied that the highpriest's body was hairy. As the first syllable *tan* means 'body' in Pahlavi, and the Pahlavi word for 'hair' is *vars*, we might expect the whole name to be Tanvars; but, to adapt this to the Pahlavi and Persian orthography of the word, we ought to go a step farther and assume that the last two letters have been transposed colloquially, so that the actual name had become Tanvasar; and this reading would correctly represent the Pahlavi spelling with a double *n*, because *v* and *n* are written alike in Pahlavi. We have the option of reading Tanōsar,

as *tan*, 'the body,' is usually written *tanō*, but how could this reading be reconciled with the meaning 'hairy body'?

June, 1899.

E. W. WEST.

ALLGEMEINE GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE. Vol. I,
Part 2. Philosophie der Upanishads. Von Dr.
PAUL DEUSSEN. 8vo; pp. xii and 368. (Leipzig:
Brockhaus, 1899. Price 9s.)

In this volume the Upanishads have the good fortune of being treated by an enthusiastic admirer, whose sympathy with their philosophic position has led him to devote a careful study to the texts in their original language, and who unites to a thorough knowledge of European philosophy a strict training in the rules of historical criticism. Had the work been written by a professor of philology instead of by a professor of philosophy it would, no doubt, have been very different. The passages on which the principal stress is here laid might then have loomed less largely than other passages here passed over as if of little moment. A selection in either case would be inevitable; and what we have here is a complete statement of the Upanishad theory of God and of the soul. To the first, the theology, ten chapters are devoted; to the second, four; and there are supplementary chapters on the views expressed in the Upanishads as to transmigration, salvation, and ethics; and a very interesting introductory discussion of the relative age of the various texts.

Throughout the book the question of the course of the development of the different doctrines discussed is kept constantly before the reader's attention. And in this respect the views put forward by the author are characterized by so much caution, and at the same time by so much insight, and supported by so many details, that they will probably be accepted, in the main, by all future writers on the subject. The conclusions reached are a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the question; and it will be advisable, shortly, to set out the final result.

The oldest of the Upanishads, which are also the longest and are in prose, consist, each of them, of a mosaic of passages different in age and origin. It is only possible, therefore, in a very general way, and subject to special reservations, to speak of any one of them as a whole. But subject to this the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* is the oldest (and especially Books I-IV), the *Chāndogya* comes next, then the *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Kaushītaki*, and *Kena*, in the order here given. All these are pre-Buddhistic, and the oldest passages in them are some centuries older than the most modern.

After Buddhism we have the *Kāṭhaka*, *Īśā*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Muṇḍaka*, and *Mahā-nārāyaṇa*, all in verse. And to this period probably belong some of the metrical passages, especially those of greater length, in the prose works of the last group, which in the main are older.

Younger than this second group we have a third small group—the *Praśna*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*, and *Māṇḍūkya*, written, in prose, but in a prose very evidently much later than that used in the Upanishads of the first group.

It is these fourteen Upanishads of which the philosophic contents is set out in the present volume. The other, still later ones, are only incidentally mentioned. And matter not philosophical—that is, not relating either to the Brahman or to the *Ātman*—is very properly omitted. The very interesting discussion as to the origin of the *Sāṅkhya* system out of the older Upanishads comes under the head of their philosophical teaching; and so also do all the questions discussed in the supplementary chapters.

Of the many grotesque, naïve, even superstitious ideas, which find utterance in these crabbed old texts, the present work takes little or no notice, and seeing that the work has been written from the point of view, not of folklore, not of the history of ideas, but of the history of philosophy, it would be unfair to expect that it should.

The initial position of the author is (p. 42) that the main points in all religions are: 1, the existence of God; 2, the immortality of the soul; 3, the freedom of the will. And

that these three points can only be safeguarded by the idealistic philosophy to which the older Upanishads give so deep and so subtle an expression. How can the former part of this proposition be reconciled with Buddhism? or is that not a religion? And if the word God is to have the meaning of the Brahman, how can the proposition be reconciled with Confucianism, or even with the ancient faiths of Greece, of Egypt, and the Euphrates Valley. By a universal consensus of usage all these are called 'religions'; and it would seem rather hard to set up such a definition of religion as would exclude them all.

The author expresses several times the opinion that in their most essential tenets the thinkers of the Upanishads are at one with a certain line of European thinkers, roughly indicated by the names Parmenides, Plato, Kant, Schopenhauer. This would seem to require some modification. Schopenhauer, at all events, distinctly stated that, if he were to judge all systems by his own, the Buddhist would be the best. Surely Schopenhauer, who was also an enthusiastic admirer of the Upanishads, would not have made such a statement without good cause. It would seem that, in his opinion, the philosophy underlying the Upanishad theories of God and the soul can be held without holding those theories themselves. Now to most readers the Upanishads, apart from the Brahman and Ātman theories, would be rather like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out.

Neither of these propositions are essential to the purpose of the work, which is to expound the philosophy of the Upanishads. That is done throughout with so much care, with so much scholarship, with such admirable insight, that the present work will be simply indispensable to every student who wishes to rightly understand and adequately appreciate these precious legacies of ancient Indian thought. We have had nothing like it before. In a hundred details of importance the author's rich knowledge has enabled him to throw unexpected light on dark phrases. He brings out with great skill the really essential points. On such questions as the origin of the Sāṅkhya school; on the doctrine

of salvation; on the part played by the nobles (rather than the priests) in working out the most vital portions of the Upanishad theory; on the distinction between the ascetic and the recluse; on the origin and growth of the transmigration idea; on the relation of the older Upanishads to the younger ones, and of both to the later Vedānta—we have discussions of the greatest interest; and it is quite safe to say that we have new light on each. It would be obviously impossible within the limits of this short notice to set out, in detail, exactly in how far the author's views on such points go beyond those of his predecessors. And it would be so far undesirable, as everyone should himself read this fascinating volume, of which we hope soon to see a translation into English.

The previous part dealt with the philosophy of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas. The succeeding part will deal with Buddhism. It would add greatly to the usefulness of each part if indices, at least of the Sanskrit words elucidated, had been added. We much hope that this want may be made good in the next part.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

MAHĀBHARATA. *The Epic of Ancient India*, condensed into English Verse by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E. 12mo; pp. 190. (London: Dent.)

This is an attempt to give in English verse, and in a small compass, such an epitome of the national poem of India as would be likely to convey to English readers a fair idea of the character of the poem. The author says (in the Epilogue, p. 175) of the Mahā Bharata:—

“The work went on growing for a thousand years after it was first compiled and put together in the form of an epic; until the crystal rill of the epic itself was all but lost in an unending morass of religious and didactic episodes, legends, tales, and traditions Nevertheless the leading incidents and characters of the old epic are still

discernible uninjured by the mass of foreign substance in which they are now imbedded—like those immortal figures, recovered from the ruins of an ancient world, which now beautify the museums of Europe.”

The author has accordingly rendered, in a free translation, not an abstract of certain passages, but the whole of such passages as seemed to him to contain the very gist of the original epic. There is only one exception. The eighteen days' battle undoubtedly belonged to the original story. But it is too long in the Sanskrit for the purpose of this little book. That episode has accordingly been greatly condensed. All the rest of the story is told in consecutive lines, just as they stand in the original.

The metre selected is the metre of “Locksley Hall.” The choice is a very happy one. The swing of the trochaic verse more fitly reproduces the *śloka* than any iambics can do; and the length of the metre chosen corresponds more nearly than the ordinary English blank verse would do to the length of the original verses. An example will show the style.

Yudhishtira laments the destruction of his warriors by Bhishma :—

As a lordly tusker tramples on a marsh of feeble reeds,
As a forest conflagration on the parched woodland feeds,
Bhishma rides down on my warriors in his mighty battle car.
God nor mortal chief can face him in the gory field of war.
Vain our toil, and vain the valour of our kinsmen loved and
lost;
Vainly fight my faithful brothers by a luckless fortune crost!

It may be a question whether it was wise to introduce the element of rhyme which divides off each couplet from others in a way not found in the original, and must frequently have hampered the translator. It is certainly most unfortunate that where Sanskrit names are mentioned they are in some cases so placed in the verse that the stress comes upon the wrong syllable. We hear throughout not

of Draupadi, but of Draupādi; not of Hastina, or Hastinapura, but of Hastina; not of Uttara, but of Uttāra; not of Sāvitrī, but of Savitri; not of Satyavān, but of Satyāvan; and so on with some other familiar names. It was no doubt difficult to fit the Indian names into the English metre, and whatever one does, the English reader will probably mangle them. But the aid of the metre would have afforded a great opportunity for teaching the English where rightly to put the stress. So slight a change would be required that we even hope that at least Draupādi and Hastina will disappear from the next edition.

It is particularly interesting to notice what are the passages which the learned translator has considered to contain the gist of the original epic. He has chosen the following verses—the Roman figures referring to the Book, and the Arabic to the section, of the Calcutta edition.

- I. 134-137, 184-189.
- II. 33-36, 44, 65, 69, 76, 77.
- III. 292-296.
- IV. 35, 36, 40-43, 44, 53, 62.
- V. 1-3, 94, 124-126.
- VI-X. In abstract.
- XI. 10, 11, 16, 17, 26, 28.
- XIV. 85, 88, 89.

The author hopes elsewhere to put forward his views on the historical growth of the epic. In this little volume they would be out of place. It should be judged as a literary effort, not as historical criticism. And as literary effort it is certainly a very great success. A generous admiration for the original, and a warm sympathy with its tone, a striking command of vigorous and flowing and idiomatic English, a fine sense of rhythm, and a real power of poetic imagination have combined to render this selection just what it is intended to be—a most interesting and attractive way of introducing to English readers what the author considers to be the essence of the grand old Indian poem.

The smaller edition quoted at the head of this notice is the popular one at a popular price. There is an *édition de luxe* on finer paper, with a number of exquisite illustrations of which one only is inserted in the popular edition. We hope both the enterprising publisher and the successful author will be amply rewarded by the sale of this timely and instructive little book.

RH. D.

LIEDER DER MÖNCHE UND NONNEN GOTAMO BUDDHO'S;
VON KARL EUGEN NEUMANN. 8vo; pp. 383. (Berlin:
Hofmann, 1899.)

This is a translation into German verse of the two collections of poems by the men and women respectively, members of the Buddhist Order during, or immediately after, the Buddha's time. These two anthologies, called the Thera- and Therī-gāthā, consist in great part of verses not found elsewhere in the canon, but also contain the verses only taken from episodes in mixed prose and verse in other books. These latter cases—in which the verses are really only rightly intelligible by means of the light thrown upon them by the prose setting in which they are found—make it highly probable that all the verses must originally have been handed down in a similar prose setting. The commentator, Dhammapāla of Kāñcīpura, who wrote a thousand years later, embodies in his work the tradition as to what this ancient prose setting was. But even with this assistance it is often not easy to gather the exact force of the ecstatic outbursts of feeling which these old verses record.

The task undertaken by the translator is therefore no easy one; though, of course, a successful solution of it would afford most valuable evidence of a characteristic phase, not only of Buddhist, but of Indian thought. The difficulty is increased by the frequent use in these lyrics of Pali words and phrases so pregnant with meaning and association that they cannot possibly be rendered by a single European word without thereby ignoring much of their

connotation and thus really misrepresenting the original. The translator has indeed a rare command of vigorous and varied language. His wide reading, sympathetic appreciation, and philosophic training give him great advantages. And he could no doubt give weighty reasons for the great changes he has ventured to make in his renderings of many of the most important of the technical terms in which the early Buddhists gave expression to their views of life. But he gives no reasons, or only in the curtest way. He has made an interesting and suggestive note on the meaning of *viññāṇa* in his "Anthologie." If he has any desire to convince his fellow scholars he would do well to give us many more such notes. And if it be considered that a volume of translations is scarcely the place for them, then it would seem desirable that he should thresh out these important questions of detail before he devotes his valuable leisure, and his great gifts, to more translations, the value of which, certainly to scholars, and also to the general reader, really depends precisely on the accuracy of these details. Dr. Neumann will scarcely complain of a point of view that really amounts to a desire to have more of Dr. Neumann.

RU. D.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1899.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

April 18, 1899.—Dr. M. Gaster in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Beveridge,
Dr. Sangat Ram,
Mr. Luxman Arya, and
Mr. Mou Mohan Chakravarti

had been elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read a paper by Dr. E. W. West on the "Doctrine of the Soul in the Zoroastrian Sacred Books." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Mr. E. G. Browne, Miss Ridding, and the Chairman took part. The paper is published in full in the present number.

May 9, Anniversary Meeting.—The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Rauschenbusch-Clough,
Mr. R. A. Yerburch, M.P.,
Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I., and
Mr. H. C. Chatterji

had been elected members of the Society.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1898 was then read by the Secretary:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1898.

The Council regret to report the loss by death or retirement of the following thirty-one members:—

There have died—

1. Dr. E. B. Landis,
2. Mr. C. J. Rodgers,
3. Mr. Crauford,
4. Mr. Heywood,
5. Sir H. Peek,
6. Mr. H. Tufnell,
7. Mr. Abd al Hakh,
8. Mr. H. Dhruva,
9. Mr. James,
10. Sir C. Murray,
11. Professor G. Bühler,
12. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan,
13. Don P. de Gayangos.

There have retired—

1. Mr. W. S. Blunt,
2. Mr. H. N. Bushby,
3. Mr. G. Hughes,
4. Mr. E. D. Morgan,
5. Captain Bower,
6. Mrs. Daniels,
7. Mr. Dvijadas Datta,
8. Dr. Geisler,
9. Mr. F. H. Guillemard,
10. Colonel G. A. Jacob,
11. Mr. Madho,
12. Mr. S. C. Mukerji,
13. H.E. Felice Maissa,
14. Mr. Oliver,
15. Mr. Pratt,

16. Mr. Quinn,
17. Mr. N. Shah,
18. Mr. W. M. Beaufort.

On the other hand, the following forty-seven new members have been elected:—

1. Mr. Nobushigé Aménomori,
2. Mr. J. B. Andrews,
3. Mr. H. Beauchamp,
4. Mr. W. M. Beaufort,
5. Rev. W. A. Briggs,
6. Baron A. Danvers,
7. Mr. H. V. S. Davids,
8. Sir R. H. Davies, K.C.S.I.,
9. Dr. D. P. Derasūri,
10. Mr. Barendra Nath Dutt,
11. Mr. H. Franklin,
12. Mr. A. Temple Frere,
13. Professor Ignace Guidi,
14. Captain T. Wolseley Haig,
15. Mr. F. J. Horniman, M.P.,
16. Rev. F. F. Irving,
17. Mr. A. V. Ramachandra Iyer,
18. Mr. A. Levien,
19. Mr. David Lopes,
20. General Sir Peter Lumsden, G.C.B.,
21. Mr. C. G. Luzac,
22. Mr. M. Macauliffe,
23. Mr. A. R. Macdonald,
24. Sir Donald Macnabb, K.C.S.I.,
25. Mr. G. Maxwell,
26. Mr. Herman Miesegaes,
27. H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore,
28. Mr. C. Tirumalaya Naidu,
29. Mr. Alexis de Nartsoff,
30. Mr. V. R. Pandit,
31. Mr. Robert Pearce,
32. Mr. J. W. Reid,

33. Mr. Suryanarain Row,
34. Mr. V. C. Seshacharri,
35. Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr,
36. Mr. G. W. Sheppard,
37. Mr. H. W. Stevens,
38. Mr. G. W. Thatcher,
39. Mr. F. W. Thomas,
40. Major-General A. C. Toker,
41. Mr. W. E. M. Tomlinson, M.P.,
42. Mr. L. R. Tottenham,
43. H.R.H. Prince Vajirāñña,
44. Mr. M. N. Venkateswami,
45. Captain F. Webb Ware, I.C.S.,
46. The Right Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, D.D.,
47. Mr. R. H. Wilson.

Of the subscribing Libraries one has retired and seven have been added to the list.

These figures show a total increase of twenty-two subscribing members and libraries; somewhat more than the average increase of previous years. The actual number of subscribers on the 1st January, 1894, was 493, and on the 1st January, 1899, was 553, showing an increase of sixty, or an average increase of twelve a year. The difference between this number and that of the current year is chiefly accounted for by the accession of the new library members. But the most important fact in our list of members for the year 1898 is that during the year there has been an increase of five in the number of resident or full members. For many years the number of the resident members has gone slowly, but steadily, down. This is the first occasion on which the Council have to announce, not only no decrease, but a substantial addition to our numbers. The total receipts from members' subscriptions last year was £578 2s. 7d. This year it is £612 1s. 6d.

The gradual improvement in the amount received by the Society for interest and dividends has been maintained. Last year it stood at £41 13s. 4d. This year it is £46 3s. 9d.

And the Society has deposited during the year a further sum of £40 18s. in the Post Office Savings Bank. The total investments of the Society are now worth, at the market rates of the day, about £1,350, the serious withdrawals owing to expenditure rendered necessary by the terms of our lease having been more than repaid out of current revenue.

The receipts from rents have slightly risen, showing £180 19s. as against £175 14s. And the remaining principal item on the credit side of our small balance-sheet shows a very satisfactory change, the sales of the Society's Journal having produced last year £188 2s. 4d. and this year £224 12s. 1d. This is the largest sum hitherto received in one year from such sales. It can be principally accounted for by the sale of one set of back numbers; but is also partly due to the small, but steady, increase in the number of the libraries purchasing the Journal as regular subscribers.

Altogether the nett receipts of the Society have been £1,341 4s. 8d., which is again the largest income received in any one year since the foundation of the Society.

The figures on the other side of the account show an advance, as against last year's expenditure, of about £5 in the binding of books, of £15 12s. 3d. in very necessary house repairs, and of £14 10s. 6d. in the amount placed in the Savings Bank; and £15 has been spent towards the completion of the Catalogue of the Society's very valuable collection of Sanskrit MSS., which has remained for so many years, owing to want of funds, uncatalogued. The preparation of this catalogue has necessarily taken a long time. But the Council hope this year to go to press with a work which will so greatly facilitate to scholars the use of the rare treasures which the Society owes to the generosity of Colonel Whish and Mr. Tod.

The accounts also show the present state of the two new undertakings upon which the Society has started — the Oriental Translation Fund and the Medal Fund.

Under the Translation Fund ten volumes have already, thanks to the generosity of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, been

published. Another volume, a translation of the "Chronicles of Jerahmeel," by Dr. Gaster, is in the press. And the next, the translation of an ancient "Manual of Buddhist Ethics and Psychology," by Mrs. Rhys Davids, will go to press this year. The expense of this last volume has been provided for by Mr. E. T. Sturdy. The Council congratulate the Society that this endeavour to meet a long-felt want has now reached so satisfactory a stage; and they would renew their very cordial thanks to Mr. Arbutnot, who has given not only his gifts in money but so much care and thought to place this series of translations on a lasting basis. They venture also to express the hope that other members of the Society will follow the excellent example set by Mr. Sturdy, and come forward to pay for the translation of one or other of the numerous MSS. on the Society's shelves which still practically remain inaccessible to historical students.

The Council are glad to point out that the contributions to the Medal Fund, during the year under review, amounted to £63 15s., received in part from new donors, in part from previous donors who have renewed their subscriptions. But the fund is not yet complete. The Council are naturally anxious to place it on a permanent basis by investing a sum large enough to produce the income required. For that purpose about £200 is still required. And the Council desire to record their very grateful thanks to Mr. Wollaston, to whom the Society is indebted for the idea, and who has devoted so much time and trouble to ensure its success.

The French and German Asiatic Societies publish, besides their Journals, monographs or texts, too long for the Journal, but of great importance from the point of view of Oriental research. In their last report the Council gave expression to the hope that they would be able to do something of a similar kind. The first volume of this series of "Asiatic Studies" is now in the press. It is a volume by Major Gerini, of Bangkok, on the Geography of Ptolemy, more especially as regards Further India. It will be brought out in conjunction with the Geographical Society,

as a joint contribution to our knowledge of historical geography. And it is a work from this point of view of very great importance.

The titles of the articles in the Journal of the year is evidence of the vast range of those inquiries which the Society was founded to carry on. The history of land tenure and commerce, the decipherment of ancient inscriptions from all parts of the Eastern world, the geography and history of India, the literature and the beliefs of Syria, Armenia, and Persia, the language of Somaliland, the past struggles in Central Asia, the philosophic conceptions of the founder of Buddhism, the travels of Vasco da Gama and Marco Polo, the epic poetry of India, the poetry and philosophy of Persian Sūfis, Chinese accounts of Indian historical persons and places, the migration of popular folklore and stories from the East to the West, even the history of the game of chess—there would seem to be nothing human alien to the Society's work, and it has been the object of the Council to see that every item of that work shall contain some distinct addition to human knowledge on the subject dealt with. The Council deem it not superfluous thus to remind the members of the Society of the difficulty, and of the wide interest, of the objects the Society has set before itself to accomplish. Compared with what it has to do, it is able, with the very limited means at its disposal, to do but little. This is really, almost entirely, a question of money. The Council feel justified in pointing to the amount of matter provided in the Journal, and the high level of the scholarly work it contains, to the resuscitation of the Oriental Translation Fund, and now to the establishment of the series of monographs on "Asiatic Studies," as proofs that the Society is very much alive to the important intellectual and educational interests it was founded to subserve.

The Council have not lost sight during the year of the pressing question of the establishment in London, and in connection with the new University, of an Oriental School similar in organization and efficiency to those provided

by the Governments of France, Germany, Austria, and Russia in their respective capitals. The Council have considered it inadvisable to take any public steps until such time as the new University, to which it is very desirable that the proposed school should be attached, has been formally constituted. This is now being rapidly done by the Statutory Commission sitting under the presidency of Lord Davey. The Commission has power to fix the number of faculties into which the University shall, at starting, be divided. The Council have applied to the Commission to create a faculty of Oriental Languages, History, and Archaeology in the reorganized University. Future action must await the decision of the Commission upon this application, and the Council hope to be able to show substantial progress in their next report.

The Council have to report that the change inaugurated by the Society at its last annual meeting in the terms of membership has so far worked satisfactorily. Seven members had been admitted under the new rules at the close of the year, and about as many have been elected since. In this way the Society has secured the support of a number of gentlemen who would not probably, under the old rules, have become members. And to that extent its power of work has increased. The Council would recommend that the rules remain in force for the ensuing year.

Under the rules of the Society, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, Sir Frederic Goldsmid, and Sir Raymond West, whose term of three years expires to-day, retire from the Vice-Presidency of the Society. The Council recommend the re-election of those gentlemen for another term of three years, and the election also of Lord Crawford and Balcarres, of the Bishop of Calcutta, and of Sir Charles Lyall.

Under the rules of the Society, Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Sewell, Professor Bendall, Mr. Bowring, and Dr. Thornton retire this year from the Council. Of these five gentlemen, two only are immediately re-eligible. The Council recommend the election in their place of—

1. Dr. Thornton,
2. Mr. Sewell,
3. Colonel Temple,
4. Mr. A. G. Ellis,
5. Sir Cuthbert Peek.

The Council regret to have to report the death during the year of Professor Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, one of the Honorary Members of the Society; and would recommend the election in his stead of Professor Karabacek, of Vienna, the distinguished historian and Arabist.

The Council would also recommend that the following names be removed from the list of the Society's members, in accordance with Rule 3, on the ground of non-payment of subscriptions—

1. Mr. W. Bang,
2. Mr. B. Borrah,
3. Mr. A. C. Dass,
4. Rev. J. Doyle,
5. Mr. W. Pereira,
6. Dr. Indrajī.

The usual statement of accounts is laid upon the table.

Colonel R. C. Temple, in proposing the adoption of the Report, said:—Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with very great pleasure that I have to propose the adoption of the Report of the Council that we have just heard read to-day, because it is peculiarly grateful to me after my return to England from another long sojourn* in India to find that the Royal Asiatic Society, with which I have had the honour to be so long connected, is, owing to the action of the present Council, in even a more flourishing condition than of old. I do not think we need have any difficulty in congratulating the Council and the Officers of the Society in being able to lay before us such a Report as that we have heard read by Professor Rhys Davids.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1898.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Subscriptions—			
83 Resident Members at £3 3s.	261 0 0	House—Rent	344 0 0
1 " " in advance	3 3 0	Fire Insurance	...
143 Non-Resident " at £1 10s., with exchange	277 11 6	Water	...
6 " " in advance	18 0 0	Gas	12 0 0
2 " " in advance	13 0 0	Cables	18 5 6
26 " " at £1 1s.	27 0 0	Income Tax	4 10 0
1 Comptroller's extra subscription	1 13 0	Repairs	6 13 4
7 Library Members at £1 10s.	10 10 0	Salaries—Secretary	303 8 9
		Assistant Secretary	250 0 0
Donation from the India Office	42 5 0	Journal—Printing	305 2 0
Journal—	210 0 0	Illustrations	20 0 0
Subscriptions	143 10 11	Library—New Books	351 2 0
Sale	61 2 0	Binding	17 12 11
Sale of Pamphlets	2 15 0	For Preparation of Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.	19 17 0
Sale of Index	17 0 0		
Advertisements	16 6 8		
Catalogue Sale	224 12 1		
Library Subscriptions	1 0 0	Housekeeper	...
Hints	2 0 0	Stationery	...
Interest—Dividends	180 19 0	Miscellaneous	...
" " on Deposit in Bank	30 3 4	Buy, wages	...
" " in Savings Bank	5 18 5	Bank Charges	...
	4 2 0	Stamp—General	...
	40 3 9	Journal	25 0 0
Miscellaneous	8 12 6	Petty Cash	24 0 0
Subscriptions overpaid	5 0 0	Returned Subscriptions	...
Repaid from Medal Fund	2 9 19	Transferred to P.O. Savings Bank	...
	17 3 4		
Total	1341 4 6		
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1898	24 11 7	Total expenditure	£1255 15 0
" on Deposit	100 0 0	Balances—Current Account, Bank	...
" Petty Cash	2 11 9	Deposit	107 14 6
	197 3 4	Petty Cash	5 9 0
	£1468 8 0		182 12 0
			£1408 8 0
Funds.			
P.O. Savings Bank	171 7 3		
Midland Stock	177 0 0		
New South Wales	802 13 10		
	£1551 4 1		

Examined with the books and vouchers, J. KENNEDY for the Comptroller,
and found correct, March 24, 1899, { R. J. HANCOCK, } for the Society.

MEDAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1898	.. 55 17 6	Gold Medal 100 0 0
Donations 63 15 0	Sandries 3 18 7
		Balance	25 18 7
			91 13 11
	<u>£117 12 0</u>		<u>£117 12 6</u>

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1898	.. 20 3 0		
By sale 6 7 9	Nil.	
By Donation from General Gosset	.. 5 0 0	Balance	.. £40 11 0
	<u>£40 11 0</u>		

It is inevitable that year by year we should have to deplore the loss by death of respected colleagues and fellow-workers, and in the past year we have not been more than usually fortunate in this matter. In Sir Henry Peek and Sir Charles Murray we have lost Members who have been more distinguished in other fields than in ours, and the eminent names of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Professor Bühler were before the Society at the last Meeting, with, I regret to say, the result in the case of the former of merely a promise of a detailed notice later on. But Professor Bühler had a very warm notice at the very competent hands of Professor Max Müller, and, though this is the case, it may perhaps interest some of you here to be informed that I have been successful in procuring the co-operation of some twenty well-known scholars and friends of that great master of Oriental learning in preparing for him a memorial number in the *Indian Antiquary*, which is to be written in his honour and in memory of his splendid services and his kindly and genial personality. In Mr. C. J. Rodgers I have lost a personal acquaintance, and this Society has lost an able colleague in Oriental work. He represented a class of Englishmen which has, I am glad to say, always existed among us, and of which we may be proud; because he was a very poor man, and the line of life he adopted was not one likely to bring him in any wealth, and yet he was content to spend every hour of his leisure in forwarding such a difficult study as Oriental numismatics. I see I carry this meeting with me that our respect is due to his memory and also to others like him who are working in the same way. There are two other names that I ought to mention, whose removal by death has been of too recent occurrence to be mentioned in the Report. In the first place, it is simply necessary for me to mention at such a meeting as this so great a name as that of Sir M. Monier-Williams, the author of the Sanskrit Dictionary, and the founder of the Oriental Institute at Oxford. But there has been removed from our Society another name, and I do not think that we ought to separate

to-day without some tribute of respect to the strong personality that has been labouring amongst us for so many years. In Dr. Leitner Oriental learning has lost a most enthusiastic and instructive exponent, and though what I may call the *perferendum ingenium* which pervaded him may sometimes have brought him into very sharp antagonism with his compeers, yet I do not think that anyone is present who would not wish that this Society should pay a public tribute of respect to his memory, and I may remind you that he was a member for something like forty years.

There have been losses, of course, on account of resignation during the past year, and although this is inevitable, and it is impossible for us to control the reasons which cause members to resign, yet I think that it is very much to be regretted that Indian officials who have done so much for what our Continental friends call Indianism, as Captain Bower and Colonel Jacob, should have felt bound to resign. It seems to me, and I put it forward as a reasonable proposition, that it is the duty of every old Indian so long as he lives, and so long as he has the power, to support a Society like this, which has for its objects the increase of our learning and knowledge of India.

It is a more grateful task to mention the accessions to the list of members, and in the Society's Report there are some notable facts in this respect, due, I understand, to the action of the Council during the past year. There have joined us such well-known Indian officials as Sir Henry Davies, Sir Peter Lumsden, and Sir Donald Macnabb, and also so distinguished a linguist as General Toker, and so distinguished a student of things Panjabi as Mr. Macauliffe, and we have also secured the allegiance of the new Bishop of Calcutta. Now this is exactly as it ought to be, and I hope you will join with me in encouraging the Council in going on with such successful efforts as these. We have some clue as to what is likely to happen in the future under its guidance, for this very day we have had announced to us that such important gentlemen as Mr. Yerburch and Sir Charles Lyall have joined us.

Turning now to the business part of the Report, I find that there are several matters to encourage us. In the first place, there has been an increase of our members and a consequent increase in the amount of subscriptions; and not only that, there has been an arrest of that decrease in the number of resident members that has been going on for so very long. Then the sale of the Journal, we have been told, is the largest on record, and that has been partly due to the increase in the number of Libraries subscribing, which is most satisfactory; and all this has brought about what we all like to see in every state of life, the largest income that the Society has yet seen. I need hardly call upon you to congratulate the Council in achieving such a result as this. With our increased income, there has been an increase in expenditure, but that has been in useful and desired directions, and amongst other things on which money has been spent has been the cataloguing of the manuscripts belonging to the Society, and I hope that money will long continue to be spent in this direction, because it is really a very important point. If any of you will take the trouble to follow up the history of any particular form of Oriental learning in any part of Europe, you will find that the success of any particular branch has always been dependent on the presence of an accessible library of manuscripts in the neighbourhood, and therefore I say that we should do all in our power to continue the good work here. The Report mentions also some successful action in the matter of the Oriental Translation Fund, due to the private munificence of Mr. Arbuthnot and in a less degree of Mr. Sturdy. Now, ladies and gentlemen, of course we know that in a Society like this the majority of us must be members who are unable to follow their example, however much we may wish to do so. But it is the very existence of such a majority which should make us all the more grateful to Messrs. Arbuthnot and Sturdy, and make us join in the wish of the Council that the minority, or such as can do so, should come forward with funds for further volumes; and in this matter perhaps

I may be permitted to give a little hint to the managers of the fund, and that is that estimates should be prepared of the cost of any works that are desired, and that, armed with these, efforts should be made to procure subsidies for their production.

In the matter of the Medal Fund, we have again to thank the private pecuniary assistance and labours of another member of this Society, and in proposing for your acceptance a vote of thanks to Mr. Wollaston for his services, I would like to point out that all that is now necessary is to secure an income of £8 per annum, and for this purpose it is necessary to get together about £300, of which over £100 is already in hand. Of course, the object of creating this fund is to prevent the grant of the medal being dependent upon chance subscriptions as it becomes due from year to year. The important and practical matter of the Oriental School I think we had better leave entirely in the hands of our President, and I should not propose to do more now than to ask you to join me in hearty good wishes for its success, in which our President has taken so great and so lasting an interest. The last point I would bring to your notice in the Report is the proposal of the Council to prolong the new rules of membership. We have been told that this has resulted in securing the allegiance of certain gentlemen who might otherwise have held aloof, and I take it to be our obvious duty that, as a Society, we should support the Council in any line of action which has the result of strengthening our position.

I have detained you long enough, but I do not think that I should close my remarks without some allusion to the officers of this Society, whose work we members are only too apt to take entirely as a matter of course. The Report we have heard is one of a successful year's work, and although our thanks are due in the first instance to the Council, who are responsible for the work, yet much of their action must have been based upon the advice and assistance of the officers, and I think, and I hope you will agree with me, that we should be wanting in proper

gratitude if we were not also to extend our thanks to them. With these remarks, Mr. Chairman, I have the honour to propose that the Report of the Council be adopted as it stands. (Applause.)

Sir F. Goldsmid: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I have been requested to second the proposal to adopt the Report which has just been read to you, and I consider it an honour and a privilege to be permitted to do so. Unblest with the gift of spontaneous eloquence, and unprepared to enter into details such as Colonel Temple has, with so much readiness and ability, put before you in his interesting statement, I must confine myself to words the paucity and plainness of which will, it is hoped, be excused, as coming from a somewhat broken-down member of the Asiatic Society, who is compelled to absent himself from your meetings more often than he could wish.

I need not repeat the congratulations which have already been offered on the continued success of the Society, and which are so thoroughly its due; but, as one who held the office of your Secretary some years ago, I feel it a duty as well as pleasure to bear testimony to the great ability of my successor in that appointment, now sitting at your table. His work is by no means an easy one. The Royal Asiatic is not a Society to attract the million. We cannot say to the ordinary outsider, "Drop in for an hour or so to our monthly meeting: the discussion may perhaps amuse you." Our object is rather to instruct than to amuse; and although our public is a small one, it requires to be provided for, and that satisfactorily. Much depends on the personality of the Secretary to make our cause popular. He has not only to keep himself *au courant* with Oriental studies of the day at home and abroad, but to awaken in others that kind of interest in them which practically tends to the successful performance of his own duties. Our direct appeal to the general public is, as you are aware, through the Journal. By this we are known and judged in the outer world. It appears to me that the high character of its contributions, to which I feel at liberty to testify from, at least, the

period of my own resignation of the Secretaryship to the present time, is so marked as to call for special recognition. It would be an invidious task to allude now to individual contributors; but I note that our learned and industrious Secretary is himself one of them. There is no mistake, then, that, whether we treat the question financially or in a literary sense, what the Society is doing means progress, and progress in a healthy and right direction.

I will not take up your time by further remarks, for I am quite sure you will agree with me that we are greatly indebted to the President and Officers of this Society for what has been done in it. Had I the power of expression, I aspire to have of appreciation, I should not be found much at fault as you may well hold me to be on the present occasion of addressing you.

Mr. Wollaston: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
a popular belief in the Muhammadan world that every man has his 'qismat,' or, as we should say in England, his fate, which dogs him at every turn. I am no exception to the rule. My destiny, unfortunately, is when there is nothing to say to find myself invariably asked to say it, and that is my reason for addressing you at the present time. I am directed to speak a few words about, of course, my pet subject, the Medal. Well, I do not propose to waste time by discussing whether it was right or wrong to found the Medal. I take it for granted that to a man, and, if I may use the phrase, to a woman, we are all agreed that it was in every way fitting to take that step, and we are glad we have done so; but I do not know whether you have all thoroughly grasped what doing it means. What is founding a Medal? In the first place—pardon me if I go into a few details—you have to get that very necessary beginning, a die, and you have to pay for it. A die has been prepared, and I believe it is generally admitted to be of a very exquisite design. I am delighted to say that it is paid for, and that therefore may be wiped off the list. So far, good; now the next thing we have to do is to provide a medal every third year. When I tell

you that the medal itself intrinsically costs something like £24 you may well understand that current expenses go on from year to year, or, at any rate, during every year, are not inconsiderable. We have met all this, and the present moment we stand with our die, and our expenses paid, and £110 in hand. (Hear, hear.) I for one think this is supremely satisfactory, and, if I may, speaking on behalf of the Council, I would tender to all you here, and to all the many others who are not here, our gratitude for your great liberality. And yet, withal, I am not content. I want to plead for more. I daresay some of you read a paper called *Truth*, which is continually giving a series of articles on what they call "The Pest of Society," begging letter-writer. Ladies and gentlemen, I am one of the pests of society; I am a begging letter-writer. I have written you two circulars, and if all goes well we shall in a few short weeks address you a third one, asking you if you will add again to your contributions. But let me encourage you. The first that was issued brought in £100; now for a small Society I call that magnificent. Our second, which of course it was not contemplated would be equally successful, produced £60. I think perhaps that is even more satisfactory than the first. A third is in the incubatory stage, it having only just been put into type; but we have already received two donations of £5, and we stand with £14 to our credit before we begin. I think that is most auspicious, and it encourages me to explain what I ask you to do. We want £200. For an individual it is a considerable sum. We have been trying with signal failure to get millionaires to give the entire amount, but my stock of millionaires is rather limited, and I have not succeeded in finding one that would rise to the occasion; still, I think that we may perhaps do without them, and I would suggest that you should really take the matter seriously in hand and see what you could do. I do not say to each of you, give £5; I do not expect you to give such a sum, and I do not ask you to do so; but it is not difficult to collect £5 if you really put your backs

into it and mean business, as the Americans say. If each person would do that, when we meet next year we should be able to tell you that the Medal had not only been founded—that is a fact—but endowed.

The adoption of the Report was then put to the meeting by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

Mr. H. Thomson Lyon moved and *Dr. Cust* seconded that a formal vote of condolence should be sent from the Society to the relatives of *Dr. Leitner*.

Mr. Sewell moved and *Dr. Thornton* seconded that a similar vote of condolence and sympathy should be sent to the widow of *Sir M. Monier-Williams*. In doing so *Dr. Thornton* called attention to the fact that *Sir M. Monier-Williams* had been a member of the Society from the year 1846, and that great as his labours had been in other matters, he was especially known to the Royal Asiatic Society as having been the first Chairman of an interesting Committee known as the Transliteration Committee. He was the first who moved in that direction, and the result of his labours may be now seen in every number of the Journal, which contains the decision of the Congress, adopting mainly the proposals that originated with the Committee of which he was the distinguished Chairman.

Both resolutions were carried unanimously.

Sir M. E. Grant Duff: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I felt very much honoured when the suggestion was recently made to me that I should come here to-day and propose the re-election of our President, *Lord Reay*, for the term of three years. When it was first proposed that *Lord Reay* should become President of the Asiatic Society, it was felt by many people that there could not have been a better choice, because he was the only person in England, I may say the only person in the world, who represented the two countries which have been most successful in establishing and perpetuating European Empires in Asia. I myself, when I first came to know *Lord Reay*, which is well on to forty years ago, thought that it was extremely probable that some day he would be Governor

of Netherlands India, and that it would be very pleasant to go out to stay with him in Java. It does not appear to have been written in the fates of either of us that we should go to Netherlands India; but a thing, which at that time appeared very much more improbable, came to pass. We both went to govern Presidencies in British India; I went to stay with him at Bombay, and he came to stay with me at Madras.

But we have not now merely to think of the *primâ facie* view which had influence when Lord Reay was first elected here, because no sooner had he entered on the office of President than he confirmed in the most ample manner the wisdom of the choice that had been made, and showed that he was capable of performing very great services for the Society. He gave it the most unstinted and ungrudging labour, and he helped it also by his very extensive social relations, not only in this country, but on the Continent of Europe. If it were only for what he has already done during the period in which he has guided the fortunes of the Society, we should, I think, be inclined, by the best kind of gratitude, to desire to re-elect him. But, ladies and gentlemen, we are impelled in that direction not only by the best kind of gratitude—the gratitude for past favours—but by that other kind of gratitude which is a fervent desire to receive favours in the future. Now Lord Reay is singularly well suited to assist the Society in several most important ways at this particular time. In the first place, there is going to be in the month of October an Oriental Congress in Rome, and I do not think anyone could represent the Society better than a man who speaks so many tongues, and who also has such extensive connections amongst the sort of people who are likely to assemble for that Congress upon the Seven Hills. That is not all. At this moment there is on the part of the Society a very great desire that there should be an Oriental Faculty established in connection with the new Teaching University, as it is called, which is about to be brought into existence in London. Lord Reay has always been extremely sanguine

about the prospects of that Teaching University. That is a matter about which I will not express any opinion, because I hold to the good rule that in such matters one had better not prophesy unless one knows. However, there are a great many other people who are extremely sanguine about that University, and who believe that it will perform great things. Now Lord Reay, having been connected with the original Commission, and keeping the question always very much in view, is the person best fitted to urge the opinions which he shares in common with, I think, nearly all whom I see around me, about the great importance of having an Oriental School in connection with the University. That he will do so I make no doubt whatever. I am not at all sure that statesmen would not have done better a few years ago if they had established some such centres of light as an Oriental Faculty, rather than take the steps which they did take, with reference to primary education and the methods of paying for it, but I am also not sure that Lord Reay, as head of the London School Board, would exactly share my view as to that particular matter. I will accordingly say nothing more about it, except to point out the undoubted fact that Lord Reay, being Chairman of the London School Board, is in a particularly good position to urge the importance of establishing a Faculty of this kind in the London University. For the fact of his being Chairman of the London School Board shows by itself that he has a very high reputation among, and is very much listened to by, the sort of persons who occupy themselves most with education. These, ladies and gentlemen, are my principal reasons for desiring and proposing on this occasion that you should again elect our President for a term of three years. (Applause.)

Sir Raymond West: Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel a peculiar pleasure in being called upon to second the resolution which is now before you. I had the honour and happiness to work, as a member of the Government, along with Lord Reay for some years in India, and I had the opportunity there of proving at

close quarters the intense interest which he felt in everything which conduced to the welfare and advancement of the population of that country, and especially that portion of it which was under our control as members of the Government of Bombay. I think that there is no gentleman or lady well acquainted with India here, especially no native of India here, who does not appreciate the very great services that Lord Reay rendered to India, not only in the material elements of improvement which he set in motion in that country, but by the spirit in which he worked and the generous sympathy which he was able to show and to evoke from the large native population; a spirit which is too much neglected on many occasions and by too many persons, but which must be the source of our progress and ultimate abiding success as governors and rulers of that country, and which in the far-off future will, as I trust, lead to a closer and closer assimilation of aims, ends, and feelings between these two most important sections of Her Majesty's subjects, as in all other sections of her dominions.

Lord Reay in India devoted himself to scholarship, without being a professed Oriental scholar. Nothing that was brought forward in that sphere escaped his attention, or failed to enlist his sympathy; but he devoted himself more especially during the latter portion of his time in the Bombay Presidency to the advancement of medical science and of technical instruction, and in Bombay alone I believe has anything of serious import in that direction been as yet achieved. A pattern has been set, which may well be followed in other parts of India, and I believe it will be followed, because the ideas he fostered are fermenting in the minds of the people through the country, and the necessity is becoming more and more apparent of working on such lines as Lord Reay instituted in the Bombay Presidency for the material advancement of the community. This much by way of introduction.

I felt, then, when Lord Reay was first elected as President of this Royal Asiatic Society that he would render it

important practical services. That expectation, which was shared, I believe, by most members of the Society, has been more than realized. We who have been concerned in the direction of the affairs of the Society have felt from day to day that we could not have been presided over by anyone more efficient, more zealous, and in every way more capable than Lord Reay. (Applause.) You, ladies and gentlemen, who are sitting here have had many opportunities of seeing in what an urbane and appreciative way he has filled the President's chair, how frequently, brightening our dry discussions with a few sub-humorous remarks, he has made everything pass off pleasantly. Lord Reay has thus presided to our great advantage on numerous occasions at our meetings here; but, moreover, what a far-reaching and intelligent interest he has on all occasions manifested in the subject of the papers brought before us, whether they were within his own peculiar sphere or not! To me it has been a matter of no little surprise, although I knew of Lord Reay's indefatigable temperament and powers of work, that he should, having to discharge heavy Parliamentary duties, and the still heavier duties of President of the School Board of London, have been able to devote so much attention to the duties which fell upon him as President of the Royal Asiatic Society. But we feel, and we all acknowledge, that no-one could possibly have discharged those duties better, and our gratitude may be best manifested, I think, by our enthusiastically receiving the proposition which has been laid so well before the meeting by Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, and vote with acclamation the re-election of our outgoing President, Lord Reay. (Applause.)

Mr. Yerburgh: Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As a new member of the Society I feel that I have hardly any *locus standi* in supporting the resolution before the meeting. Nor can I, as a new member, speak with any knowledge of the various services that Lord Reay has rendered to the Society, services which have been put before us by the two previous speakers. My particular

point in venturing to support this motion is with regard to the encouragement of the study of Oriental languages in this country. This is a matter in which I have taken considerable personal interest, and I know that Lord Reay has done a great deal to advance the cause. In the last Session of Parliament I put a question to the Leader of the House with regard to what the Government were prepared to do in this direction, and some four or five days afterwards I received a letter from a gentleman at Berlin telling me that, having seen the very unsatisfactory reply I had had, he was forwarding various papers relating to the Oriental Institute in Berlin, as he wished to show me what the German people were doing to further the study of Oriental languages. I must say that a very great deal has been done by Germany, and a study of the documents sent me throws our neglect of Oriental languages into the greatest possible relief. I have had the pleasure of reading an admirable address on this subject by Lord Reay, which is reported in your Journal, and if I may be permitted to do so, I should like, Sir, to inform you of what is being done in a practical way to meet the difficulties we have to face. The China Association have appointed a Committee upon which they have nominated some gentlemen who are not members of their body, but who are interested in this subject, and the Committee have reason to believe that they will be in a position to appear with some practical proposal before the Governing Body of the new London University. I mean by practical that they will be in a position to approach the Governing Body with a certain amount of money, so to speak, in their hands, to be devoted to an attempt to organize the teaching of Chinese for a certain period of time with the object of ascertaining whether the public will avail themselves of the opportunity sufficiently to warrant the founding and endowing of a Chair. (Applause.) There is another matter upon this point which I may put before you, namely, that this movement for the encouragement of the study of Chinese is also advancing in the North of England. On Friday in this week there

is to be a meeting in Manchester, called by the Lord Mayor of that City, the object of which is to consider, amongst other subjects, this very important one that I am now dealing with, the study of Oriental languages. It is hoped that money will be forthcoming to establish a Chair for a period of five years, during which it can be ascertained whether any permanent success can be looked for. Some remarks have been made this evening about millionaires. I heard the other day an amusing story of a very new millionaire who had gone to Christie's and said: "I must have three of the most valuable pictures; I do not mind the painter, the subject, or the price, but I must have them at my house to-night on my walls because I have got a dinner party." (Laughter.) I would venture to suggest to this gentleman that a far better way of employing his money and of earning a permanent record for himself would be to give some money to the foundation of such a College of Oriental Study as Germany can boast of in Berlin. (Applause.)

Dr. Cust: I beg, on behalf of the Council and the Officers of the Society, to express our entire concurrence with the re-election of Lord Reay. I have been on the Council the whole of those three terms, and I only express myself in the way a distinguished Italian once expressed himself: "I could not find so good a man as President, and I do not wish for a better one." What we want is a scholarly statesman, and in Lord Reay we have found him. I only hope that when this three years is over we shall elect him for another three years.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

June 13.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Lord Sandhurst,
Mr. C. F. Rowthorn,
Mr. Gerald Dampier,

Babu Ramsare Das, and
Professor Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. T. G. Pinches read a paper entitled "Akkadian, or Cryptography," illustrated by lantern slides. A discussion followed, in which the Rev. J. Tuckwell and Dr. Löwy took part. The paper will appear in the October Journal.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série IX, Tome xiii, No. 1.

Derenbourg (H.). Nābiga Dhobyānī, inédit d'après le MS. arabe 65 de la collection Schefer.

Nau (F.). Le traité sur l'astrolabe-plan de Sévère Sabokt, écrit au viii^e siècle d'après des sources grecques et publié pour la première fois d'après un MS. de Berlin.

Caudel (M.). Les premières invasions arabes dans l'Afrique du Nord (21-100 H., 651-718 J.C.).

II. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Band li, Heft 1.

Praetorius (Fr.). Bemerkungen zu den beiden grossen Inschriften vom Dammbruch zu Marib.

Hardy (E.). Eine buddhistische Bearbeitung der Kṛṣṇa-Sage.

Schreiner (M.). Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islām.

Justi (F.). Zur Inschrift von Behistān, i, 63.

Oppert (J.). Hie und da.

Hommel (F.). Eine Katabanische Inschrift.

Grimme (H.). Nochmals zur syrischen Betonungs- und Verslehre.

Praetorius (Fr.). Notiz zur syrischen Metrik.

Bacher (W.). Eine alte Erwähnung der babylonischen Keilinschriften.

Zimmern (H.). Über Bäcker und Mundschenk in Altsemitischen.

Speyer (J. S.). Buddha's Todejahr nach dem Avadānaśataka.

III. MUNICH. SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER PHILOS-PHILOLOGISCHEN UND DER HISTORISCHEN CLASSE DER K. B. AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, 1898. Bd. ii, Heft 3.

Hertz (W. v.). Aristoteles bei den Parsen.

IV. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xii, No. 4.

Schroeder (L. v.). Der Rigveda bei den Kāṭhas.

Laufer (B.). Ueber das *ra zur*.

Geyer (R.). Zu den Gedichten des Ḥātim al-Ṭāi.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. G. W. Leitner.

We regret to have to record the death of Dr. Leitner, who was for thirty-eight years a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. The son of a physician, he was born at Budapest in 1840, but removed in 1847 to Turkey, where his father had established a practice. His school education was completed at the Malta Protestant College. In 1855, when still a mere lad, he gained, by competitive examination, the post of "First Class Interpreter" to the British forces at Shumla, during the last eight months of the Crimean War. After the conclusion of the war, he attended a Muhammadan Theological School at Constantinople. In 1858 he came to England, and matriculated as a student at King's College, London. At that institution he was soon afterwards appointed lecturer in Arabic, Turkish, and modern Greek, and in 1861 he succeeded the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne, now Bishop of Worcester, as Professor of Arabic and

Muhammadan Law. He was afterwards elected an Honorary Fellow of the College.

It was in 1861 that he first became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In 1862 the University of Freiburg conferred upon him the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D.

As Professor at King's College he issued several publications, among which may be mentioned his introduction to a philosophical grammar of Arabic, which was subsequently translated into Arabic and Urdu.

In 1864 the Panjáb Government offered the Principalship of the newly founded Lahore-Government-College for public competition. Dr. Leitner, anxious to extend his knowledge of languages and countries, applied, and was successful. On arriving in Lahore he found Indian educational affairs in a far from satisfactory state. The educational dispatch issued by the India Office in 1854 furnished the basis of his operations; its main principle being "to pave the way for the abolition of the Government-Schools by means of voluntary organizations," but its provisions, such as, for instance, the grant-in-aid rules, were imperfectly known or understood by the natives, and decisive steps were still required to make them known. In order to assist the carrying out of the intentions of the 1854 dispatch, he founded the Anjuman-i-Panjáb, a body intended to stimulate among the upper and more learned classes of native society (which had hitherto kept aloof from the educational enterprises fostered by the Government) a spirit of independent zeal for true education, in a form, which was not merely a feeble copy of Western methods, but which could bring the natives into contact with all that was most valuable in Western thought, through the medium of their own language. To complete the educational work begun by the Lahore College and the Anjuman-i-Panjáb, a National University for the Panjáb now became necessary, and the realization of that object for many years occupied Dr. Leitner's endeavours. Fortunately in Sir Donald McLeod, then Governor of the province, in Mr. (now Sir) Lepel

Griffin, and in many of the native chiefs, he found sympathetic and active coadjutors. The Lahore 'University College' was established in 1870, and under Dr. Leitner's guidance, as Registrar, fulfilled all the purposes of a central University for North-Western India, though the full status of a University was not conferred on it till 1882. It was designed to give an impetus to educational self-government in the native community, and to the revival of the study of the languages of India, Arabic, Persia, and Sanskrit, and by presenting Western thought in forms acceptable to the native mind, to cause it to penetrate more deeply and widely than when, as on the old system, it was brought into direct conflict with National and Religious prejudices. Dr. Leitner's educational views attracted much attention on the part of the native chiefs, and branches of the Anjuman-i-Panjáb were established throughout the province. A free discussion of literary, scientific, social, and political, subjects was thus stimulated in native society. In 1866, also, with the co-operation of a few friends, he established at Lahore a journal called *Indian Public Opinion*, "to represent the desires and wishes of every section of the inhabitants, whether European or native." Dr. Leitner and his friends continued this work for a period of ten years.

In 1882 the Indian Government brought out, as a Report, his "History of Indigenous Education in the Panjáb since annexation and in 1882." These changes in the educational system of the Panjáb could not, of course, be carried through without provoking considerable opposition on the part of those, who had been carrying on educational work on the old lines. Even after he had established the Lahore University College, he was bitterly disappointed by the attempts made to divert moneys he had collected from leading natives from the teaching of the Indian and Eastern classics to that of English. In 1882 the Panjáb University created him its first Doctor of Oriental Learning.

His work in the Panjáb University was only half completed, when he retired, completely broken down in health, in 1887. The Emperor of Austria made him a Knight of

the Iron Crown, and a Grand Commander of the Order of Francis Joseph, and William I, Emperor of Germany, conferred on him the order of the Crown of Prussia.

The work of founding and carrying on the Panjáb University was by no means the only work, that Dr. Leitner did during his residence in India. In 1866 he undertook for the Government an exploration of those regions on the North-West Frontier, into which the British troops have only entered in the last few years, and to which he gave the name of *Dardistan*, viz., the countries between Kábul, Badakshan, and Kashmir. From this expedition he brought back political, ethnological, and philological information, which is contained in his various miscellaneous writings on Dardistan. At a later date he kept in constant touch with the regions beyond the frontiers of the Empire, and his house at Lahore was a meeting-place for all sorts of wanderers from Central Asia, who supplied him with useful information.

During his residence in India he made a collection of Eastern antiquities and curiosities, of which the most interesting portion, perhaps, is composed of the series of sculptures and casts illustrating the connection between early Indian art and that of other countries, especially Greece. This Greek influence was derived from the Hellenic, or partly Hellenic, kingdoms, which for centuries after the downfall of Alexander the Great's empire maintained themselves in Kábul, Balkh, Herat, etc. By the action of this Greek art on Buddhism, which at one time exerted a great influence over all India, there was developed a 'Græco-Buddhistic' art, which long flourished in regions whence all traces of Greek civilization or Buddhistic worship have vanished. Part of this collection is now at the Oriental Institute at Woking, which he established on his return from India.

He was for the past nine years the proprietor and editor of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, a journal devoted to Oriental research and to imperial interests in Asia and the Colonies.

Dr. Leitner died at Bonn, in Germany, on the 22nd of

March, and his remains were brought over and interred in Brookwood Cemetery on the 6th of April.

We append a list of Dr. Leitner's principal writings:—

LIST OF THE LATE DR. LEITNER'S PUBLICATIONS.

- The Theory and Practice of Education* (especially in India).
Introduction to a Philosophical Grammar of Arabic.
The Sinin-ul-Ikdim (History and Literature of Muhammadanism in their relations to Universal History).
The Races of Turkey, with special reference to Muhammadan Education.
The Languages and Races of Dardistan.
Græco-Buddhist Discoveries (a pamphlet).
A National University for the Panjâb (a pamphlet).
Adventures of a Siâh Posh Kâfir.
Vocabulary of Technical Terms used in Elementary Vernacular School Books, Hindustani-English.
History of Indigenous Oriental Education, especially in the Panjâb since annexation and in 1882. Folio, pp. 600.
Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1872, and 1879, relating to Indian Trade, etc.
The Sciences of Language and Ethnography.
 "Kaisar-i-Hind" (a pamphlet).
The National Anthem in Urdu (a pamphlet).
Muhammadanism (a report of an address, with Appendices).
A Comparative Vocabulary of eleven languages of the Hindu Kush—French and English (written for the French Ethnographical Congress).
The Hunza and Nagyr Hand-Book, being an introduction to a knowledge of the Language, Race, and Countries of Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. Compared with various Dialects of Shina. In two parts—Part I, and a Supplement, namely:—
Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1891-93, being an account of the History, Religious, Customs, Legends, Fables, and Songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandâh, Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Nagyr, and other parts of the Hindu Kush.

The following is some of Dr. Leitner's unpublished material, in proof and course of preparation:—

- Useful Phrases in Chitrali Persian*, by the late Mehtar Nizâm-ul-Mulk of Chitral, and translated into English by Dr. Leitner.
Dialogues, Songs, Legends, and a Grammatical Sketch of Khawar or Arnijia, the language of Chitral, with Historical Notices, etc.

In manuscript:—

- The Race and Language of Kandîd or Kildî* (the district lying between Swât and the Indus).
The Inscriptions, Songs, and Literature of Kashmir (text and translation).

Sir M. Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E.

With the death of Sir M. Monier-Williams, at Cannes, on April 11th, this Society lost a member who had belonged to it for more than half a century. Being in his eightieth year, he was the oldest Professor of Sanskrit in any University. He had occupied the Boden Chair at Oxford for nearly forty years, having succeeded Horace Hayman Wilson, the first Professor of Sanskrit in England, appointed in 1832. The son of Colonel Monier Williams, R.E., he was born at Bombay in 1819. Having been educated at private schools, and at King's College, London, he matriculated at Oxford in March, 1837, but did not go into residence at Balliol until Michaelmas, 1838. Among his fellow-undergraduates at Balliol were Stafford Northcote, Arthur Hobhouse, John Duke Coleridge, Benjamin Jowett, Edward Meyrick Goulburn, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Frederick Temple, Thomas Farrer, and William Rogers. With some of these he rowed in his College Eight at the head of the river in 1839. Having been nominated to a writership in the Indian Civil Service in November of the latter year, and having been examined at the India House at the end of the following December, he left Oxford, went to reside at Haileybury in January, 1840, and at the end of the year passed out of the East India College at the head of the list. But at this point the course of his career was suddenly and entirely changed by the death of his twin brother, killed in a border war in India. In deference to the urgent wishes of his widowed mother, he resolved to remain in England. He accordingly returned to Oxford in May, 1841; but as Balliol was full, and no system of out-college residence existed in those days, he entered at University. This was the College of Sir William Jones, the great pioneer of Sanskrit studies at the end of the last century, and the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

A pupil of Professor Wilson in Sanskrit, Monier Williams gained the Boden scholarship in 1843. Taking his degree in the following year, he was appointed to the Professorship

of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Telugu, at the East India Company's College at Haileybury, a post which he held for about fifteen years, till the College was closed after the Mutiny. During his tenure of this office he is said to have won the high esteem of all his pupils. The last survivor of the teaching staff, he preserved down to his death a lively interest in the history of Haileybury, and took a leading part in editing the Memorials of the old College, published in 1894. After a short interval, during which he held an appointment at Cheltenham College, he was elected Boden Professor of Sanskrit by Convocation at the memorable contest in 1860, of which many senior members of Oxford University retain a lively recollection.

In the early seventies Professor Williams conceived the plan of founding at Oxford an institution which should be a centre of Oriental learning and a focus for concentrating and disseminating correct information on Indian subjects. This plan he first brought before Congregation in May, 1875. In order to enlist the sympathies of the leading native princes in this project, he undertook at his own expense three journeys to India in 1875, 1876, and 1883; and his persevering efforts were so far crowned with success that he finally managed to collect a fund of close on £34,000. The foundation stone of the new Institute was laid by the Prince of Wales in 1883. The building was erected in three instalments, the first being finished in 1884 and the last in 1896. On July 1st of the latter year the completed Indian Institute was formally opened by Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, in the presence of a large and representative gathering of the friends of India. Sir Monier thus carried his scheme to a successful issue in the face of difficulties which could only have been surmounted by rare tenacity of purpose. The deep interest he continued to take in the welfare of the Indian Institute, he proved by presenting to its library some years before his death his valuable collection of Oriental MSS. and books to the number of about 3,000.

Brought up in the traditional school of Sānskrit learning

which Professor Wilson and other English scholars acquired from Pandits in India, Professor Monier-Williams never devoted much attention to the historical method of scholarship, consequently taking little interest in the oldest phase of Indian literature represented by the Vedas. He busied himself rather with the publication of the texts of well-known classical Sanskrit writers, with a view to encouraging the practical study of Sanskrit. Thus he brought out an edition of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorcaśi* in 1849 and another of *Śakuntalā* (2nd ed. 1876). He also published the text, with translation and vocabulary, of the famous *Story of Nala*. He further produced a number of other useful educational works: a *Sanskrit Grammar* (1846), which ran through four editions, an excellent *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* (1851), and a *Sanskrit Manual* for composition (1862). His most important work of this kind was his large *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, published in 1872. The substance of some of his lectures given at Oxford soon after he became Boden Professor were embodied in his *Indian Epic Poetry* (1863), which contains a full analysis of the *Rāmāyana* and of the leading story of the *Mahābhārata*.

Shortly before and after he returned to Oxford, Monier-Williams also wrote some Hindustani manuals. One of these was *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Hindustani* (1858), and another his *Practical Hindustani Grammar* (1862). To the same period belong his *Original Papers illustrating the History of the Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India* (1859) and his inaugural lecture on *The Study of Sanskrit in relation to Missionary Work in India* (1861).

Monier-Williams possessed much literary skill as a translator. His tasteful version in prose and verse of *Śakuntalā* (1853) has become very popular, having reached a sixth edition at least and finding a place among Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Best Books. His *Indian Wisdom* (1875), which consists chiefly of translated specimens of Sanskrit literature, appeared in a fourth and enlarged edition in 1893.

The late Professor was a frequent advocate of the claims of Missionary enterprise in India; and it was this interest that led him to devote much of his time to writing books meant to diffuse a knowledge of Indian religions in England. All these works display much literary facility and have enjoyed a considerable popularity. More than 12,000 copies of his *Hinduism* (1877) have been sold; his *Modern India and the Indians* (1878) ran through three editions in a couple of years; there have been four editions of his *Religious Life and Thought in India* (1883); and his *Buddhism* (1889) in connection with Brahmanism and Hinduism and in contrast with Christianity, has been widely read.

Failing health obliged Sir Monier Monier-Williams to relinquish in 1887 the active duties of his Chair, which had become very heavy owing to the institution of the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford in 1886. He ceased to reside in the University, spending the winter months in the south of France and the rest of the year at his house in the Isle of Wight. In these declining years of his life he devoted himself with great industry almost entirely to the completion of the second edition of his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, which when published will be twice the size of the first. This work he carried out under the patronage of the India Office.

Professor Monier-Williams was a Fellow of his old College, Balliol, from 1882 to 1886; was elected an Honorary Fellow of University College in 1892; and was Keeper and Perpetual Curator of the Indian Institute. He was a D.C.L. of Oxford, an LL.D. of Calcutta, and a Ph.D. of Göttingen. He was created a K.C.I.E. in 1887.

Sir M. Monier-Williams had the good fortune to live just long enough to fully finish his career. Only last year he celebrated his golden wedding in the midst of a prosperous family; he gave the final touch to the last proof-sheet of his Dictionary only a few days before he died; and it is only three years since he saw the entire completion of the Indian Institute, which will stand as a permanent memorial of his indomitable energy in advancing the practical interests of Oriental learning.

A. A. MACDONELL.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

THE URMI "BOOKLET OF CRUMBS."—By an unfortunate misprint, this work has been described in our last issue, p. 453, as the "Booklet of Counsels." Prof. Murgoliouth, to whom we owe the notice, had no opportunity of correcting the proof, or the mistake would not have been allowed to pass.

ORIENTAL SCHOOL AT SAIGON.—The French Government have established at Saigon a "Mission Archæologique de l'Indo-Chine." There is to be a Director, nominated for six years, and re-eligible, who will preside over the studies and edit the proceedings. There will be courses of study in Sanskrit and Pāli, and Archaeology, scholarships for students, a library, a museum, and a journal or other proceedings, with a yearly report to be laid before the Minister of Public Instruction. M. Finot, a well-known graduate of the Oriental School at Paris, and a member of our Society, has been appointed the first Director. We express our congratulations to the French Government for inaugurating so useful a scheme; and our best wishes to M. Finot in his new undertaking.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS will be held at Paris from Sept. 3 to Sept. 9, 1900, in connection with the Exhibition to be then held there. It will be under the direction of a commission of scholars connected with the University of France and learned bodies in Paris; the President being M. Albert Réville. Information as to the details of the Congress can be obtained from the Secretaries, at the Sorbonne, Paris.

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				Mr. R. A. Yerburgh	2	2	0
					£100	11	0

V. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Presented by the India Office.

De Azurara (G. E.). The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, done into English by C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage. Vol. ii.

8vo. London, 1899 (Hakluyt Society).

Presented by the Leiden University.

Juynboll (Dr. H. H.). Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek.

8vo. Leiden, 1899.

Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.

Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes.
2^{ième} Section, Langues et Archéologie de l'extrême-Orient.

Roy. 8vo. Paris, 1898.

Presented by the Panjab Government.

Stein (M. A.). Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force.

8vo. Lahore, 1898.

Presented by the Mysore Archaeological Survey.

Rice (L.). Mysore Gazetteer. Revised edition, two vols.

8vo. London, 1897.

Presented by M. Nānissara Thera.

Sthavira (The Ven. Vedeha Mahā). Samanta Kūta Warnana. Translated into Sinhalese and edited by the Rev. W. Dhammānanda Sthavira and Rev. M. Nānissara.

8vo. Colombo, 1890.

Mahāwaṃsa Tikā. Revised and edited by Pandit Baṭu-wantudāwe and M. Nānissara.

8vo. Colombo, 1895.

Presented by the Very Rev. D. D. P. Sanjana.

Dinkard, vol. viii. Text and translations by P. D. B. Sanjana.

8vo. Bombay, 1897.

Presented by the Authors.

- Karkaria (R. P.). India, forty years of Progress and Reform, being a Sketch of the Life and Times of Behramji Malabari. 8vo. London, 1896.
- Lewis (Agnes S.) and M. D. Gibson. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels. 4to. London, 1899.
- Cordier (H.). Les Études Chinoises (1895-1898). 8vo. Leide, 1898.
- Devéria (M.). L'écriture du Royaume de Si-Hia ou Tangout. 4to. Paris, 1898.
- Nadkarni (K. M.). Essentials of Modern Treatment of Disease. Two vols. 8vo. Madras, 1898.

Presented by the Publishers.

- Duff (Miss C. M.). The Chronology of India, from the earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century. 8vo. London, 1899.
- Vambéry (A.). The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, 1553-1556. Translated from the Turkish, with notes. 8vo. London, 1899.
- Williams Jackson (A. V.). Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran. 8vo. New York and London, 1899.
- Fiske (A. K.). The West Indies. 8vo. New York and London, 1899.
- Duval (Rubens). Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes: (2) La littérature Syriaque. 8vo. Paris, 1899.
- Skrine (F. H.) and E. D. Ross. The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the earliest times. 8vo. London, 1899.
- Dahlmann (J.). Genesis des Mabābhārata. 8vo. Berlin, 1899.
- Brown (Major R. H.). The Land of Goshen and the Exodus. 8vo. London, 1899.

Purchased.

- Deussen (Professor P.). Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, Bd. i, Abth. 2: Die Philosophie des Upanishads. 8vo. Leipzig, 1899.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIX.—*The Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew Manuscripts in the Hunterian Library in the University of Glasgow.* By T. H. WEIR, B.D., Assistant to the Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow.

DR. WILLIAM HUNTER (d. 1783) bequeathed to the University of Glasgow, along with his Natural History Collection, a library containing about twelve thousand volumes of printed books and six hundred manuscripts. The latter were catalogued by G. Haenel, in his *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, columns 786–798. In regard to the Oriental manuscripts, however, he frequently does no more than state in what languages they are written, and that not always correctly. Thanks to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Museum, who gave every facility of access to the cases, the following is an emended list of the Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew manuscripts. With the exception of No. 7, none of these is written on vellum.

ARABIC.

1.

Qur'ān : dated 1068 A.H.

2.

Qur'ān : dated Medina, 1057 A.H.

3.

Qur'ān : dated 1082 A.H.

4.

Qur'ān : no date.

5.

Qur'ān : no date.

6

Qur'ān : last few pages fragmentary ; chapters 105 to 109 are wanting : no date.

7.

Part I of the Qur'ān : written on vellum in various colours of ink ; titles of chapters, etc., in Kufic characters, the rest in African hand : no date.

8.

Part III of the Qur'ān : no date.

9.

Part VII of the Qur'ān : no date.

10.

Part XXIX of the Qur'ān : no date.

11.

A small volume containing extracts from the Qur'ān (Sūrah 46, 48, 55, 56, 67, and 78) and Prayers : no date.

12.

The "Mugni'l Nāṣihīn wa Muhdī'l 'Ābidīn," a religious compendium, consisting of eighty-four homilies. Commencement:

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من المؤمنين والمسلمين أما بعد
فهذه موعظة لطيفة ورسالة مرغوبة منقولة من كتاب شرعة الإسلام
وشرحها وتنبيه الغافلين وحيوة القلوب الخ

Copied by Aḥmadu' bn Ismā'il in the country of Buda in the convent (تكية) of Ṣaiḥ Sulaimān Afandī the preacher in the great Mosque in the year 1064 A.H.

It contains 128 closely written folios of 27 lines to the page. The author's name does not appear.

13.

Apparently a commonplace-book; on the outside of the cover is the title, "Majmū'ah Ṣarī'ah fihā Latā'if Kaṭīrah wa Jawāhir Kabīrah," and the name Ṣaiḥ Sulaimān Afandī. The only piece of any length which is in Arabic is the "Tuḥfatu'l Mulūk" of Zainu'l Dīn Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr Ḥasanu'l Rāzī.

14.

A commentary on the Qur'ān, from the xixth Sūrah to the cixth, called the "Kitābu'l Majālis" of Quṭbu'l 'Ārifīn Maḥmūd, al Uskudūrī (cf. Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Turkish MSS., p. 234*b*, line 8). On the outside of the cover, under the title and author's name, is the name of the Ṣaiḥ Sulaimān Afandī.

A prefatory note says the "Majālis" were collected after the death of Uskudūrī by the Ṣaiḥ Ismā'il. The date breaks off in the middle of the name of the month.

15.

The "Kitābu'l i'lām bi'aḥādithi'l aḥkām":

Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 116; Add. 7,257: *Instructio de Traditionibus Statutorum*: "nomen auctoris haud apparet."

16.

"Kitābu'l Irshād," of the Ṣaiḥ Mufid (Abū 'Abdī'llah Muḥammad, al Nu'mānī, † 413 or 416); being biographies of the Twelve Imāms. It is a very neatly written MS.: there is no date. See Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, revised edition, 1894, p. 16.

17.

- I. Extract, containing the "Bāb Ḥadithi'l Mi'rāj," from Pocock's MS. (Bodleian Cat., vol. i, p. 57) of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Buḥārī, † 256 A.H. = 869 A.D.
- II. Book containing the story of the Night Journey, transcribed, like the last, from an Oxford MS. (Bodl. Cat., i, p. 185, No. CCCCLIV, Mareshall, 518).
- III. The "Kitāb Raudati'l Manāẓir fī 'ilmi'l awā'il wa'l awāḥir" of Abu'l Walidī'bn Ṣiḥnah of Aleppo, † 815 A.H. = 1412 A.D., part ii, from the Fall of Man to the Hijrah.

18.

In European Hand.

- I. Extract from the "Kitābu'l 'Arā'is fi'l Majālis" of Tha'labī, copied from a Bodleian MS. (Cat., vol. i, p. 175, Mareshall, 40).
- II. Extracts from Ibn Ṣiḥnah's "Kitāb Tahārati'l Qulūb," also copied from a Bodleian MS. (Cat., vol. i, p. 95, Huntington, 506).
- III. Extracts from the "Kitāb Dalā'ili'l Hairāt" of Jazūlī from the Bodleian MS., vol. i, p. 67, Mareshall, 79. The object of the copyist is to prove that the Muslims do not ask God to pray for Muḥammad.

19.

The commentary by 'Abdu'l Laṭīfī'bn Firistah, called Ibnu'l Malīk, on the "Manāru'l Anwār fi Uṣūli'l Fiqh" of Abū Barakāt 'Abdu'llāhī'bn Aḥmad, known as Ḥāfiẓu'l Dīnī'l Nasafī, † 710 A.H. = 1310 A.D. Dated Constantinople, 1050.

20.

Title: "Al Laiṭu'l 'Ābis fī Ṣadamāti'l Majālis," beginning:

الحمد لله الذي هو أصل للعالم الخ

on the principles of Law (cf. Hajji Khalifa, vol. v, p. 346). Dated 943.

21.

An account of property in Constantinople set apart for religious, educational, and other public purposes, by the Sultan Muḥammad II. Commencement:

الحمد لله الذي وفق من اراد الخ

Dated 936 A.H.

22.

The Magribī Prayer-book, called "Kitāb Dalā'ili'l Hairāt," of Muḥammad al Jazūlī: beautifully written in Magribī hand.

23.

I. Selections from the Apothegms and Sermons of 'Alī ibn abī Tālib:—

folio 2a: Prayer of 'Alī, beginning:

اللهم من وجهي باليسار

folio 2b: Selection from Apothegms, beginning:

باب المختار من حكم أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب
ويدخل في ذكر المختار من مواعظ أيضا قال كن في الفتنة
كابن اللبون الخ

folio 14: "'Alī's charge to his son Husain, on his leaving Ṣiffīn," beginning:

هذه وصية أمير المؤمنين ويعسوب الموحدين سيدنا علي بن أبي
طالب لولده الحسين كتبها اليه بحضورين عند انصرافه
من صفين الخ

folio 19: Sermon of 'Alī, beginning:

اعلم ان الدنيا دار فنا ودار عناه النج

II. Treatises of Jalālu'l Dīn Muḥammad Davānī (in Persian):—

folio 21: His Commentary on his Ṣūfī Rubā'ī's (Brit. Mus. Add. 16,839, xi): dated Friday, 11th Ṣauwāl, 1023 A.H.

folio 59: The "Risālatu'l Ṣaḥīḥah"; finished copying Sunday, 8th Dū'l Hijjah, 1022 A.H.

folio 65: The "Risālatu'l Tahlīlīyah": n.d.

folio 86: Commentary on a Ġazal of Ḥāfiẓ; finished Wednesday, 17th Ṣa'bān, 1022 A.H.

folio 92: A treatise entitled "Risālatu'l 'Adālah": n.d.

folio 100: Commentary on a Verse of Ḥāfiẓ: n.d.

folio 104: Commentary on a verse of the Gulṣan i Raz.

III. *folio 108*: The "Taflis Iblis." The author is named 'Izzu'l Dīn 'Abdu'l Salām, son of Ṣaiḥ Aḥmad, parent of Ṣaiḥ Ġānim: finished, 15th Ṣauwāl, 1023 A.H. In the Catalogue of the Khedivial Library, Cairo, Part II, p. 76, the author is called:

تزددين عبد السلام بن احمد بن غانم المقدسي

24.

Arabic with French Translation.

The "Kitābu'l Ajwibah," or "Kitābu'l Alif," of Ibnu'l 'Arabī.

25.

Treatise by Ibnu'l 'Arabī, entitled "Risālah fī Bayān Sūratī'l Isti'dād, etc." Hajjī Khalīfa calls it simply كتاب الخلوة. It begins:

الحمد لله الذي هم الصفوة من عباده النج

Cf. Ahlwardt's Berlin Catalogue, 2,916.

folio 10: Treatise written by Ibnu'l 'Arabī after visiting Tunis in the year 590 A.H. In the Catalogue of the Khedivial Library, Cairo (Part II, p. 116), it is entitled:

مشاهد الأسرار القدسية ومطالع الأنوار الإلهية

folio 33: The "Kitābu'l Isra [Isrā'] ila'l Maqāmi'l Asra," by Ibnu'l 'Arabī.

folio 55: The "Kitābu'l Tajalliyāt," by Ibnu'l 'Arabī.

folio 77: The "Miftāḥu'l Gaib" (Hajji Khalifa, 12,581), by Ibnu'l 'Arabī.

folio 128: The Diwān of Ibnu'l Fāriḍ, † 632 A.H. = 1235 A.D. The beginning is wanting: dated 787 A.H.

folio 198: The "Risālatu'l Anwār," by Ibnu'l 'Arabī.

folio 208: The "Risālat Taḥrīri'l Bayān fī Taqrīr Su'abi'l Īmān wa Rutabi'l Iḥsān," by Ibnu'l 'Arabī (Hajji Khalifa, iv, p. 49).

folio 223: The "Marātibu'l Taqwa," by Ibnu'l 'Arabī, commencing:

الحمد لله الذى خص المخلصين الخ

folio 240: The treatise called الرسالة المرشدية by Ṣaiḥ Sadru'l Dīnī'l Qūnawī, beginning:

الحمد لله حق حمده والصلوة أما بعد فهذه عجالة تتضمن

العرف بكيفية التوجه . . . نحو الحق الخ

Cf. Bibl. Nat. Catalogue, 2,037, 3° and the Berlin Catalogue, 2,995.

26.

Title: "Kitābu'l Injīlī'l Ṣarīfī'l Tāhir wa Miṣbāḥu'l Manīrī'l Zāhir."

The Four Gospels, each Gospel being prefaced by a biographical notice concerning its author. That of St. Matthew is said to have been written in Hebrew, being begun in Palestine and finished in India, "whither the disciples had driven him from the land of the

Jews." St. John wrote a commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel in Spain. This Gospel is divided into 101 chapters, and was written in the first year of Claudius or the ninth from the Resurrection. St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, in the fourth year of Claudius, in Latin. St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, first preached it in Rome, then Mark in Alexandria, where he was martyred. It contains fifty-four chapters. St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Greek, in the fourteenth year of Claudius, in Alexandria. St. Paul preached it first and then Luke, in Macedonia (*madinah maqdūniyah*). It contains eighty chapters. St. John wrote in Greek, in Ephesus, in the eighteenth (*sic*) year of Nero.

The date of copying is the month Nisan, 1697 A.D.

27.

This volume (of 26 folios, of which, however, only 38 pages are written on) begins with an Index of Fifty Homilies of Ephraim Syrus, with their subjects: then follow five pages of the First Homily, being a letter to the Monk John on Patience; six of the Fourth, on Repentance; and nineteen of the Fifth, on Hermit Life. Cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, i, p. 150.

28.

- I. The Treatise (*Risālah*) of Hermes addressed to the Soul.
It was edited by Fleischer, Leipzig, 1870.
 - II. A Collection of Christian Proverbs.
 - III. The Forty-eighth Homily of Ephraim Syrus.
 - IV. The Forty-ninth Homily of Ephraim Syrus.
- Dated 1597 A.D.

29.

- I. The "Intellectual Paradise" (*Firdausu'l 'Aqli*) of Gregory of Nyssa.
Copied in the year 6763 of Adam.

At the end are some verses and the Decalogue (in which the seventh and eighth Commandments precede the sixth). This seems to be the only copy in which the work is ascribed to Gregory; the Bodleian Catalogue describes it as of unknown authorship (ii, 44).

II. Four Homilies on Job by John Chrysostom.

III. The Canonical Book of Revelation.

All three are in the same hand.

30.

THE WORKS OF ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

I. Five treatises on Faith, the Nestorians, Iconoclasts, the Divinity and Birth of our Lord, and on the Jacobites.

Cf. the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 165, 3^o.

II. (folio 84) Treatise on Philosophy, Logic, and Metaphysics, containing fifty-three *bāhs*.

Cf. Bibl. Nat. Catalogue, 165, 2^o.

III. (folio 148) The "Mī'atū'l Maqālātī'l 'Ilmīyah," i.e. the *Ἐκδοσις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*.

Cf. Bibl. Nat. Catalogue, 164.

Several folios are wanting, and have been supplied by a different hand. The last bears the date 610 A.H.

31.

The "Imitation of Christ" of Thomas à Kempis translated from 'Athenian' into Arabic by Ignatius of Orleans of the disciples of St. Francis and order of Capuchins, with the co-operation of a native of Aleppo.

1. Life of Thomas à Kempis.

2. Introduction to the "Imitation."

3. The "Imitation," translated by the said Ignatius freely so as to make the sense clear, by authority of the Apostolic Roman Church.

4. Conclusion: finished 1638 A.D. = 1048 A.H.

5. Certain prayers and confessions to be used at Communion.

32.

The "Enchiridion" of Martin Luther: translated and written by Salomon Negri in Halle (Saxony) and finished 1716.

33.

Arabic and Latin.

Homilia Papae Clementis XI, habita in dominica Resurrectionis Christi Domini inter Missarum solemnias in Basilica Principis Apostolorum Anno MDCCIII Romae: Arabice elaborata olim à celeberrimo Salomone Negri, Damasceno, descripta à Georgio Jacobo Behr . . . 1717.

34.

The "Kitāb . . . fi Rī'āsati'l Bābā," that is, The *Katà tḥs 'Apxḥs τοῦ Πατριᾶ* of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1660-1672; translated from the Greek by the late Reverend Father Christodoulos, metropolitan of Gaza. Dated 1722.

35.

- I. The "Hallu'l Mūjiz," the commentary on the "Mūjizu'l Qānūn," by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, al Aqṣarā'i: no date.
- II. The "Qānūnjah" of Maḥmūd ibn 'Umara'l Yaḡminī.
- III. A short treatise in Turkish.
- IV. A Treatise called the "Kitābu'l Bāhiyah" by Nāṣiru'l Dīnī'l Ṭūsī. This MS. may be unique: cf. Hajji Khalifa, 9,631.

36.

The First and Second Treatises of the First Part of the Fourth Book of the "Qānūn" of Ibn Sinā, in Arabic and Latin: n.d.

37.

Arabic with Latin Translation.

The Treatise of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakaryā'l Rāzī on Smallpox and Measles: no date.

38.

The "Kitābu'l Mūjiz" of 'Alī ibn abī'l Ḥazmī'l Quraṣī, called Ibnu'l Nafīs.

It is preceded by two pages on the parts of the human body, and a number of verses; and is followed by a short treatise of three and a half pages from Ibn Sinā, beginning: *الوان البول ستة*; and a third treatise of two and a half pages on Compounds.

The colophon bears the date 740 A.H.

39.

The "Kitābu'l Mūjiz." There precede fourteen pages of Contents in a different hand. There are also numerous notes, especially at the beginning and end.

The colophon bears the date 788 A.H.

40.

The "Mā lā yasa'u'l Ṭabīb Jahlahu" of Ibnu'l Kabīr, i.e. Yūsufu'bn Ismā'ila'l Juwainī, ibnu'l Kutbi, which he finished writing on Monday, 15th Jumāda II, 711 A.H. = 1311 A.D. Dated 1059?

41.

The "Azhāru'l Afkār fī Jawāhiri'l Ahjār" of Aḥmadu'bn Yūsufa'l Taifāṣī.

The beginning and end have been supplied by a later hand. The original MS. covers 67 folios of 13 lines to the page. It is written in a large hand, and begins at the words *بعشرة دنانير عشرون* in the first *bāb* and ends with the fourth line (*غلبت*) of the twenty-fifth *bāb*. No date.

42.

Twelve pages (one for each month) giving tables by which to find the Hijrah date from the Gregorian.

43.

Eight small folios of diagrams showing the different Classes of Heirs (*farā'id*).

44.

Arabic with interleaved French Translation.

The "Kitāb Mugnī'l Hullān," abridged from the "Ḥayātu'l Haiwān" of Al Damīrī, † 808 A.H. = 1405 A.D.

The translation was finished in the year 169-.

Cf. Bibl. Nat. Catalogue, 2,801.

45.

The "Kitāb Qabasi'l Anwār" of Saiḥ Jamālu'l Dīn Yūsufu'l Nadrūmī [Nadwaramī] (who was alive in the year 807 A.H.).

Commencement: الحمد لله الملك الديان المعروف
بالاحسان الخ

Ends: تم كتاب قبس الانوار وجامع الاسرار

Cf. Hajji Khalifa, No. 9,329: في علم الحروف والاسرار

46.

On the Rising of the Nile: a neatly written treatise explaining the Rising of the Nile from astronomical causes.

No title, author's name, nor date; it begins:

الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلوة وبعد فاعلم ايها الطالب

ان الناس قد اکتروا القول في باب الحكم على زيادة النيل الخ

47.

A Collection of Magical and similar Treatises covering 142 large folios of 21 lines to the page. The writing is large and clear, and on the flyleaf (p. 1) are descriptive titles.

folios 1-34a: A Compendium composed by Yūsufu 'bn Amīr Saiḥī'l Dīnī'l Muksī for the use of his son Iskandar, and called "Maḥzūnu'l Aṣrār." It is described on the flyleaf of the volume (p. 1) as رسالة في علم الروحانية; and begins:

الحمد لله حق حمده والصلوة الخ

folios 34b-37a: A treatise on the science of the Letters (علم الحروف); begins:

القول في بيان طبيعة الحروف ومنافعها الخ

folios 37b-41a: Commentary on the "Hāfiyah," on the same subject as the last, beginning:

الحمد لله الذي خلق الإنسان وعلمه البيان الخ

(Hajji Khalifa, No. 4,674).

folios 41b-47: A treatise on Talismans, beginning:

كتاب قواعد الطلاسم لتطرشا البابلي قال تنطرشا البابلي
لما كثر ما صنفنا من اعمال التبريجات الخ

folio 48a begins:

دعاء ادريس عليه السلام وهي الاربعون اسماء الكثيرة المنافع
والبركات الخ

folios 49-55: A treatise "de mysticis literarum," beginning:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لوليه والصلاة على نبيه محمد وآله
وتابعي منواله الحقيق والشواهد العقلية الخ

folios 55b-64: The "Lawāmi'u'l Ta'rif fī Maṭālī'i'l Taṣrif" of Abū 'Abdī'llāh Yā'īṣu'l Umawī; Hajji Khalifa, 11,223.

folios 65-69: The "Mawāhibu'l Rabbāniyah fī'l Asrāri'l Rūhāniyah" of the same author as the last; Hajji Khalifa, 13,367.

folios 71-79: Treatise on the science of Geomancy. Begins:

الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الخ

folios 81-110: A Treatise on the science of Physiognomy, entitled "Kitābu'l Siyāsah fī 'Ilmi'l Firāsah," by Muḥammad ibn abī Ṭālibi'l Anṣārī, al Dimasqī, † 737 A.H. = 1336-7 A.D. It begins:

الحمد لله الذي يستحق الحمد الخ

folios 111-142: The "Wajizu'l Muntaqa wa'l 'Azizu'l Multaqa," by Šihābu'l Dīn Aḥmadu'bn Yūsufu'l Šafadī. Commencement:

الحمد لله الذى بلفظه يصلح الخ

Key to signs in European hand.

48.

I. The "Marāḥu'l Arwāḥ," on the weak verbs by Aḥmadu'bn 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd, with copious marginal notes at the beginning and, in European hand, paradigms towards the end.

II. The "Taṣrifu'l 'Izzī" of 'Izzu'l Dīn 'Abdu'l Wahhābī'l Zanjānī.

Dated 983 A.H.

III. A short treatise, in which a number of weak forms are parsed, beginning:

الحمد لله الذى كشف الخ

There is no title nor author's name.

49.

The "Muḥtār" of Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr, al Rāzī. He finished writing it in the year 760 A.H. = 1359 A.D.

Copied 1051.

50.

The "Qāmūs" of Fīrūzābādī:

Copied Ahmedabad, 1071.

51.

The "Kitāb Šarḥ Mulḥati'l Irāb": commentary on grammar, both text and commentary being by Ḥarīrī, † 515 A.H. = 1123 A.D.

Commencement:

اقول من بعد افتتاح القول الخ

52.

I. The "Maqṣūd" of Yūsufu'l Ḥanaḥī, or, according to others, of Abū Ḥanīfah: dated 983 A.H.

II. The "Binā'u'l Afāl": dated 983 A.H.

III. The "Amthilatu'l Muḥtalifah" (paradigm of *naṣara* with marginal notes): no date; it is followed by paradigms of weak verbs.

53.

The "Maqṣūd" above: the text is vowelless: no date.

54.

I. The "Mi'at 'Āmil" of 'Abdu'l Qāhiri'bn 'Abdi'l Raḥmāni'l Jurjāni: thirteen small folios of eleven lines to the page: dated 1160 A.H.

II. A short treatise in same hand (ten folios), commencing:

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة وبعد فاعلم انه لا بد لكل طالب معرفة الاعراب من معرفة مائة شي¹ ستون منها يسمى عاملا وثلاثون منها يسمى معمولاً وعشرة منها يسمى عملاً واربعا فابين لك هذه ثلاثة على طريق الايجاز الخ¹

55.

Abecedarium very neatly written in black, gilt, and green, followed by some daily prayers.

On cover: "اجلو تيموني, 1732, Angelo Timoné."

56.

The "Talḥīsu'l Miftāḥ" of Jalālu'l Dini'l Qazwīni († 739), being an epitome of Part III of the "Miftāḥu'l 'Ulūm" of Al Sukāki, † 626.

The colophon bears the date 711 A.H.

57.

The "Muṭauwal" of Ibn Mas'ūd ibn 'Umara'l Taftazāni, † 792; being a commentary on the "Talḥīsu'l Miftāḥ" above: dated 975 A.H.: very ill written.

¹ Mr. A. G. Ellis, M.A., of the British Museum, kindly identified this as the *Asāmīl* of Muḥammad ibn Fir 'Alī, al Bīrgīlī, † 981 A.H.

58.

The *Diwān* of Al Mutanabbī. Begins:

قال ابو الطيب احمد بن الحسين المتنبى

Dated 1131 A.H. This is a magnificent MS.

59.

The Life of Timur (Tamerlane), called the "*Ajā'ibu'l Maqdūr fi Aḥbār Timūr*," by Ibn 'Arab Shāb, with an appendix of seven pages, giving an account of the work: dated 923 A.H. 150 folios of 21 lines to the page.

60.

The "*Ta'riḥ Aḥaḍ Miṣr min al Jarākisah*," by Muḥammad al Zunbulī, al Rammāl: dated 1028 A.H.

Hajjī Khalifa, 2,158, gives the name as Ibn Sunbul. The Catalogue of the Khedivial Library, Cairo, Part V, p. 23, gives the author's name as—

احمد بن علي بن زنبل المحلي الرمال

There precede nine pages containing stories of Nizāmu'l Mulk and of Al Ḥudr; and at the end are (a) a letter from the Sultan Bayazid II to Al Gūrī: Brit. Mus. Turkish MSS., p. 83a, line 4; (b) a second letter; and (c) an account of the Fātimid Khalif Mu'izz Abu Tamim Ma'add.

61.

The "*Durr al Ḥabab fi A'yān Ḥalab*" of Radī al Dīn Muḥammad, called Ibn al Ḥanbalī, † 971 A.H. A very neatly written MS. of 263 folios, of 27 lines to the page. Dated 1060 A.H.

SYRIAC.

1.

Officium sanctae Hebdomadis Jacobitarum: three volumes; copied in 1717 by T. S. Bayer "e codice bombycino A. Seleucid. 1816 supra fidem eleganter scripto in urbe Nicosia Cypri."

2.

Syriac with Latin Titles.

- I. "Rudimenta Syriacae Linguae ex autographo (quod ex manu cognosco) Gasparis de Malauar Indi Halae Saxonum descripsi G. S. B[ayer]."

"Libellus Alphabeti Syriaci cum aliquot Precatiunculis et Psalmis necnon Carminibus nonnullis S. Ephraem. Sal. Negri [† 1142 A.H.] descripserat."

- II. "Epistolae [8] Mosis Mardeni ad Andream Masium ex autographis quae in Bibliotheca Berolinensi Regia sunt."

3.

Syriac and Arabic.

- I. *Syriac*: Ordo Baptismatis Sancti domini Severi Patriarchae: ordo ejus post Clementem: translatus est ex lingua Graeca in linguam Syriacam per sanctum Dom. Jacobum Rohensem [i.e. of Edessa]. Descripsi Lipsiae 1717. G. S. Bayer.

- II. *Arabic*: Christian-Messianic notes on the Psalms of David by Ibnu'l Fadl.

- III. *Arabic*: Homiliae Johannis Chrysostomi duae quas Salomon Negri Romae descripserat.

- IV. *Syriac*: A Sermon of Clement XI delivered in St. Peter's on Easter Sunday, 1711.

4.

The "Book of the Cause of all Causes" or of the "Recognition of Truth." Kayser, in the introduction to his edition of the text, mentions four MSS.—those of Berlin, Rome, Bodleian, and Paris, of which the first differs in some respects from the rest. The Hunterian belongs to the group formed by the last three, and, amongst these, it agrees with the Roman, where this differs from all the others. It is in the Serto character; and there is no date. It stops at the word **ܐܝܢ** on p. 269, l. 12, of Kayser's edition, and immediately goes on with the extract from the Roman,

Bodleian, and Parisian given on p. 270, beginning **ܡܠܡ**, at the end of which instead of the final **ܡܠܡ** it reads, **ܠܐܬܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ**.

5.

Short Syriac Grammar in English.

6.

I. The "Hexabameron" ascribed to Jacob of Edessa.

II. The "Physiologus" ascribed to St. Basil.

Dated, Paris, 1636.

A notice of this MS. will be found in the *Journal Asiatique* for November-December, 1898.

KARṢŪNĪ.

1.

The "Taqwīmu'l Abdān fī Tadbīri'l Insān" of Yaḥya 'bn 'Īsa, Ibn Jazlah, al Baghdādī.

2.

Psalter, with Song of Moses and other extracts, copied from a MS. in the Royal Library, Berlin, in the year 1711.

HEBREW.

1.

The **ספר בידיעת השתן** of Ishaq ibn Sulaimān.

2.

Latin.

"Vocabularium continens præcipuas radices linguae Hebraeae," by William Bogle, 1707.

3.

According to a pencilled note at the beginning in the handwriting of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith, "Mystical Commentary on Genesis (Imperfect)."

Commencement: **בשם אל אור ושמו ביה ונ'**.

ART. XX.—*The Chahār Maqála* ("Four Discourses") of
Nidhāmi - i - 'Arūḍi - i - Samarqandī. Translated into
 English by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from page 663.)

Anecdote xiii.

They relate thus, that Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was the central point of the Sámánid group, whose fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasuries, an efficient army, and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at Bukhárá, his capital, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurásán. Now one year it was the turn of Herát. He spent the spring at Bádghís, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurásán and 'Iráq, for there are nearly a thousand watercourses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well eaten, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr b. Aḥmad turned his face towards Herát, but halted outside the city of Marghazár-i-Sapíd and there pitched his camp. Cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Málin and Karúkh¹—fruit which can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511–512, according to which the former village is distant from Herát two parsaugs, the latter ten.

When Mihrgán¹ arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the eglantine, basil, and yellow rocket were in bloom, they did full justice to the charms of autumn, and took their fill of the pleasures of that season. Mihrgán was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes proved to be of exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herát one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, one called *Tarniyán*² and the other *Gulchídí*,³ tight-skinned, slender-cored, and luscious, so that you would surely say they were [flavoured with] cinnamon.⁴ A cluster of Gulchídí grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds; they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, nor can one eat many for the sweetness that is in them. And besides these there were all sorts of other delicious fruits.

So the Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned in Málin, and hung up on lines, and packed in chests; and the Amír with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure-ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began

¹ The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Míhr.

² So L. B. has ترتیان, A. برنیان. The usual meaning of the word appears to be a sieve or basket made of osiers. See Harn's *Asadi*, p. 99, l. 4; Salemann's *Shams i Fachr-i Lexicon*, p. 96, l. 13, and note *ad eale*.

³ The reading is very uncertain. A. has کلجیدی, L. کلجیدی.

⁴ Here also the reading is uncertain. I follow A., which seems to read: گوئی که در آن دار صینی هستی. L. has: گوئی که در آن دار صینی هستی. ارضی نیست.

to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázan-darán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amír sent the horses to Bádghís and moved his camp to Málin [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came, the fruits again ripened; and when Mihrgán came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámánian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amír's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the King quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would declare that he preferred Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would set its charms above those of the springtide of Beauty.¹

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and courtiers of the King went to Abú 'Abdu'lláh Rúdagí,² than whom there was none more honoured of the King's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him: "We will present thee with five thousand dinárs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the King may be induced to depart hence, for our hearts are dying for desire of our wives and children, and our souls are like to leave us for longing after Bukhárá." Rúdagí agreed; and since he had felt the Amír's pulse and understood his temper, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse.

¹ So A., which reads بهار حسن; while L. has بهار جين, "a Chinese spring."

² See Ethé's excellent monograph, and his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; also p. 62 of the *Journal* for January, 1899.

He therefore composed a *qaṣída*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup, came in and did obeisance, and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy:—¹

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی ' بوی یار مهربان آید همی '

*"The Jú-yi-Múliyán we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind."*

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

ریگت آمو و درشتی راه او ' زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی '
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست ' خنک مارا تا میان آید همی '
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیرزی ' میر زی تو شادمان آید همی '
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ' ماه سوی آسمان آید همی '
میر سروسست و بخارا بوستان ' سروسوی بوستان آید همی '

*"The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friend's return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Long live Bukhárá! Be thou of good cheer!
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and bye!
Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"*

¹ This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Ródagi's life (e.g. by Dawlatsháh), in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, pp. 7*, 2, 161-163, and in Blochmann's *Précis of the Persians*, pp. 2-3.

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty,¹ and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his riding-boots after him for two parasangs, as far as Burúns,² and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand dinárs.

At Samarqand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110-1111), I heard from the Dihqán Abú Rijá Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Samad al-'Aḥidí as follows:—"My grandfather, the Dihqán Abú Rijá, related that [on this occasion] when Rúdagí reached Samarqand, he had four hundred camels laden with his wealth." And, indeed, that illustrious man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegy, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzí was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, and his poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd [b.] Hindú b. Muḥammad b. Hindú of Isfahán³ requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣida*, and Mu'izzí, unable to plead his inability so to do, wrote:—

رستم از مازندران آید همی ' زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی '

"Now advanceth Rustam from Mázandarán,
Now advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán."

¹ *Khing-i-naubatí*. To provide against any sudden emergency, a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the King's palace, and it is this 'sentry-horse' to which reference is here made.

² *L.* has *بروند*, and in a marginal note explains *burúns* as meaning turban or handkerchief; but *A.* has *بروند*, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau's remarks on the derivation of al-Birúní's name at p. 7 of his translation of the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

³ See Houtema's ed. of al-Bundārī's *History of the Seljuqs*, pp. 93, 101, 105.

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says:—

‘آفرین و مدح سود آید همی’ گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی

*“Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,
Even though the royal coffers loss sustain!”*

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art: first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy. Every master of the craft, who has deeply considered the poetic art, will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

Anecdote xiv.

The love borne by Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla to Ayáz the Turk is well known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but had several good points. Of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, he was mightily endowed with all the arts of courtiership, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now these are all qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Maḥmúd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled with his love for Ayáz so that he did not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Chivalry. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon

ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of "*Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him?*" thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Mahmúd, and said: "O Mahmúd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and thou wilt fall like thy first father from Love's Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin." The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, "*We believe and we affirm.*" Then, again, he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the evolutions of the locks of Ayáz, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should cut them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the King's command, and laid the two tresses before Mahmúd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Mahmúd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual custom and ordinary practice, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart, and the peevish headache born of wine settled on his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down aimlessly, and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry, until at length Hájib 'Alí Qarib, who was the Chief Chamberlain, turned to 'Unşurí and said, "Go, show thyself to him." So 'Unşurí came in and did obeisance.

Maḥmúd raised his head and said: "I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened: say something on this subject." 'Unṣurí said:—

گر عیب سر زلف بت از کاستن است
چہ جای بغم نشستن و خاستن است
جای طرب و نشاط و می خواستن است
کآراستن سرو ز پیراستن است

*"Though shame it be a fair one's curls to shear,
Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?
Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;
When clipped the cypress doth most trim appear."*

Maḥmúd was highly pleased with this quatrain, and bade them bring gold and silver, which he mixed together, and therewith thrice filled the poet's lap. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses whereby his melancholy had been dissipated, and recovered the equability of his temper.

Anecdote xv.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus is money extracted from the treasury, and thus can the king be made acquainted with any matter which arises. All this is necessary to please the heart of one's patron and the humour of him who is the subject of one's eulogies; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations and poems inspired by the occasion.

Farrukhi was a native of Sístán, and was the son of Jálúgh,¹ the servant of Amír Khalaf.² He was possessed

¹ So A., but B. and L. read جُولُوع, while M. F. has قَلُوع.

² See Delilemery's *Histoire des Samanides*, p. 265.

of good talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a skilful performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the dihqáns of Sístán, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five maunds, and a hundred dirhams in silver coinage of Núh [which amply sufficed for his needs].¹ But he desired to marry a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased, and the baskets and trays were multiplied,² so that Farrukhí remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sístán anyone else save³ their amírs. He therefore appealed to the Dihqán, saying: "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the Dihqán should make my allowance of corn three hundred maunds, and raise my salary by five hundred dirhams, so that my means may perhaps become equal to my expenditure?" The Dihqán wrote on the back of the appeal: "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

So Farrukhí was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amír Abu'l-Mudhaffar Chighání in Chigháníyán⁴ was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period conspicuous in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. On the subject of this choice Farrukhí says:—

با کاروان حله برفتم ز سیستان¹ با حخته تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان

¹ The words *و اورا تمام بودی* are omitted by L.

² A. *و دکه و زنبیل افزود*.

³ L. has *از* for *مگر*, so that the sense would then be "anyone of their amírs."

⁴ Or, in its Arabicized form, *Shigháníyán*, a place in Transoxania, near Tirmidh and Qubádhiyán. See De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, where it is mentioned repeatedly.

"*In a caravan of merchandise from Sistán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart.*"

In truth it is a fine elegy that he composed on the Poetic Art, incomparable in the beauty of its eulogies.

So Farrukhí, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chigháníyán. Now Abu'l-Mudhaffar had 18,000 mares, roadsters,¹ each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amír used to go out to brand the mares, and at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while 'Amíd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the capital preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amír. To him Farrukhí went, and recited a *qaṣida*, and submitted to him the poetry he had composed for the Amír.

Now 'Amíd As'ad was a man of parts and a poet, and in Farrukhí's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing, and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be ill-proportioned, clothed in a torn jubba worn anyhow,² with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzís, of the most unprepossessing appearance from head to foot; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzî, and, to prove him, said: "The Amír is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him; and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

جهانی در جهانی سبز بینی

'*World within world of verdure wilt thou see*'—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the songs of Rúdagí, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amír's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains,

¹ The word is راهی, explained in the margin of L. as meaning گردندو

² *Pish u pas.*

گردندو

whereat they brand the colts. And the King, with the goblet in one hand and the lasso in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a *qaṣida*, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amír."

That night Farrukhí went and composed the following *qaṣida*, which he brought before 'Amíd:—¹

چون پرند نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغزار،
 پرنیان هفت رنگ اندر سر آرد کوهسار،
 خاک را چون ناف آهو مشک زاید بیقیاس،
 بید را چون پتر طوطی برگت روید بیشمار،
 دوش وقت نیم شب بوی بهار آورد باد،
 حبّذا باد شمال و خترما بوی بهار،
 باد گوئی مشک سوده دارد اندر آستین،
 باغ گوئی لعبتان جلوه دارد در کنار،
 نسترن لولوی بیضا دارد اندر مرسله،²
 ارغوان لعل بدخشی دارد اندر گوشوار،
 تا بر آمد جامهای سرخ مل بر شاخ گل،
 پنجه ها چون دست مردم سرفرو کرد از چنار،
 باغ بو قلمون لیاں و شاخ بو قلمون نمای،
 آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار.

¹ See pp. 114-117 of the lithographed edition of Farrukhí's works published at Tihrań for Mirzá Mahdí Khán *Buddagi-nigâr*, poetically surnamed Mukhlis, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the *Chahâr Maqalla*. The poem is also given by Dawlatshâh (pp. 55-57 of my forthcoming edition). Only a few of the more important variants are noticed here.

² A gloss in the lithographed Tihrań edition explains this word as meaning 'necklace' (گردن بند).

راست پنداری که خلعتهای رنگین یافتند،
 باغهای پرنگار از داغگاه شهریار،
 داغگاه شهریار اکنون چنان خرم شود،
 گاندرو از خرمی خیره بماند روزگار،
 سبزه اندر سبزه بینی چون سپهر اندر سپهر،
 خیمه اندر خیمه بینی چون حصار اندر حصار،
 سبزه ها پر بانگ جنگ و مطربان چرب دست،
 خیمه ها با بانگ نوش و ساقیان میگسار،
 هر کجا خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مست،
 هر کجا سبزه است شادان یاری از دیدار یار،
 عاشقان بوس و کنار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب،
 مطربان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خماری،
 بر در پرده سرای خسرو پیروز بخت،
 از پی داغ آتشی افروخته خورشید وار،
 بر کشیده آتشی چون مطرد دیبای زرد،
 گرم چون طبع جوان و زرد چون زر عیار،
 داغها چون شاخهای بشد یاقوت رنگ،
 هریکی چون ناردانه گشته اندر زیر نار،
 بردگان خواب نا دیده مصاف اندر مصاف،
 مرکبان داغ نا کرده قطار اندر قطار،
 خسرو قترخ سیر بر باره دریا گذر،
 با کمند اندر میان دشت چون اسفندیار،

1 L. has دیدگان glossed in the margin as 'slave-boys' (غلام بچگان).
 The Tihván ed. has دیدگان, 'eyes.'

همچو زلف دلبران خورده مالہ تاب خورد،
 همچو عهد دوستان سالخورده استوار،
 میر عادل^۱ بو المظفر شاه با پیوستگان،
 شهریار شیرگیر و پادشاه شیردار^۲،
 ازدها کردار پیچان در کف رانش کمند،
 چون عصای موسوی در دست موسی گشته مار،
 هر کرا اندر کمند شصت یازی در فگند،
 گشت نامش^۳ بر سرین و شانه و رویش نگار،
 هر چه زین سوداغ کرد از سوی دیگر میدهد،
 شاعران را با لگام و زایران را با قفسار،

"Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,
 And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues,
 Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,
 Foliage bright as parrot's plumage doth the graceful willow wear.
 Yester'en the midnight breezes brought the tidings of the spring:
 Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!
 Up its sleeve the wind, meseemeth, pounded musk hath stored away,
 While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.

¹ L. substitutes 'Fakhr-i-Dawlat.'

² The Tihān ed. has: 'شادمان و شادخوار و کامران و کامکار.'

³ So A. L. has دابش.

⁴ So A. and L. The ed. has 'هدیه دان.'

*On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,
 Ruby earrings of Badakshán sparkle on the Judas-tree.
 Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers
 bore*

*Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the
 sycamore.*

*Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,
 Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us raining pearls!
 On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear
 Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amir.
 For our Prince's Camp of Branding stirreth in these joyful
 days,*

*So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.
 Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;
 Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army, tent on tent.
 Every tent contains a lover resting in his sweetheart's arms,
 Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite's charms.
 Harps are sounding 'midst the verdure, minstrels sing their
 lays divine,*

*Tents resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.
 Kisses, claspings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;
 Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake
 the air.*

*Branding fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate
 Leading to the State-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.
 Leap the flames like gleaming lances draped with yellow-lined
 brocade,*

*Hotter than a young man's temper, yellower than gold assayed.
 Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain
 In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.
 Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber
 know;*

*Sleeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row
 on row.*

*On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,
 Ready to his hand the laseco, like a young Isfandiyár.
 Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,
 Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.*

*Bu'l-Mudhaffar Shah the Just, surrounded by a noble band,
King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.
Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose
doth take,*

Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.

*Whosoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,
On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal sign.*

*But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,
Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with
cords."*

When 'Amíd As'ad heard this elegy, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhí on a horse, and set out for the Amír, whose presence he entered about sundown, saying: "O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom the eye of Time hath not seen since Daqiqí's face was veiled in death." Then he related what had passed.

So the Amír accorded Farrukhí an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amír gave him his hand, and assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times, Farrukhí arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy, beginning:—

با کاروان حلتہ رفتم ز سیستان ' با حلتہ تنیده زد دل بافته ز جان

"In a caravan of merchandise from Sistan did I start,

With fabrics spun within my brain and woven in my heart."

When he had finished, the Amír, himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this *qashida*. 'Amíd As'ad said, "Wait till you see!" Farrukhí was silent until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amír, then he arose and recited this elegy on the branding-ground. The Amír was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhí, saying: "They have brought in a thousand colts,

all with white foreheads, fetlocks, and feet. Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sagzí; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhí, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop hither and thither, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhí, being tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. The Amír, on being told of this, laughed and said: "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him, and look after the colts as well. When he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, after sunrise, Farrukhí arose. The Amír had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhí an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhí to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as a tent, three camels, five slaves, wearing apparel, and carpets. So Farrukhí prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance, and waited upon Sultán Maḥmúd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached that pitch of prosperity which they reached, so that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

Anecdote xvi.

In the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) the King of Islám Sanjar, the son of Maliksháh the Seljúq (may God be merciful to him!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Tús, in the plain of Tarúq,

when I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herát, having then nothing in the way of equipment or provision. I composed a *qasida* and went to Mu'izzī, the Poet-laureate, to seek for his counsel and support. He looked at my poem, and, having tested my talents in several ways, behaved in the most noble manner, and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that Fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He answered genially: "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhání, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!), passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwin in the early part of the reign of Maliksháh, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous:—¹

من رفتم و فرزند من آمد خلف صدق ' اورا بخدا و بخداوند سپردم

*'I am flitting, but I leave a son behind me,
And commend him to my God and to my King.'*

"So my father's salary and allowances were transferred to me, and I became Maliksháh's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet was I unable to see him save from a distance, nor did I get one *dínár* of my salary

¹ This verse, to which are added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nidhamu'l-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatsháh (p. 5^a of my forthcoming edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nidhamu'l-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death (he was actually 80 at most) is alone enough to discredit the story.

or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased, I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nidhámu'l-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!) had no opinion of poets, because he had no skill in their art; nor did he pay any attention to any one of the religious leaders or mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which the new moon of Ramadán was due to appear, and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amir 'Alí Farámarz' 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion and son-in-law of the King, with whom he enjoyed the highest honour and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said: 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me. I have served this prince for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand dinárs, and have not received a farthing. Crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Nishápúr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and express his gratitude to this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amír 'Alí: 'we have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will go up to look for the moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what Fortune will do.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred dinárs to defray my Ramadán expenses,

¹ Probably 'Alí b. Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See Lane's *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 146.

and a purse containing this sum in Nishápúr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramadán, and at the time of the second prayer went to the King's pavilion. It chanced that ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. ‘Thou hast done excellently well,’ said he, ‘and hast come punctually.’ Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

“At sundown the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla on his right hand. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amír ‘Alí continued the kindnesses he had already shown me, and then busied himself in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla said to me, ‘O son of Burhání, say something appropriate,’ and I at once recited these two couplets:—

ای ماه چو ابروان یاری کوئی یا نی چو کمان شہریاری کوئی
نعلی زده از زر عیساری کوئی برگوش سپهر گوشواری کوئی

*‘Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince's bow,
Or his curd eyebrow, which doth charm us so,
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,
Or ring from Heaven's ear depending low.’*

“When I had submitted these verses, Amír ‘Alí applauded, and the King said: ‘Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest.’ When I was close to the stable, Amír ‘Alí designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth 300 dínars of Nishápúr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amír ‘Alí said: ‘O son of Burhání! Thou has not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. Compose

a quatrain at once!’ I thereupon sprang to my feet and recited these two verses:—

چون آتش خاطر مرا شاد بدید
از خاک مرا بر زبر ماه کشید
چون آب یکی ترانه از من شنید
چون باد یکی مرکب خاصم بخشید

*‘The King beheld the fire which in me blazed:
Me from low earth above the moon he raised:
From me a verse, like water fluent heard,
And swift as wind a noble steed conferred.’*

“When I recited these verses ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand *dínárs*. Then ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla said: ‘He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit by the Minister until he writes a draft for his salary on *Islahán*, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.’ Said the King: ‘Thou must do it, then, for no one else has sufficient boldness. And call this poet after my title.’ Now the King’s title was *Mu’izzu’d-Dunyá wa’d-Dín*, so Amír ‘Alí called me *Mu’izzí*. ‘Amír *Mu’izzí*,’ said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble lord was so zealous for me that next day, by the time of the first prayer, I had received a thousand *dínárs* as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and an order for a thousand maunds of corn. And when the month of *Ramadán* was past, he summoned me to a private audience, and caused me to become the King’s boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made enduring provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God, blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!”

Anecdote xvii.

The House of Seljûq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Tughán Sháh b. Alp Arslán,¹ whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Qurashí, Abú Bakr Azraqí,² Abú Manşûr, Abú Yûsuf, Shujá'í of Fasá, Aḥmad Badihi,³ Ḥaqqíqí and Nasímí, all of whom enjoyed a definite status, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Aḥmad Badihi. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [dinárs], and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and Aḥmad Badihi two pieces in the first house⁴; and it was the Amír's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and left the board, while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was like to put his hand to his sword, and his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a king, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abú Bakr Azraqí arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:—

گر شاه دوشش خواست دو یک زخم افتاد

تا ظنن نبری که کعبتین داد نداد

¹ Called by Biḡā-qulí Khán (*M.F.*, i. 139) Tughánsháh b. Malik-i-Mu'ayyad. See Houtama's *Hist. des Seljouides de Kermán*, pp. 111, 119, 142.

² 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. i, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72-73 of my ed.). Ṭabaqat ii, No. 1; and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 139-162.

³ *M.F.*, i. p. 169. His *laqab* was Majdu'd-Din and his *nisba* Sajáwandi.

⁴ For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár of the Persian Legation. The six 'houses' on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) *khul-khán* or *guk-guk*, (2) *dú-khán*, (3) *si-khán*, (4) *shahar-khán*, (5) *buj-dar*, (6) *shih-khán* or *shih-dar-guk*. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

آن زخم که کرد رای شاهنشاه یاد
در خدمت شاه روی بر خاک نهاد

*"Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks
If by the King, desiring double six,
Two ones were thrown; for whomsoe'er he calls
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls."*

When I was at Herát in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-1116), Abú Maṣṣúr and Abú Yúṣuf related to me that the Amír Tughánsháh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqí on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred dínárs in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

Anecdote xviii.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080)¹ a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sultán Ibráhím to the effect that his son, Maḥmúd Sayfu'd-Dawla, intended to go to 'Iráq to Maliksháh. The King's jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned in the fortress of Náy. His son's intimates also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, whom he sent to Vajiristán,² to

¹ The two MSS. and L. all have "672," an evident error, for (1) Sultán Ibráhím the Ghaznavid reigned A.H. 451-492 (A.D. 1059-1099); (2) Maliksháh reigned A.H. 465-485 (A.D. 1072-1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 516 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the *Chahár Maqála*, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Din Ḥusayn Jahanpír, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).

² So A., L.: B. has *اورا ابو جیبرستان*. I cannot identify the word, and suspect that the reading is wrong.

the Castle of Náy; whence he sent to the King the following quatrain which he had composed:—

‘در بند تو ای شاه ملک شه باید’ تا بند تو پای تاجداری ساید
‘آن کس که ز پشت سعد سلمان آید’ گر زهر شود ملک ترا بگزاید

“O King, 't is Maliksháh should wear thy chain,
That royal limbs might fret with captice's pain,
But Sa'd-i-Salmán's offspring could not hurt,
Though venomous as poison, thy domain!”

‘Alí Kháss brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas'úd's poems of captivity¹ hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. But when these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwája Salmán says:—²

مقتصور شد مصالح کار جهانیان
بر حبس و بند این تن مجبور ناتوان
بر حبس و بند نیز ندارند استوار
تا گرد من ندارند ده تن نگاهبان
هر ده نشسته بر در و در بام سجن من
بایکدگرد مادم بگویند هر زمان
هان بر جهید زود که حیلنگریست او
کز آفتاب بل کند از سایه نردبان

¹ I adopt B.'s reading. حبسیات. A. has حمیسیات; L. جلیاتیات.

² These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 20^v) only.

گیرم که ساخته شوم از بهر کارزار
 بیرون جهم ز گوشه این سجن ناگهان
 با چند کس بر آیم در قلعه گرچه من
 شیر شوم معربد و پیل شوم دمان
 پس بی سلاح جنگ چگونه کنم مگر
 من سیندر را سپر کنم و پشت را کمان

*"Naught served the ends of statesmen save that I,
 A helpless exile, should in fetters lie,
 Nor do they deem me safe within their cells,
 Unless surrounded by ten sentinels;
 Which ten sit ever by the gates and walls,
 And ever one unto his comrade calls:
 'Ho there! On guard! This cunning rogue is one
 To fashion bridge and steps from shade and sun!
 Why, grant I stood arrayed for such a fight,
 And suddenly sprang forth, attempting flight,
 Could elephant or raging lion hope,
 Thus cramped in prison-cage, with ten to cope?
 Can I, bereft of weapons, take the field,
 Or make of back and bosom bow and shield?"*

So, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the days of Sultán Ibráhím. And Abú Naṣr of Párs,¹ on account of his like relation, was imprisoned for eight years, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight² years Táhir 'Alí of Múshkán, Thiqatu'l-Mulk,

¹ I can find no mention of a poet of this name, and am inclined to think that the author of the oldest extant Persian version of *Kutla and Dinnas* (lithographed at Tabriz, A.D. 1305) is meant. In this volume his name is given as Nidhānu'd-Din Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣru'llāh b. 'Abdu'l-Hamid, but in *M.F.* (vol. i, p. 635) as Naṣru'd-Din [b.] 'Abdu'l-Hamid-i-Fārsi-i-Shirāzi. Some of the verses which he composed in prison are there cited.

² L. has 'twenty.'

brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during this King's reign that illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, or a heedless nature, or hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that dynasty for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the World Ghiyáthu'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá Muḥammad,¹ the son of Maliksháh, at the Gates of Hamadán, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law, Amir Shihábu'd-Dín Qutalmush Alp Ghází: "It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned, for one of two things, either he means well or ill. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live." In short that misery of Mas'úd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

Anecdote xix.

In the time of Sultán Khidr b. Ibráhím the power of the Kháqánís² was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise, just, and sagacious ruler, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxania and Turkistán, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurásán, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treatises and covenants. And of the

¹ The seventh Seljûq king, who reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117).

² The dynasty called Ilak Khans (see Lane's *Muhammadian Dynasties*, pp. 131-133) seems to be meant. L. has '*Salmánis*.' Khidr Khán b. Abu'l-Mudhaffar 'Inádu'd-Dawla Ibráhím Taigháj Khan reigned about A.H. 472-488 (A.D. 1079-1095).

splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amír Am'aq,¹ Master Rashídí,² Najjár-i-Ságharchí, 'Alí Pánídí,³ the son of Darghúsh,⁴ the son of Isfaráyíní, 'Alí Sipihrí,⁵ and Najíbí of Farghána, all of whom obtained rich rewards and vast honours. The Poet-laureate was Amír 'Am'aq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashídí also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashídí, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashídí's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets"⁶ was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashídí's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq: "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashídí, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashídí came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of kings: "I asked the Poet-laureate just now, 'How is Rashídí's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a quatrain on this

¹ See n. 19 on p. 658 *supra*.

² Mentioned briefly in the *Atashkade* amongst the poets of Máwará'u'n-Nahr.

³ See n. 22 on p. 658 *supra*.

⁴ See n. 23 on p. 658 *supra*.

⁵ See n. 1 on p. 659 *supra*.

⁶ Sayyidu'sh-Shurárá.

subject." Rashidî, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:—

‘شعرهای مرا به بینمکی’ عیب کردی روا بود شاید
 ‘شعر من همچو شکر و شهدست’ و اندرین دو نمک نکو نآید
 ‘شلغم و باقالاست گفته تو’ نمک ای قلیان ترا باید

*"You stigmatize my verse as 'wanting spice,'
 And possibly, my friend, you may be right.
 My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,
 And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.
 Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,
 For beans and turnips is the stuff you write!"*

When he recited these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxania it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays which they call *sim-fâqâ* or *juft*; ¹ and in this audience of Khidr Khân's there were set four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty dinârs; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashidî to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the king, these two things being interdependent.

Anecdote xx.

Master Abu'l-Qâsim Firdawsî ² was one of the Dihqâns of Tûs, from a village called Bâzh, in the district of

¹ سیم طاق و . . I- سیم طاق یا . . B- سیم طاقا یا . . A-

² This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiyr in his *History of Tabaristân* (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216: see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202-204 and 535b), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 89-94). It was also utilized by Nouldeke in his *Iranische Nationalrezepte* (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, vol. ii, p. 130 et seqq.).

Ṭabarán,¹ a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsí enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (*Sháhname*) into verse was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. And to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zál to Sám the son of Naríman in Mázandarán, when he desired to ally himself with Rúdába the daughter of the King of Kábul:—²

یکی نامه فرمود نزدیکت سام ' سراسر درود و نوبد و سلام'
 نخست از جهان آفرین یاد کرد ' که هم داد فرمود و هم داد کرد'
 وزو باک بر سام نیرم درود ' خداوند شمشیر و گویال و خون'
 چمانندۀ چرمه هنگام کرد ' چرانندۀ کرگس اندر نبرد'
 فزاینندۀ باک آورد گاه ' نشانندۀ خون ز ابر سیاه'
 بمردی هنر در هنر ساخته ' هنرش از هنر گردن افراخته'

"Then to Sám straightway sent he a letter,
 Filled with fair praises, prayers, and good greeting.
 First made he mention of the World-Maker,
 Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfilleth.
 'On Níram's son Sám,' wrote he, 'the sword-lord,
 Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's pence rest!
 Hurler of horse troops in hot-contested fights,
 Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,

¹ A., B., L. all have "Ṭabaristán." See, however, Noeldeke, loc. cit. p. 161.

² These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124-5 of vol. i of Turner Macan's edition of the *Sháhname* (Calcutta, 1829).

*Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.
Who, by his manly might merit on merit
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures."*¹

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this, and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsi had completed the *Shāhnāma*, it was transcribed by 'Alī Daylam² and recited by Abū Dulaf,³ both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Ha'iy-i-Qutayba,⁴ the governor of Tūs, who had conferred on Firdawsi many favours:—

ازین نامه از نامداران شهر ' علی دیلم و بودلف راست بهر'
نیامد جز آخستستان بهردام ' بگفت اندر آخستستان زهردام'
حنی قتیبه است از آزادگان ' که از من نخواهد سخن رایگان'
تیم آگه از اصل و فرع خراج ' همی غلطم اندر میان دواج'

"Of the men of renown of this city 'Alī Daylam and Abū Dulaf have participated in this book.

From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!'

My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well dones.'⁴

Ha'iy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.

I am cognizant neither of the principles nor the applications of tax-collecting;

I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my guilt."⁵

¹ Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the *Shāhnāma* (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English epic, the *Brut* of Layamon), the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

² See Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 133, and n. 2 *ad casu*.

³ So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Ḥusayn b. Qutayb." Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit.

⁴ i.e., I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsi's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

⁵ What follows is evidently an explanation of this couplet. Firdawsi means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

Ha'iy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Tās, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsī; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and kings will read it.

So 'Alī Daylam transcribed the *Shāhnāma* in seven volumes, and Firdawsī, taking with him Abū Dulaf, set out for Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Aḥmad Hasan¹ the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sultān Maḥmūd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of perturbation into the cup of his position, and Maḥmūd consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsī. They replied: "Fifty thousand dirhams, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Rāfiḍī and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

به بینندگان آفرینند را،² نبینی مرئجان دو بیننده را

'Thy gaze the Creator can never desery;

Then wherefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?'

"while to his Rāfiḍī proclivities these verses of his witness:

خداوند گیتی چو دریا نهاد،³ برانگیخته موج از آن تند باد

چو هفتاد کشتی دران ساخته،³ همه بادبانها برافراخته

میانه یکی خوب کشتی شروس،³ بر آراسته همچو چشم خروس

بیمبر بدو اندران با علی،³ همه اهل بیت نبی و ولی

اگر خلد خواهی بدیگر سرای،³ بمنزن نبی و وصی گیر جای

گرت زین بد آید گناه منست،³ چنین دان و این راه راه منست

برین زادم و هم برین بگذرم،³ یقین دان که خاک پی حیدرم

¹ So A., B., and L. Noeldeke (loc. cit., p. 153) has Husayn b. Aḥmad.

² Both MSS. have خردمند.

*When the Lord of the World established the Sea, the fierce wind
 stirred up waves thereon,
 Thereon, as it were, seventy ships wrought, all with sails set.
 Amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour
 like the eye of the cock,
 Therein the Prophet with 'Alí, and all the household of the
 Prophet and his Vicar.
 If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place
 by the Prophet and his Trustee.
 If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that
 this way is my way.
 In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for
 a surety that I am as dust at the feet of 'Alí.'"*

Now Sultán Maḥmúd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and, to be brief, only twenty¹ thousand dirhams were paid to Ḥakím Firdawsí. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a drink of sherbet,² and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Maḥmúd's severity, he fled from Gbazona, and alighted in Herát at the shop of Azraqí's father, Isma'íl the bookseller (*Warrāq*), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Maḥmúd's messengers had reached Tús and had turned back thence, when Firdawsí, feeling secure, set out from Herát for Tús, taking the *Sháhnáma* with him. Thence he came to Tabaristán to the Sipahbad Shír-zád of the House of Bávand, who was king there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár.

Then Firdawsí wrote a satire on Sultán Maḥmúd in the Preface, and read a hundred couplets to Shír-zád,³ saying: "I will dedicate this *Sháhnáma* to you instead of to Sultán Maḥmúd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of thy forebears." Shír-zád treated him with honour

¹ So A. and B., but L. has "sixty thousand."

² *Fepé*, described as a kind of beer.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, loc. cit., p. 155, and n. 4 *ad calc.*, where this ruler's name is given as the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharzin.

and showed him many kindnesses, and said: "Maḥmúd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, and misrepresented you. Moreover, you are a Shí'ite, and to one who loves the Family of the Prophet nothing will happen which did not happen to them. Maḥmúd is my liege-lord: let the *Sháhnáma* stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Maḥmúd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully. Do not, then, throw away the labour spent on such a book." And next day he sent Firdawsí 100,000 dirhams, saying: "I buy each couplet at a thousand dirhams; give me those hundred couplets, and rest satisfied therewith." So Firdawsí sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsí also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with, and only these few verses remained:—¹

مرا غمزه کردند گآن پر سخن ' بمهر نبی و علی شد کهن
 اگر میرشان من حکایت کنم ' جو محمود را مد حمایت کنم
 پرستار زاده نیاید بکار ' و گر چند باشد پدر شهریار
 به نیکی نبند شاهر را دستگاه ' و گرنه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه
 چو اندر تبارش بسزوگی نبود ' ندانست نام بزرگان شنود

"*They cast imputations on me, saying: 'That man of many words*

Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Alí.'

If I speak of my love for these

I can protect a hundred such as Maḥmúd.

¹ This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Noeldicke (*loc. cit.*), pp. 155-156, and n. 1 on the latter.

² A. adds another couplet here as follows:—

ازین در سخن چند رانم همی ' جو دریا کرانه ندانم همی

*No good can come of the son of a slave,
 Even though his father hath ruled as King.
 The King had no aptitude for good,
 Else would he have seated me on a throne.
 Since in his family there was no nobility
 He could not bear to hear the names of the noble."*

In truth good service was rendered to Maḥmúd by Shír-zád, and Maḥmúd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Nishápúr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120-1121), I heard Amír Mu'izzí say that he had heard Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzáq at Tús relate as follows:—"Maḥmúd was once in India, and was returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced, there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and next day Maḥmúd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow, do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour and return to his place. Next day Maḥmúd rode out with the Prime Minister on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned back and was coming to meet the king. 'I wonder,' said the latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' The Minister replied:

اگر جز بكام من آيد جواب، من وگرز و میدان افراسياب

'Should the answer come contrary to my wish,

*Then for me the mace and the arena of [combat with]
 Afrásiyáb.'*

'Whose verse,' enquired Maḥmúd, 'is that? For he must have the heart of a man.' 'Poor Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí composed it,' answered the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You speak well,' said Maḥmúd; 'I deeply regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Sultan returned to Ghazna, the Minister reminded him; and Maḥmúd ordered Firdawsí to be given

sixty thousand *dinārs*' worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried to Tūs on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be made to Firdawsī. For years the Minister had been working for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he caused the camels to be loaded, and the indigo arrived safely at Tabarān.¹ But as the camels were entering through the Rūdbār Gate, the corpse of Firdawsī was being borne forth from the Gate of Razān.² Now at this time there was in Tabarān a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsī's body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Rāfidī; and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now outside the gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsī, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day." And in the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) I visited his tomb.³

They say that Firdawsī left a daughter, of very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King's gift; but she would not accept it, saying, "I need it not." The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Tabarān as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imām Abū Bakr Ishāq for the repair of the rest-house of Chāha,⁴ which stands on the road between Merv and Nishāpūr on the boundaries of Tūs. When this order reached Tūs and Nishāpūr, it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Chāha was effected by this money.

¹ Tabarān is the name of a portion of the city of Tūs. See B. de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, pp. 374-375.

² Noëlske (loc. cit., p. 157, and n. 2 *ad calc.*) has *Razzāq* for *Razān*, but A., B., and L. all agree in the latter reading. There are several places called *Rudbār*, of which one situated near Tabarān is probably meant. See B. de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, p. 266. A *Razān* in Sistān is mentioned by Baladkhuri (pp. 396-397), and another (رذانی) in the district of Nash in Khurāsān. (*Diet. de la Perse*, p. 259.)

³ I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nulhāmi's.

⁴ So B. and L. A. has *Jāhe*.

Anecdote xxi.

At the period when I was in the service of that martyred prince the King of the Mountains (may God illuminate his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and showed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír 'Amíd Šafiyyu'd-Dīn Abú Bakr¹ Muḥammad b. al-Husayn Rawānshábí, came to the Court. He was a young man, an expert writer, a qualified Secretary of State, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nidhámí." Said the Amír 'Amíd Šafiyyu'd-Dīn, "Is Nidhámí here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nidhámí-i-Munírí.² "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amír 'Amíd said, "Nidhámí has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, there he is, seated in such-and-such a place." "I am not speaking of this Nidhámí," answered Amír 'Amíd; "that Nidhámí of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there another Nidhámí besides thee?" "Yes, sire," I answered, "there are two other Nidhámís, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Munírí, and one of Nishápúr, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Athírí; while me they call Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amír 'Amíd perceived that

¹ L. adds 'ibn.'

² The reading of this *nisha* is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read *Munírí*.

he had spoken ill, and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nidhámís are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up social gatherings by their quarrelsomeness, and to cause trouble, and to do mischief." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain a bumper and break up the meeting:¹ but of these three Nidhámís which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amír 'Amíd, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying: "Now, O Nidhámí, do not shame us: say what 'Amíd desires."

Now at that time, when I was in the service of this King, I possessed a copious talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of my master had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets and submitted them to the King:—

در جهان سه نظامییم ای شاه ' که جهانی ز ما بافغانند '
 من بورسا به پیش تخت شهم ' و آن دو در مَرُوی پیش سلطانند '
 بحقیقت که در سخن امروز ' هر یکی مغنر خراسانند '
 گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند ' و رچه همچون خرد سخن دانند '
 من شرابم که شان چو در یابم ' هر دو از کار خود فرومانند '

¹ L., which I follow, has: ' که قدحی بخورد و مجلس را برهم زند '

A. has: ' بیقدح سنگی .. ' B. has: ' که پنجه قدح سنگی بخورد .. '

*"We are three Nidhámís in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry.
I am at Warsá before the King's throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultan.
To-day, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurásán.
Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom,
I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desist from their work."*

When I submitted these verses, the Amír 'Amíd Šafiyyu'd-Dín bowed and said: "O King, let alone the Nidhámís, I know of no poet in all Transoxania, 'Iráq, or Khurásán capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Rejoice, O Nidhámí, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind swift to apprehend, and a finished art. By the good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity he hath developed into a unique genius, and will even become more than this, for he is young and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily, and a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying: "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsá from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice. Send an agent there." I did so, sending Isháq the Jew. It was the middle of summer, and while they were working it they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead¹ accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval,² by His Favour and Grace!

¹ A., B. here add: 'از آن خمس'.

² A. adds after كنان: — و جان شریف اورا بجمع غنا مسرور
بمنه الخ

THIRD DISCOURSE.

On the Nature of the Lore of the Stars, and on the Expert Astrologer.

Abú Rayhán Birúní says in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astrology" (*Kitábu't-Tafhím fi saná'ati 't-tanjím*¹): "A man does not deserve the title of Astrologer until he attains proficiency in four sciences: *first*, Mathematics; *secondly*, Arithmetic; *thirdly*, Cosmography; and *fourthly*, Judicial Astrology."

Now *Mathematical Science* is that whereby are known the natures and qualities of lines and geometrical figures, plain and solid, and the general relations of quantities, and what partakes of the quantitative nature, to what has position and form. It includes the principles of the Book of Euclid the geometrician² in the recension of Thábit ibn Qurra.³

Arithmetic is that science whereby are known the natures of all sorts of numbers;⁴ the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the *'Arithmíkatí*, and the applications in the "Supplement" (*Takmilá*) of Abú Mansúr of Baghdad,⁵ and the "Hundred Chapters" (*Sad Báb*) of as-Sajzí.⁶

¹ See Rien's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 451-2, where a MS. of the Persian version of this work, dated A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), is described.

² I suppose that this is the meaning of *مجتاز* in the text.

³ I take this to be the sense of L.'s reading: *كد ثابت بن قتره دستى* : *کرده است*. For *دستى* A. appears to read *وستى* and B. *دسى*. Concerning Thábit b. Qurra, see Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arabischen Astron.*, pp. 34-36; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Literatur*, pp. 217, 218, etc. He was born in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) and died A.H. 288 (A.D. 901).

⁴ A. adds *و خاصه هر نوعى از در نفس خویش*.

⁵ Abú Mansúr 'Abdu'l-Qáhir b. Táhir al-Baghdládl, d. A.H. 429 (A.D. 1037). See Hájí Khalífa, No. 3,253.

⁶ Abú Sa'íd Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalíl as-Sajzí (or Sijazí, i.e. of Sejestán or Sistán). See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

Cosmography is that science whereby are known the natures of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies,¹ their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of each one of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres, axes, and circles whereby these movements are fulfilled. It includes a knowledge of the *Al-Magest* and the best of its commentaries and elucidations, which are the *Commentary of Tabrizi*² and the *Al-Magest of Shifá*. And amongst the applications of this science is the science of the Calendar and of Almanacs.

Judicial Astrology is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from configurations, and from an estimation of the degrees and zodiacal signs and their influences, those events which are brought about by their movements, in respect to the condition of the cycles of the world, politics, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions; and it is contained in these five [books] which we have enumerated, to wit, the writings of Abú Ma'shar of Balkh,³ Ahmád 'Abdu'l-Jalíl-i-Sajzí, Abú Rayhán Bírúni, and Gúshyár-i-Jíll.⁴

So the Astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence. And one of the essentials of this art is that the astrologer who would pronounce prognostications should possess in his own horoscope the Share of the Unseen, and that the Lord of the House of this Share of the Unseen should be lucky, and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the

¹ For اجرام ("bodies") A., B. have اجزاء عالم, "the nature of the constituent parts of the Celestial and Terrestrial Realms."

² See the long article on *al-Majisti* in Hájí Khalífa (No. 11,413). The *Tabrizi* intended is probably al-Fadl b. Hátim of Tabriz.

³ See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 221, 222.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 222, 223. Both forms of the *nisha* (Jill and Jabali) are found in the texts.

conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should have in mind the whole of the "Principia" (*Uṣūl*) of Gúshyár, and should continually study the "Opus Majus,"¹ and should look frequently into the *Qánún-i-Max'údi*² and the *Jámi'-i-Sháhi*, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

Anecdote xxii.

Ya'qúb b. Isháq al-Kindí,³ though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mún. One day he came in before al-Ma'mún, and sat down above one of the Imáms of Islám. Said this man, "Thou art of a subject race;⁴ why, then, dost thou sit above the Imáms of Islám?" "Because," said Ya'qúb, "I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know."

Now this person knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. "I will write down," said he, "something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit your claim." Then they laid a wager, on the part of this person a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qúb a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand dínárs, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, "Out with it!" Ya'qúb b. Isháq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the ascendant, drew an astrological table on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars, fixed the signs of the Zodiac, worked out the subjective conditions and

¹ و کار مجترب پيوسته مطالعه می کند. From the context, some book would seem to be intended.

² By Abú Rayhán al-Biróni. See *Hájí Khalifa*, No. 2,359.

³ See Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 21, 22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

⁴ تو مرد ذمی باشی.

affinities,¹ and said, "On that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal." Al-Ma'mún put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written "The Rod of Moses." Al-Ma'mún was filled with wonder and expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qúb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mún, saying, "I will make it into two"²

This matter became generally known in Baghdad, whence it spread to 'Irâq and throughout Khurásân, and was widely discussed. A certain doctor of Balkh, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterizes the learned, obtained a book on Astrology and placed a knife in the middle of it, intending to go to Baghdad, attend the lectures of Ya'qúb b. Ishâq al-Kindí, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced, until he went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing this book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qúb's house.

When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet³ and other eminent and noble persons of Baghdad. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qúb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the science of the stars with our Master." "Thou hast come from the East to slay me on a pretence of studying Astrology," replied Ya'qúb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the stars, and

¹ Neither the meaning nor the wording of this sentence is clear to me. L. has 'شرایط خبی و ضمیر بعمل آورد'. For خبی A. and B. have جی or حبی, the reading being uncertain.

² Some sort of garment seems to be meant, but neither the reading nor the meaning is clear. L. has 'و دو پارچه فتنات کنم'; A., 'دو بافتابه کنم'; B., 'دو بافتابه کنم'.

³ Literally, "of the Banû Hashim."

attain perfection in that science, and wilt become one of the greatest Astrologers in the Church of Muḥammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished; and Abú Ma'shar¹ confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he reached that eminence which he reached in Astrology.

Anecdote xxiii.

It is stated that once when Sultán Maḥmúd b. Násiru'd-Dín² was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abú Rayḥán³ and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable) "Decide, and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abú Rayḥán called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, worked out the ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Maḥmúd. He answered, "Yes."

Then Maḥmúd bade them make an opening in the wall, and they brought mattocks and spades, and in the wall which was on the eastern side dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it was written: "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door on the side of the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Maḥmúd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abú Rayḥán down from the midst of the palace. So they did even as he had said. Now

¹ See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, pp. 221, 222.

² i.e. the great Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (reigned a.n. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).

³ i.e. the celebrated al-Birūnī, of whom mention has been already made.

a net had been stretched here to keep off the flies,¹ and on it Abú Rayhán fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Maḥmúd. So they brought him in, and Maḥmúd said: "O Abú Rayhán, didst thou know this?" "I knew it, sire," he answered, and, taking the Almanac from the servant, produced the prognostications out of the Almanac;² and amongst the predictions for that day was written: "To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body."

All this was not according to Maḥmúd's mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abú Rayhán to be detained in the citadel. So Abú Rayhán was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months. It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Maḥmúd about Abú Rayhán, one of whose servants was, however, deputed to wait upon him, and to go out to get what he wanted, and to return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park of Ghazna,³ when a fortune-teller called to him and said, "I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you." The servant gave him two dirhams, whereupon the soothsayer said: "One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour, and will again be loaded with honours and favours."

The servant proceeded to the citadel, and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abú

¹ This seems to be the meaning of L.'s reading: مگر راه مگس را دامی بسته بودند. A. and B. are illegible. The former seems to have, مگر تا سام سانش را مگر تا سام سانش را دامی. . . .
وامی . . .

و تحویل از میان تقویم بیرون کرد

بسر مرغزار غزنین . . .

Rayhān smiled and said, "O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that on such occasions one ought not to stand still? Thou hast informed me too late."¹ It is said that the Prime Minister Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abū Rayhān. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said: "Poor Abū Rayhān uttered two such good prognostications, and instead of decorations and a robe of honour obtained bonds and imprisonment." "Know, my lord," replied Maḥmūd, "for I have proved it,² that this man is said to have no equal in the world save Abū 'Alī Sīnā (Avicenna), but both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children³—in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their opinion. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand dinārs, a slave, and a handmaiden."

So, on the very day specified by the soothsayer, they brought forth Abū Rayhān, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying: "If thou desirest always to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science." So thereafter Abū Rayhān altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the service of kings, that one must be with them in right or wrong, and speak according to their wish.

Now when Abū Rayhān reached his house, the learned

¹ Instead of this sentence A. has: "Thou hast wasted two dirhams."

² I follow L., which reads: 'بدان ای خواجه و من یافته ام'. A. has: 'خواجه بدان که من ندانسته ام'.

³ A. omits this simile.

came to congratulate him. He related to them the incident of the soothsayer, whereat they were amazed, and sent to summon him. They found him most illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abú Rayhán said, "Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?" "I have," replied he. Then Abú Rayhán examined it, and the Share of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant,¹ so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

Anecdote xxiv.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Šafar, A.H. 510² (= July 12th, A.D. 1116), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that both the Share of Fortune and the Share of the Unseen fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came very near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of fate.

One day an old woman came and said: "It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey, and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether, wherever he may be, he is of the living or the dead." So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological table, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, "Thy son hath returned!"

The old woman was annoyed and said: "O child, I have no hopes of my son's coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?"

¹ سهم الغيبش بر حاق درجه طالع افتاد بود . .

² A. has "512."

"I tell you," said the other, "thy son hath come. Go, and, if he hath not come, return, that I may tell thee how he is."

So the old woman went to her house, and lo! her son had arrived and was unloading his asses. She embraced him, took off her veil, and came back to the woman-astrologer, saying, "Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come, bringing presents"; and she gave her her blessing. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, "By what didst thou speak, and from what House didst thou deduce this prognostication?" She answered: "I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, he came in and sat down on the letter of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind, that this young man had returned. When I said so, and the mother had gone to find out, it became so certain to me that it was as though I actually saw him unloading his asses."

Then I perceived that it was the Share of the Unseen, and nothing else but this, which thus influenced the degree of the Ascendant.

Anecdote xxv.

Mahmúd Dá'údí, the son of Abu'l-Qásim Dá'údí, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no considerable knowledge as to the actions of the stars; yet he could cast a nativity, and in his notebook were figures declaring "it is" or "it is not." He was in the service of Amir Dá'úd Abú Bakr Mas'úd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications generally came right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains sent him a pair of Ghúrí dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free-will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Perfumers' Market at Herát, in the shop of Muqrí

the surgeon-druggist,¹ and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, "What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Síná)!" I saw Dá'údí fly into a passion, all the possession of anger appearing in and overcoming him, and he cried: "O so-and-so, who was Abú 'Alí? I regard myself as equal in worth to a thousand Abú 'Alí's, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amír Dá'úd with two dogs." So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness I witnessed the following occurrence.

In the year A.H. 505² (A.H. 1111-1112), when Sultán Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khúzán,³ on his way to Transoxania to fight with Muḥammad,⁴ Amír Dá'úd attached himself to the King, and made a great entertainment for him. On the third day the King came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dá'údí before him to talk after the manner of madmen, while he laughed, for Dá'údí would openly abuse Amír Dá'úd.

Presently the King said to him, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dá'údí said, "Draw up your hook." So the king drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amír Dá'úd, "whence should fish of five maunds' weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dá'údí; "what do you know about it?" So Amír Dá'úd was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

¹ The readings differ here. L. has . . بدكان مقرى عطار طبیب .

A., B. have . . بر دكان مقرى حداد طبیب .

² A. has 508.

³ See Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, pp. 215, 216. A. reads *Khác*, B. *Kházi*.

⁴ Apparently his brother, Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn Abū Shujā' Muḥammad the Seljūq is meant. He reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117).

Suddenly there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled five¹ maunds. All were amazed, and expressed their astonishment. "Dá'údí," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King," said he with an obeisance, "of all that is on this earth I desire but a coat of mail, a shield, and a spear, that I may do battle with Báwardí." And this Abáwardí was the Captain of Amír Dá'úd's gate, and Dá'údí entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of Shujá'u'l-Mulk had been conferred upon him, while Dá'údí himself bore the title of Shujá'u'l-Hukamá, and grudged that the other should be so entitled. And the Amír, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dá'údí with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wits' end by reason of him.

In short, as to Maḥmúd Dá'údí's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

Anecdote xxvi.

Hakim-i-Mawṣillí was one of the order of Astrologers in Nishápúr, and was in the service of that great Minister Nidhámú'l-Mulk of Tús, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice and opinion. Now when Mawṣillí's years were drawing to a close, and great decrepitude appeared in him, and feebleness of body began to show itself, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister's permission to go and reside at Nishápúr, and to send thence annually the almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nidhámú'l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said: "Look

¹ A. has "six."

so much at the lapse of my life as to observe when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what epoch that inevitable fate and unavoidable sentence will befall."

Hakim-i-Mawṣilí answered, "Six months after my death." So the Minister ordered him to receive all things needful for his comfort, and Mawṣilí went to Nishápúr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whoever came to the Minister from Nishápúr, he used first to enquire, "How is Mawṣilí?" And so soon as he had news of his safety, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length, in the year A.H. 485 (= A.D. 1092-3), one arrived from Nishápúr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawṣilí. The man replied, with an obeisance: "May he who holdeth the chief seat in al-Islám be the heir of many lifetimes! Mawṣilí hath quitted this mortal body." "When?" enquired the Minister. "In the middle of Rabí' the First" (April 11-May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, "he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of al-Islám."

The Minister thereat was mightily put about, and was warned, and looked into all his affairs, and confirmed all his pious endowments, and gave effect to his bequests,¹ and wrote his last testament, and set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, and discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and made his will, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramaḍán (A.H. 485=Oct. 5-Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at the hands of that Sect (i.e. the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample Approval!

Since the Ascendant ruling his nativity, the observation, the Lord of the Sign, and the dominant factor were rightly

¹ A., which I follow, has: 'اداراتارا (اوزاررا) توپع كرد'

determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true.¹

Anecdote xxvii.

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) Khwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám² and Khwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfízárí had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amír Abú Sa'd,³ and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (*Hujjat-u'l-Haqq*) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice in each year." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Nishápúr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-6), it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this lower world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me a guide to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Híra⁴ Cemetery; I turned to the left, and his tomb lay at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him

¹ I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (e.g. *Hayláj* and *Kudkhudo*) are explained in the section of the *Mafátiḥ* 'l-'*ulum* which treats of Astrology (ed. Van Vloten, pp. 225-232). The first part of the sentence runs:

چون طالع مولود و رعد و کد خدا و هیلاج درست بود . . .

² A. and B. have *Khayyámí*, the form usually found in Arabic books.

³ A. adds جرد, while B. calls him حرد.

⁴ So A., B., and L., but in the margin of the latter is the following gloss:

حیری چو میری ایوان و طاق و رواق (برهان)

in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He) have mercy upon him,¹ by His Grace and His Favour! Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof of the Truth ‘Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.²

Anecdote xxviii.

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (= A.D. 1114–1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Saḍra’-d-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mudhaffar (on whom be God’s Mercy) bidding him tell Khwāja Imām ‘Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwāja Imām ‘Umar was in the Minister’s company, and used to lodge at his house.

So the Minister sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. The Khwāja went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance,³ the sky became overcast with clouds, a wind arose, and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwāja Imām [‘Umar] said: “Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will be not a drop of moisture.” So the King rode on, and the clouds

¹ A. has: “cause him to dwell in Paradise.”

² L. omits this last sentence.

³ I suppose this to be the meaning of the words: *ویک بانگ زمین* and *برفت*, which is the reading of all three texts.

opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

Anecdote xxix.

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat him with honour, and confide in him; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion and law of Muḥammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the king Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Maliksháb, styled Qasímu Amiri'l-Múminin (may God illuminate his proof!),¹ the King of the Arabs, Sadaqa,² revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arab horsemen marched on Baghdad from Hilla. The Prince of Believers al-Mustadhḥir bi'lláh had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Isfahán,³ summoning the Sultan, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "We find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

¹ Reigned A.H. 498-511, A.D. 1104-1117.

² Cf. Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundārī's *History of the Seljuqs*, p. 185, where an Amir of this name is mentioned under the year A.H. 531.

³ A. calls it *Sipákhán*.

Now there was a stranger of Jayy¹ who had a shop by the Gate of the Dome and who used to take omens; and men and women of every class used to visit him, and he used to write for them amulets and charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said: "I will find an auspicious moment: depart in that, and if thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head."

So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred dinárs of Nishápúr, and went forth, fought with Šadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Isfahán, he heaped favours on the soothsayer, ordered him to receive great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said: "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this stranger of Jayy who found it; and I went, and God justified the omen.² Probably Šadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming: "The astrologers were not satisfied with that moment. If you wish, write a message and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwāja Imám 'Umar Khayyám says."

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his courtiers and said: "Invite this stranger of Jayy³ to your house, drink wine with him, and treat him with kindly familiarity; and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying,

¹ A suburb of Isfahán, as is explained in a marginal gloss in L., which has this reading: غریب جی (printed in the text as one word, غریباجی).

A. reads غزنوی and B. غرنوی.

² A. adds "Wherefore did ye act thus?"

³ L. is constant in this reading, but here A. has غریباجی را and B. غریباجی را.

'Was that moment determined by thee not good? For the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.'"

Then the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The soothsayer answered: "I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, how should the King concern himself with me?"

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the strange soothsayer to be expelled, because one who held such views about good Musulmáns was unlucky. Then¹ the King summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying: "I knew that this soothsayer never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law agrees not with us."

Anecdote xxx.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3) a battle was fought between that king of blessed memory Sanjar b. Maliksháh and my lord the king 'Alá'u'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East was taken prisoner, and my lord's son the Just King Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Mahmúd b. Mas'úd was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-chief (*Amir-i-sipahsálar*). The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand dinárs of pure gold,² and a messenger from him was to go to the Court at Bámiyán to ask for this sum; and when it should be sent the Prince was to be released, while the King himself was granted his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar), who, moreover, at the time of his departure from

¹ A. adds "they killed him, and . . ."

² The words *بر نقش هریود* are omitted in L. For this meaning of *هریود* see Vüller's *Persian Lexicon*, s.v.

Herát, granted him a robe of honour; and it was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.¹

One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said: "To-morrow at the time of the first prayer the messenger will arrive." All that night the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. "To-day," said he, "is the time fixed." "Yes," I replied; and continued with him till the first prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully: "The first prayer has arrived, but still no news!" Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand dinárs, sheep, and other things, and that 'Izzu'd-Dín Maḥmúd,² the steward of Prince Ḥusánu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, was in charge of the convoy. My lord Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín was invested with the King's dress of honour, and very shortly regained his beloved home, and from that time his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And thence it was that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say: "Nidhámí, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herát, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here

¹ The text is rather obscure here. It runs: [جوانب] و از جانب سلطان عالم او خود مطلق بود بوقت حرکت کردن از هرات تشریف [نامزد] کرده بود و من بنده درین حال بخدمت رسیدم.

² A. adds حاجی.

I have." Then he called for gold, and filled my mouth therewith till it would contain no more, whereupon he said, "Hold out thy sleeve." So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august Master, by His favour, bounty, and grace! Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!

FOURTH DISCOURSE.

On the Nature of the Science of Medicine, and the grades¹ of Physicians.

Medicine is that art whereby the health of the human body is preserved; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clean complexion, freshness and vigour.

EXCURSUS.

The physician should be of tender disposition, of wise and gentle nature, and more especially an acute observer, capable of benefiting everyone by accurate diagnoses, that is to say, by rapid deduction of the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of man; nor of philosophical nature unless he knows Logic, nor an acute observer unless he be strengthened by God's guidance; and he who is not an acute observer will not arrive at a correct understanding of the cause of any ailment, for he must form his opinion from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause between these two movements.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but

¹ For هداية A. has مراتب.

that most accomplished of the moderns, that talented man Abú 'Alí al-Husayn b. 'Abdu'lláh Síná (Avicenna),¹ says in his book the *Qánún* that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects;² and that the pulse is of two sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely, its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also the examination of the urine, and the observing of its colour and peculiarities, and the deducing somewhat from each colour, is no easy matter; for these deductions are dependent on Divine help and Heavenly guidance; and this is the quality which we have already mentioned under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of species and genus, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category and that which is peculiar to the individual, and so will not recognize the cause of the disease. And, failing to recognize the cause, he will not succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease³ is the genus; fever, cold, headache, dizziness, scarlet fever, and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, while each itself is again divisible into varieties. For instance, 'Fever' is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian, quartan, and the sub-varieties of each, are distinguished from each other by a special diagnostic sign, so that, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other

¹ See De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khaldún*, vol. i, pp. 440-446; von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, vol. ii, pp. 455, 456; Wüstenfeld's *Geach. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 64-75, etc. The *Qánún* was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593.

² A. reads:

حرکت انقباض را در توان یافت بدشواری اندر تنهائی گوشت

This is no doubt the correct reading, not تنهائی گوشت as in B. and L.

³ L. here has محض جنس آمد, instead of the correct reading of A.,

مرض.

fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no rigor, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain.¹ Again, inflammatory fever² is distinguished from other fevers by this, that when it lays hold of anyone it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while, lastly, quartan is distinguished by this, that for two days it does not come and the third day it comes.

Each of these, again, comprises several varieties, and each of these in turn sundry sub-varieties; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen, he will know which fever it is, what the *materies morbi* is, and whether it is simple or compound, and he can then at once proceed to treat it; but if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God, seeing that the issue is in His hands.

Anecdote xxxi.

In the year A.H. 512,³ in the Druggists' Bazaar of Nishápúr, at the shop of Muḥammad Ḍakḥm the Physician,⁴ I heard Khwāja Imám Abú Bakr Daqqáq saying: "A certain man of Nishápúr⁵ was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him,

و درو تكثر و گرانی و کاهلی و درد نباشد،¹

² تب مطبقة. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médica-Pharmaceutique* (lithographed at Tihrán, A.H. 1274), pp. 192-197 and 285. Perhaps, however, it should here be translated "remittent."

³ A. has A.H. 502 (= A.D. 1108-9).

⁴ The readings vary. A. has محمد ضخم; B. محمد صمیم; L. ضخم only.

⁵ A. adds "in the year [A.H.] 502."

fulfilling the utmost of my endeavour in this matter; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned, thinking that the patient would pass away at midnight. I went up on to the roof, but could hardly sleep for anxiety. In the morning when I awoke I said to myself, 'The patient will have passed away.' I turned my face in that direction, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his passing. I repeated the *Fātiḥa*, and hastened in that direction, saying: 'O my God and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "*And we send down in the Qur'an what is a Healing and a Mercy to true believers.*"'¹ For I was filled with regret, seeing that he was a young man, and in easy circumstances. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory, and repeated the customary prayer. One knocked at the door of the house. When I went to look who was there, it was one of his household, who gave good tidings, saying, 'He hath passed out of danger'; and, on my enquiring when, added, 'Just now he obtained relief.' Then I knew that the patient had been relieved by the blessing of the *Fātiḥa* of the Scripture, and that this draught had been dispensed from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health."

Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law. And on the science of Medicine he should read the "Aphorisms" (*Fuṣūl*) of Hippocrates, the "Questions" (*Masā'il*) of Hunayn b. Ishāq,² the "Guide" (*Murshid*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā of Ray (ar-Rāzī),³ and Nūr's "Commentary"⁴; and after he has read and learned these

¹ Qur'an, xvii, 84.

² See Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 69, pp. 26-29. He was born a.h. 194 (a.d. 809), and died a.h. 260 (a.d. 873).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 98, pp. 40-49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhases.

⁴ For شرح نوری A. has شرح نعلی.

volumes above enumerated with a kind and careful master, he should diligently study with a congenial teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the "Thesaurus" (*Dhakhira*) of Thābit b. Qurra, the *Manṣūrī*¹ of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā of Ray, the "Direction" (*Hidāya*) of the younger² Abū Bakr, or the "Sufficiency" (*Kifāya*) of Aḥmad Farrukh, or the "Aims" (*Aghrād*) of Sayyid Isma'il Jurjāni.³ Then he should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen" (Treatises, *Sitta 'ashar*) of Galen, or the "Compendium" (*Hāwī*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, or the "Complete Practitioner" (*Kāmilu's-Sanā'at*), or the "Hundred Chapters" (*Sad Bāb*) of Abū Sahl Masīhī,⁴ or the *Qānūn* of Abū 'Alī (Avicenna),⁵ or the *Dhakhira-i-Khwarazmshāhi*,⁶ and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the *Qānūn*.

The Lord of the Two Worlds and the Guide of the Two Grosser Races says: "*Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass.*"⁷ All this has been set forth by the *Qānūn*, so that much may be effected therewith; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the *Qānūn*, to him nothing will be hidden of the general principles and applications of Medicine, for if Hippocrates and Galen could return to life, it would be proper that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit, that one hath taken exception to Abū 'Alī in respect of this work,

¹ See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 43, No. 2. The full title of the work is: *كتاب الطب المنصوري*.

² Or "later" (آخرين), but A. reads *أخوين*. I cannot identify this person.

³ See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, No. 155, p. 95.

⁴ Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59, 60, No. 118.

⁵ See n. 1 on p. 813 *supra*.

⁶ See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 466, 467.

⁷ Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of anyone who excels his fellows. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2357, s.v. *فراً*.

and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the *Qánún*"¹; and it is as though I looked at both books, and perceived what a distinguished man the author of the first was, while the author of the second merits only censure. For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man, when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the physicians of antiquity travailed in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the science of Medicine to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that absolute philosopher and most mighty thinker Aristotle portioned and parcelled out² Logic and Philosophy as in a balance, and measured them by the measure of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from them, and they were established on a sure and critical basis. And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher has won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his pre-eminence, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East and the West, the Proof of Islám,³ Abú 'Alí b. 'Abdu'lláh b. Síná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cast himself out from the company of the wise, ranked himself with madmen, and proved himself to be of the number of those who lack intelligence. May God (blessed and exalted is He) keep us from such stumblings and vain imaginings!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; and when he hath reached this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises

¹ اصلاح قانون.

² L. has منطق و حکمت صوره و نقد كرد. For A. substitutes جمع. In the margin of L. صرد is glossed as = جمع.

³ A. has "the Proof of God unto His creatures."

composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (*Tuhfatu'l-Mulūk*) of Muḥammad Zakariyyā [ar-Rāzī], or the *Kifāya* of Ibn Sandūna of Isfahān, or the "Provision against all sorts of error in Medical Treatment" (*Tadāruku amcā'i'l-khaḡā fi't-tadbīrī't-ṭibbī*), of which Abū 'Alī (Avicenna) is the author; or the *Khaṣṣiyu'l-'Alā'i*,¹ or the "Memoranda" (*Yādīgār*) of Sayyid Isma'īl Jurjānī.² For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the posterior part of the brain, for it may delay to afford him assistance in carrying out these prescriptions.

Therefore every king who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

Anecdote xxxii.

Bukht-Yīshū',³ a Christian of Baghdad, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mūn the Caliph. Now one of the children of Hāshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mūn, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mūn, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yīshū' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mūn's sake, girded up his loins in service, and treated him in various ways, but to no purpose, for the case passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yīshū' was ashamed before al-Ma'mūn; but al-Ma'mūn said to him: "Be not ashamed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, but God Almighty doth not desire that it should succeed. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yīshū', seeing al-Ma'mūn thus hopeless, replied: "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

¹ See Hājī Khalifa, No. 4,723.

² See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 95, No. 165. He died A.H. 530.

³ See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 17, No. 30. Concerning this and similar names, see Nochioka's *Geschichte d. Artakhsir-i-Papakān*, p. 49, n. 4.

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht - YĪshú' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhœa was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was that which thou didst adopt yesterday?" He answered: "The *materies morbi* of this diarrhœa was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that if I administered a purgative the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhœa; but at length, when I plucked up heart, [I saw that] there was hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it. So I gave it, and God Most High vouchsafed a cure; and my opinion was justified, namely, that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected; but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. Therefore, seeing that to give the purgative was the better course, I administered it."

Anecdote xxxiii.

The great Shaykh Abú 'Alí Siná (Avicenna) relates as follows in the "Book of the Origin and the Return" (*Kitābu'l-Mabdâ wa'l-Ma'ād*), at the end of the section on Contingent Being:—

"A curious anecdote hath come to me which I have heard related.¹ A certain physician presented himself at the court of one of the House of Sámán, and was well received, and rose to so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women's apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates.

¹ L. has در کتاب مبدأ و معاد در آخر فصل امکان وجود نادره
 عن هذه النفس هميگويد نادره A. after نادره adds بمن رسيد که شنودم
 . . رسيد و شنودم که . . and reads . .

One day he was sitting with the King in the women's apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to pass. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the handmaidens. One of these presided over the table. As she was placing it on the ground, she bent down.¹ When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints.² The King turned to the physician and said, 'Cure her at once in whatever way you can.' Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, since for such no appliances were available. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head, whereon she made a movement. Then he bade them remove her skirt,³ whereon she raised her head and stood upright.

"What method of procedure was this?" enquired the King. 'At that juncture,' replied the physician, 'a rheumatic swelling appeared in her joints. I bade them uncover her head, that perchance she might be ashamed, and might make some movement because this condition was displeasing to her. So the whole of her head and face was uncovered, and anger was apparent therein.⁴ I then abandoned this, and ordered her skirt to be removed. She was filled with shame, and a flush of heat was produced within her, such that it dissolved the rheumatic humour. Then she stood upright, and, restored to her erect position, became sound once again.'

"Had this physician not been skilled in his art, he would never have thought of this treatment; and had he failed,

¹ For L.'s reading . . خوان بر زمین نیاد دو تو شد . . A. has:—

خوان از سر خوانگش فرو گرفت 'دو تو شد و بر زمین نیاد . .

² L. has 'ربیع غلیظی که در مفاصل او حادث آمد'

³ Literally "trousers," of the kind worn by women in the East.

⁴ Instead of تغییر بدید آمد (L.'s reading) A. has تغییر نگرفت "she underwent no change."

he would have forfeited the King's regard. Hence a knowledge of natural science¹ and an apprehension of its facts form a part of this subject."

Anecdote xxxiv.

Another of the House of Sámán, Amír Manšúr b. Núḥ b. Naṣr,² became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Amír Manšúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray to treat him. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but when he saw it he said: "I will not embark in the boat: God Most High saith, '*Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands*'³; and, again, it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one's self in so hazardous a position." Ere the Amír's messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the treatise entitled *Manšúri*.⁴ So when a notable arrived with a special led-horse, bringing a message intermingled with promises of reward, he handed this *Manšúri* to him, saying: "I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me."

When the book reached the Amír he was in grievous suffering, wherefore he sent a thousand dínars and one of his own private horses, saying: "Strive to move him by all these kind attentions, but, if they prove fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across." So, just as the Amír had commanded, they urgently entreated Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, but to no purpose. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released him. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best

¹ So L., which reads طبيعى, but A. has طبع, "human nature."

² That is, Manšúr I, who reigned A.H. 350-366 (A.D. 961-976). This anecdote is given in the *Akhlaq-i-Jalálí* (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168-170.

³ Qur'án, ii. v. 191.

⁴ See n. 1 on p. 816 *supra*.

of humours, and set out for Bukhára. And when they enquired of him, saying, "We feared to bring thee across the water lest thou shouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee vexed in heart," he replied: "I know that every year several thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, 'A foolish fellow was Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will, he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.' But when they bound me, I escaped all danger of censure; for then they would say, 'They bound the poor fellow's hands and feet, so that he was drowned.' Thus should I have been excused, not blamed, in case of my being drowned."

When they reached Bukhára, he saw the Amír and began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amír and said: "To-morrow I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule," the two being both animals of note, so that in one night they had gone forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amír to the hot bath of Jú-yi-Múliyán, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant; while of the King's retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle of the hot bath, and poured over him warm water, after which he prepared a draught and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints were matured.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, taking a knife in his hand, came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying: "Thou didst order me to be bound and cast into the boat, and didst conspire against my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am not Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá!"

The Amír was furious, sprang from his place, and, partly from anger, partly from fear of the knife and dread of death, rose to his feet. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá saw the Amír on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the second prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá reached Merv, he alighted, and wrote a letter to the Amír, saying: "May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! According to agreement this servant treated his master, doing all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme weakness in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it, and carried you to the hot bath for psychical treatment, and administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a maturity of the humours. Then I angered the King, so that an increase in the natural caloric was produced, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved. But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King."

Now after the Amír had risen to his feet and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá had gone out, the Amír sat down and at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amír knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá's servant

arrived, riding the horse and leading the mule, and presented the letter. The Amír read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him a horse, and a robe of honour, and equipment, and a cloak, and arms, and a turban, and a male slave, and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mún¹ a yearly allowance of two² thousand dínárs and two hundred ass-loads of corn. These marks of honour he forwarded to him by the hand of a trusty messenger, together with his apologies. So the Amír completely regained his health, and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá attained his object.

Anecdote xxxv.

Ma'mún Khwárazmsháh³ had an accomplished Minister named Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He was a man of learning and a friend of scholars, and consequently many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abú 'Alí b. Síná, Abú Sahl Masíhí, Abu'l-Ḥasan Khammár, Abú Naṣr 'Arráq, and Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírónī],⁴ gathered about his court.

Now Abú Naṣr 'Arráq was the nephew of Khwárazmsháh, and in all branches of the exact sciences he was second only to Ptolemy the Philosopher; while Abú 'Alí [b Síná] and Abú Sahl Masíhí were the successors of Aristotle⁵ in

¹ The text has از اموال ما. but perhaps the last word is to be taken as meaning "settled," "tranquil."

² So in L., and so corrected in A. from "twelve thousand."

³ See p. viii of the Preface to Sachau's translation of al-Bírónī's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, and the same scholar's article *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Chwarezm* in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie* for 1863.

⁴ The first, second, and last of these learned men have been already mentioned. The third is probably Abu'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan . . . Ibnu'l-Khammár (Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 115, pp. 58, 59), who died A.H. 381 (A.D. 991).

⁵ The texts have "of Aristó and Aristóteles," as though they were two different persons, instead of two forms of the same name.

the science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences; and Abu'l-Hasan Khammár was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune, as is its custom, disapproved of this; though the King would not willingly have destroyed this happiness of theirs, or brought these pleasant days to an end. So a notable arrived from Sultán Maḥmúd Yaminu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows: "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning, each unrivalled in his science, such as So-and-so and So-and-so. You must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat. We rely on being enabled to profit by their knowledge and skill, and request this favour on the part of Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Husayn 'Alí Míká'il, who was one of the most accomplished men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the prosperity of Sultán Yaminu'd-Dawla continued ever on the increase in the zenith of dominion and empire, and the kings of the time used to treat him with every respect and do him homage, and night and day lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh entertained Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'il in the best of lodgings, and ordered him to be supplied with all materials suitable for a prolonged stay; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "The King is strong, and has a large army recruited from Khurásán and India; and he covets 'Iráq. I cannot refuse to obey his order, or be disobedient to his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

They answered, "We cannot abandon thy service, nor will we in any wise go to him." But Abú Naṣr and Abu'l-Hasan and Abú Rayḥán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then

said Khwárazmsháh, "I will summon you before me,¹ and do you take your own way." Then he equipped Abú 'Alí [b. Siná] and Abú Sahl, and arranged a plan for them, and sent with them a guide, and they set off through the desert towards Mázandarán.

Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Husayn 'Alí Miká'il an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of compliments. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but I will provide equipment for Abú Naṣr and Abú Rayḥán and Abu'l-Ḥasan,² so that they may enjoy the honour of entering that August Presence." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwāja Husayn Miká'il to Balkh. So they came into the presence of Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla, and joined the King's Court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [b. Siná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Naṣr the painter to draw his portrait on paper, and he ordered the other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched in all directions, placing them in the hands of persons of note, to whom he said, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí b. Siná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh,³ ere morning came they had travelled fifteen parasanga. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what ascendant they had started on their journey. "We shall lose our way," said he, "and experience hardships." Said Abú Sahl: "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed, I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for in these two days

¹ L's reading is: 'شمارا پیش خوانم'. A. adds the words دو ترک after شما.

² Here and elsewhere A. has *Husayn* for *Hasan*.

³ So A. L. has "Khwárazm."

the passage of the degree of my ascendant reaches Capricorn, and that is decisive,¹ so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth our intercourse of souls is at an end."²

Then a wind arose and clouds gathered. Abú 'Alí relates as follows. On the fourth day a dust-storm arose, and the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was a thousand times more astray than before; no water was obtainable; and, by reason of the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl Masihi passed away to the World of Eternity. The guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí, with a thousand hardships and difficulties, reached Abiward, whence he went to Tús, and finally happened on Nishápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. He alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards Gurgán. Qábús,³ who was king of that province, was a great and accomplished man, and a friend to men of learning. Abú 'Alí knew that there no harm would befall him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. One day a person fell sick in his neighbourhood. Abú 'Alí treated him, and he got better. It is related that Abú 'Alí continued to live in Gurgán,⁴ and that his income became considerable and went on increasing day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until one of the relatives of Qábús fell sick. The physicians set themselves to treat him, striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábús was greatly attached

¹ The text has که تسیر درجه طالع من درین دو روز بعین میسرند.

² و آن [واو] قاطع است. The term *tasyir* is explained at p. 230 of Van Vloten's ed. of the *Mafatih* 'l-'*ulüm*.

³ This last sentence is in A. only.

⁴ Qábús b. Washmír Shamsa'l-Ma'ali, reigned A.H. 366-371 and again A.H. 388-403. To him al-Birúni dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See Sachau's English translation of that work, Preface, p. viii.

⁵ For L.'s reading همی نگرست A. has در گرگان بزیست.

to him. So one of the servants of Qábús did obeisance before him and said: "Into such-and-such a caravanseray hath entered a young man who is a physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands." So Qábús bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient.

So they sought out Abú 'Alí and brought him to the sick man. He saw a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to show itself, and of symmetrical proportions. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, "I want a man who knows all the districts and the quarters of this province." So they brought one; and Abú 'Alí placed his hand on the patient's pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different quarters and districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued until he reached the name of a quarter at the mention of which, as he uttered it, the patient's pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú 'Alí said, "Now I must have someone who knows all the streets in this quarter." They brought such an one. "Repeat," said Abú 'Alí, "the names of all the houses in this district." So he repeated them till he reached the name of a house at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave the same flutter. "Now," said Abú 'Alí, "I want someone who knows all the households." They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same strange flutter was apparent.

Then said Abú 'Alí, "It is finished." Thereupon he turned to the confidential advisers of Qábús, and said: "This lad is in love with such-and-such a girl, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: the girl's face is the patient's cure." The patient, who was listening, heard what was said, and in shame hid his face beneath the clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abú 'Alí had said.¹ Then they

¹ Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rómi, and also a passage in the section of the *Dhakáira-i-Khudrazmsháhi* (Book vi, *Guftár* i, *Jur* 2, ch. 3), of which this

reported this matter to Qábús, who was amazed thereat and said, "Bring him before me." So Abú 'Alí b. Síná was brought before Qábús.

Now Qábús had a copy of Abú 'Alí's portrait, which Yamínu'd-Dawla had sent to him. "Why, here is Abú 'Alí!" exclaimed he. "Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qábús came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abú 'Alí, embraced him, conversed genially with him, sat down beside him, and said, "O greatest and most accomplished philosopher of the world, explain to me the rationale of this treatment!" "O Sire," answered Abú 'Alí, "when I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I enquired of him, he would not have told me; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different quarters, and when it came to the name of the quarter of his beloved, love moved him, and his heart was stirred, so that I knew she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I enquired the streets, and when I reached the street in question that same movement occurred, and I knew that she dwelt in that street. Then I enquired the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then they made mention of the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth."

is a translation:—"Now the lover's pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient's pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient's behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God's Mercy) says: 'I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.'"

Qábús was greatly astonished, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most eminent and most excellent philosopher of the world," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So the Master [Avicenna] chose a fortunate hour, and in it they were united, and that prince was cured of the ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qábús maintained Abú 'Alí in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, as is well known in history.

Anecdote xxxvi.

The author of the *Kámilu's-Saná'at*¹ was physician to 'Aḍu'd-Dawla² in Párs, in the city of Shíráz. Now in that city there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten³ days and nights. One time he was attacked by headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, he several times determined to destroy himself. At length one day this physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brother ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him his brother's condition. "Bring him to me," said the physician. So they called him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said

¹ See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'Alí b. al-'Abbás al-Majúsi, and he died A.H. 384 (A.D. 994).

² The second prince of the House of Buwayh, reigned A.H. 338-372 (A.D. 949-982).

³ So A., but L. has "two."

he. They did so. On their arrival there, he bade his servant take the turban from his head, and cast it round his neck. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and kick him on the back of the neck. The porter's sons wept, but the physician was a man of consideration, so that they could say nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to throw the turban round his neck, to mount his horse, and to make the porter run round the plain. The servant did as he was bid. Blood began to flow from the porter's nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him alone, that the blood may flow from him, for he stinketh worse than a corpse." The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred dirhams' weight of blood escaped from his nostrils. They bore him thence, and he slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned.

Then 'Adudu'd-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "for some while the blood had coagulated¹ in his head, and it was impossible to relieve this congestion by means of belladonna,² so I devised another treatment, which proved successful."

Anecdote xxxvii.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all melancholic diseases are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is [especially] slow to pass.

¹ Perhaps "coagulated" is too strong a word for افسردد, and we should rather translate "for some while he had suffered from congestion of the head" or "cerebral congestion."

² با بارج [A. B. فقيرا]. The word بارج, explained as = فقيرا, seems to mean belladonna. The word فقيرا I do not understand.

Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Yahyá, in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (*Mu'álaḡa-i-Buqráti*),¹ a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath reckoned up the leaders of thought, sages, physicians, scholars, and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease, for there were many of them; and he continues thus:—

"My master Abú Ja'far b. Muḥammad Abú Sa'd² al-Nashawí, commonly known as Šarakh,³ related to me," says he, "on the authority of the Imám Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-'Aqíl al-Qazwíní, on the authority of the Amír Fakhrú'd-Dawla Kálinjár the Buwayhid, that one of the princes of the House of Buwayh was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. Every day he would low like a cow, causing annoyance to everyone, and saying, 'Kill me, so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing, and the physicians were unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) was prime minister, and the king 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad b. Washmgir had the fullest confidence in him, and had entrusted into his hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and placed under his judgment and discretion all matters. And, indeed, since Alexander the Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no king had such a minister as Abú 'Alí. And during the time that he was minister, he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple of pages of the *Shifá*.⁴ Then, when the true dawn appeared, he

¹ See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, where his name is given as Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad at-Tabarí. He was court physician to the Buwayhid prince Ruknú'd-Dawla about A.H. 360 (A.D. 970). MSS. of the work cited exist at Oxford, Munich, and in the India Office.

² A. has Sa'di.

³ So all texts. صرخ.

⁴ One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the *British Museum Arabic Catalogue*, p. 745a, and the *Supplement* to the same, No. 711, pp. 484, 485.

used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiyá Ra'ís Bahmanyár, Abú Mansúr Zila,¹ 'Abdu'l-Wáhid Jurjání, Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abú Kálinjár. We used to continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then perform our prayers behind him; and as soon as he came forth he was met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men, comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had boons to crave, or were in difficulties. Then the minister would mount, and this company would attend him to the Government Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen had reached two thousand. And there he would remain until the morning prayer, and when he retired for refreshment all that company ate with him. Then he took his midday siesta, and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer, wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him until the next prayer; and in all matters of importance there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to show that the minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved unable to cure this young man, the King's intercession was sought, so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So 'Alá'u'd-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, 'Good tidings to the patient, for the butcher has come to kill him!' When the patient heard this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his retinue to the gate of the patient's house. Taking a knife in his hand, he entered with two attendants, saying, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'He is here.' The minister bade them bind him hand and foot in the middle of the house. The patient ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his hands and feet firmly, and 'Abú 'Ali then came forward, rubbing

the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on his side, as is the custom of butchers. 'He is very lean,' said he, 'and not fit to be killed: he must eat fodder until he gets fat.' Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, 'Eat, so that thou mayst grow fat.' They did so, and he ate, and recovered his appetite, after which they administered to him drugs and draughts. 'This cow,' said Abú 'Alí, 'must be well fattened'; so the patient ate in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him; while the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month's time he completely recovered."

All wise men will perceive that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen.

Anecdote xxxviii.

In the reign of Maliksháh, and during part of the reign of Sultán Sanjar, there was at Herát a philosopher named Adíb Isma'il, a very great and perfect man, who, however, derived his income from his receipts as a physician. By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers' market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and was eating the warm fat which he took from its belly.¹ Khwája Isma'il said to a grocer opposite him, "If at any time this fellow should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any premonitory illness. The grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for

¹ So in L. A. has: "And every now and then he would put his hand into the sheep's belly, pull out some of the warm fat, and swallow it."

the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwája Isma'íl, and hastened to bear the intelligence to him. Said the Khwája, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he arose, took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, and began to apply the remedies for apoplexy.¹ On the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, for that great man had seen from the first that he would be stricken by apoplexy.

Anecdote xxxix.

The Shaykhu'l-Islám 'Abdu'lláh Anṣarí (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herát believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to his own pretensions.²

Now the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness the death-rattle became apparent. However much the physicians treated him, it availed nothing. They were in despair, and so sent a sample of his urine to the Khwája under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When he had inspected it, he said: "This is the urine of so-and-so, in whom the death-rattle has become apparent, and whom they are unable to treat. Bid them pound together a *sir* of pistachio-skins and a *sir*³ of the sugar called *'askari* and give it to him, so that he may recover; and give him this message: 'You should study science, and not burn men's books.'"

¹ سكتة.

² So B. and L. (دعوى را), but A. reads عوام را, "was injurious to the common folk."

³ For یکت سیر A. has یکت سیه twice, and adds مغز after پوست.

So they made a confection of these two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the death-rattle ceased, and he recovered.

Anecdote xl.

In the time of Galen, one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did this he was cured. Then they questioned Galen, saying, "What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?" He replied: "This, that the source of a pain which attacks the finger-tips is the shoulder. I treated the root so that the branch might be cured."

Anecdote xli.

In the year A.H. 547 (= A.D. 1152-3),¹ when a battle took place at Daráward² between the King of the World Sanjar b. Maliksháh and my master 'Alá'u'd-Dawla al-Husayn (may God immortalize their reigns!), and the Ghúrid army was so grievously smitten by the evil eye,³ and I wandered about Herát in hiding, because I was connected with the House of Ghúr, and their enemies uttered all manner of accusations against them, and rejoiced malignantly over their reverse; in the midst of this state of things, I say, I chanced one night to be in the house of a certain noble man. When he had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That noble man, by reason of whom I came to be there, was praising me, saying: "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man

¹ L. has "447," both in figures and writing, an evident error, since Sanjar reigned A.H. 511-552, and 'Alá'u'd-Din Husayn "Jahán-súz" A.H. 544-556. A. omits the figures, and only has "in the year forty-seven."

² See B. de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, p. 226, but this reading is conjectural. L. has بدرآوریه, A. بدرآوریه.

³ لشکر غورا چنان چشم زخمی افتاد.

of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house showed me much respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and sat by me for a while. "O so-and-so," said he, "I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen *strs*¹ of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be stopped, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be renewed, it is increased in amount,² and she is much weakened, so that I fear its cessation, lest her strength should wholly decline." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life, and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying: "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse. I found the artery strong, and her colour and complexion normal. It was at this time the season of summer, and most of the conditions of an enjoyable life³ were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy complexion, age, season, country,⁴ and occupation. Then I summoned a phlebotomist

¹ A. has "maunds."

² L. has: . . و اگر باز شود زیاد میرود . . A. has:

و اگر می کشایند سیلان می افتد . .

³ L. امور عشرت , A. امور عشره .

⁴ For L.'s reading, بلد , A. has:

و هوای بکد (بلد؟) و عادت و اعراض ملائمه¹

and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand dirhams' weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepare roasted meat beside her, until the house was filled with the smoke of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant, and treated her for a week, and she recovered, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

CONCLUSION.

My object in writing this treatise and in setting forth this discourse is not to make mention of my merits or to show forth my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and to glorify my Lord, the learned and just King, Husámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Pride of monarchs and kings, noblest of mankind, Shamsu'l-Ma'álf, Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Mas'úd b. al-Husayn, Nusratu Amíri'l-Mú'mínín (may God perpetuate his glory!), by whose high station the Kingly Office is magnified. May God (blessed and glorious is He!) continue to embellish it by his Beauty, and may the Divine Protection and Heavenly Grace be a buckler over the form and stature of both, and may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Bahá'u'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín, King of the kings of the mountains, be rejoiced, not for a while but for ever, by the continuance of both!

Concluding Note by the Editor of the Tġhrán ed. of A.H. 1305
(= A.D. 1887-8).

In the beneficent reign of the Sovereign Lord¹ of the nations, the King of kings who is like unto Alexander in pomp, the Remembrancer of Kisrá and Jamshid, the Monarch of monarchs, the Shadow of God in the lands, by the regards of whose weighty mind all the sciences and arts enjoy the fullest ascendancy, and the votaries of every sort of craft and cunning possess the most brilliant position, the King, son of a king and grandson of a king, and the Prince, son of a prince and grandson of a prince, SHAH NAŠIRU'D-DĪN QĀJĀR (may God prolong his Power, and extend his Life and his Reign !)—

*"O King, who resemblest the Angels in exaltation,
Whose name is held in fair renown by the Supreme Host!"*

By the auspicious traits of his nature the treatises of men of culture, which had been clothed in the raiment of oblivion, have become adorned with the ornament of print, while the dust of desolation has been removed from the senses of men of learning. Amongst such treatises is this *Chahār Maqāla* of 'Arúđī, whereof, until this time, the virgin sentences were hidden behind the curtain of concealment, and the maiden anecdotes lay latent and unknown in the leaves. This servant of the Heaven-high Court and house-bred slave of this Immortal Dynasty, Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, son of the late Hājī Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, Begler-begī, the Qājār, who has devoted most of his time to the transcription of written pages, undertook, at the desire of his High Reverence Mullā 'Alī Khwānsāri, to transcribe this also. Two manuscripts were examined, of which the one had been copied from the other. In the one there were bad mistakes, and in the other worse. It was as though a heap of gold had been acquired, but filled

¹ Literally "Master of the necks."

with alloy and dross. Thus, amongst other errors, تَمِّم was written ظمِّم, and حمِّم, حماحم. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I applied myself, while transcribing the book, to correcting as far as possible the words and sentences occurring in it. My prayer of my spiritual friends, who are the changers of the coins of ideas, is that if a chance mistake occur, or an erroneous idea or word appear, they will overlook it with gracious eyes, and will endeavour to read such correction into the text.

At the time of concluding, a chronogram expressing the date [of publication] occurred to me, and is here submitted:¹

کتاب چهارمقاله کلاً صحیح در طبع آمد ' ۱۳۰۵

By the desire of Ákhúnd-i-Mullá 'Alí Khwánsárí, A.H. 1305, and by the care of His Reverence Abu'l-Qásim, the noble heir of Ákhúnd-i-Mullá Muḥammad.

¹ The meaning is: "The Book of the *Four Discourses* hath been correctly printed in its entirety." The numerical values of the letters composing this sentence, when added up, give 1305.

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ART. XXI.—*Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate. A Topographical Summary, with a Notice of the Contemporary Arabic and Persian Authorities.* By G. LE STRANGE.

FOUR years ago I submitted to the readers of this Journal "A Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad, written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion,"¹ in the course of which paper an attempt was made to sketch, in rough outline, the Plan of the mediæval City of the Caliphs. This was derived from the accounts of the canals given by Ibn Serapion; and recognizing the imperfection of this Sketch Plan, I expressed my intention of returning again to the subject of Baghdad topography, and of completing, in a future article, the very cursory notes which were all that I had then been able to give with the translation of Ibn Serapion.

That there is no lack of material for working out the history of Baghdad will be shown presently, and under-estimating my task, I had at first hoped that one or two papers in this Journal, as the result of a year's work, would have exhausted the subject. This, however, has proved to be a delusion. The time was doubled and again doubled, for the materials demanded a far more detailed examination than could be accomplished in a few months, nor could the results be condensed into a score or two of pages. The outcome of four years' work forms a volume, which is now ready for the press, and which it is hoped will be published in the course of the next few months. In the meantime a summary of the results, in part correcting the Sketch Plan appended to my former paper,² may now be given. This summary

¹ See J.R.A.S. for 1895, January, April, and October.

² See in J.R.A.S. for 1895, the Plan facing p. 275, where the whole of Western Baghdad is put too low down in regard to the Eastern Quarter; further the lower course of the 'Isâ Canal should be as it is marked in the two following Plans.

will form the concluding chapters of my book, to which the reader is referred for all detail, and for full references to all the authorities. Of these last also some account will now be given, together with a short critical notice of their writings, whether historical or geographical, to which we owe the information that has made it possible, in part, to reconstruct the Plan of the City of the Caliphs.

The topography of mediaeval Baghdad has not, hitherto, met with the attention that the subject deserves; for it must be admitted that any detailed history of the Caliphs is incomprehensible if the plan of their capital cannot be laid before the reader. As far as I know, the only attempt that has yet been made to realize the appearance of the metropolitan city of the Eastern Caliphate, is due to the late A. von Kremer, who, in one chapter of his excellent *History of Civilization in the East*, has translated the description given by Ya'kūbī of the original burg or Round City built by Mansur.¹ But this citadel was to later Baghdad much what at the present day the City, in modern London, has become in relation to the metropolis which encompasses it for miles on every side; and of greater Baghdad, Kremer says nothing. Further he does not attempt to give any plan even of the Round City, the position of which, in relation to modern Baghdad, he has not indicated. What Kremer left fragmentary I hope now to have completed.

Our systematic knowledge of the topography, as a whole, of mediaeval Baghdad, is chiefly derived from two nearly contemporary sources, namely, Ya'kūbī, who wrote near the end of the third century of the Hijrah, and Ibn Serapion, whose work dates from the beginning of the fourth: in other words, respectively a short time before and after the year 900 A.D. The first of these authorities, Ya'kūbī, describes the various quarters and buildings of the city as the traveller would pass them by when taking his way, in turn, along each of the great highroads which radiated to various points of

¹ *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, vol. II, pp. 47 to 94 (Wien, 1876).

the compass from the four Gates of the Round City; Ibn Serapion, on the other hand, chiefly occupies himself with tracing out the network of Canals whose ramifications traversed those later suburbs of the Round City, which in time came to form the two great quarters of West and East Baghdad. And finally it is by marking the intersection of the various watercourses with the chief highroads that, after thus combining the two descriptions, it has been found possible to lay out a rough sort of triangulation for the plan of mediæval Baghdad, of which otherwise the few vestiges that still remain would hardly have afforded sufficient data for any reliable reconstruction of its topography.

From its foundation by the Caliph Maṣṣūr to its capture by Hūlāgū the Mongol, the history of the city is that of the Abbasid Caliphate, and the events accompanying its rise and fall will, perhaps, be better understood if the five centuries that elapsed during this long period be divided into five rather unequal parts, representing, as it were, so many Acts in the great drama of the history of Islam.

These five divisions are:—(1) the period of the great Caliphs, from the foundation of the Dynasty in 132 (750 A.D.) to the death of Mamūn in 218 (833 A.D.); (2) the tyranny of the Turkish Body Guard, ending in 334 (946 A.D.), when Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid Prince, became master in Baghdad; (3) the period of the Buyid supremacy; (4) followed by the Saljūq supremacy, beginning with Tughril Beg, who entered Baghdad in 447 (1055 A.D.), and ending with the death of Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljūqs, in 552 (1157 A.D.); (5) lastly the period of decline and fall, which ended with the Mongol conquest, the sack of Baghdad in 656 (1258 A.D.), and the death of the last Abbasid Caliph, Musta'sim.

In so far as the history of the city of Baghdad itself is concerned, the first period of course only starts with the date of the foundation of the Round City by the Caliph Maṣṣūr, namely about the year 145 (762 A.D.), closing with the death of Mamūn, as already said, or in other words, the period begins with the reign of the grandfather of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd

and ends with the life of the second of his sons who attained the Caliphate. These seventy and odd years form the most brilliant epoch of Moslem history; the Caliphs were then great warriors and sovereigns, and the fact is significant that, with the sole exception of Amīn, no Caliph during this period died in Baghdad: for their tombs lie scattered over the length and breadth of the Empire—from the Pilgrim Road by Mecca, to Tūs in Khurāsān, or the Gates of Tarsus in the north-west—the burial-place of the Caliph being where he had died, on the road, so to speak, journeying for the affairs of Islam.

For this first period we have unfortunately no written contemporary authorities, but for the topography of Baghdad an event of much importance is the first siege of the capital in the year 198 (814 A.D.), when Amīn, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, defended himself during eighteen months against the generals of his brother Mamūn. The detailed narrative of this siege, taken down from the accounts of eye-witnesses and reduced to system, has been transmitted to us in the pages of the great chronicle of Ṭabari. In this, the incidental mention of places attacked or defended during the siege operations enables us to fix the position of many points left vague in the two great systematic descriptions of Baghdad written by Ya'qūbī and Ibn Serapion, which belong to the following century, from whose writings chiefly (as already said) the plan has been reconstructed.

REFERENCES TO PLAN OF BAGHDAD.

No. 1.

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|---|---|
| 1. Mosque of Manṣūr and Palace of the Golden Gate. | 6. Syrian Gate. |
| 2.2.2.2. Various Public Offices and Palaces in the Central Area of the Round City (the City of Manṣūr). | 7. Kūfah Gate. |
| 3. Prison called Al-Maṭbaḳ. | 8. The Old Bridge: bifurcation of the Kūfah and Muḥawwal High-roads. |
| 4. Basrah Gate. | 9. Abu-l-Ward Market, Pool of Zalzal, the Anbarite Mosque and that of Ibn Raḡhān. |
| 5. Khurāsān Gate. | 10. Gate of Karkh. |

11. Gate of the Coppermiths.
12. Pief of Rabi' and Road of the Painter.
13. Thorn Bridge where the Kūfah Highroad crosses the 'Isā Canal.
14. Tomb of Junayd, in the Shūniziyah Cemetery.
15. Market of Cloth-Merchants.
16. Monastery of the Virgins.
17. The Palace of Humayd ibn 'Abd-al-Hamid.
18. The Palace of 'Isā on the Lower Harbour.
19. The 'Atīkah Quarter.
20. Quarters of the Soap-boilers, Reed-weavers, and Pitch-workers.
21. The Sharḳiyah Quarter and Mosque.
22. Shrine of Ma'rūf Karkhi.
23. The New Bridge, the Booksellers' Market and the Harrāf Archway.
24. Monastery at the Sarāt Point.
25. Palace of Zubaydah.
26. The great Palace of the Khald, the Stables and the Review Ground.
27. The Shāri' Quarter.
28. The Baghiyā Quarter.
29. The Palace of Tāhir, on the Upper Harbour.
30. Mills of Zubaydah, the Kaṭraḅḅul Gate, the Zubaydiyyah Pief and Palace.
31. The Straw Gate (Bāb-at-Tībū).
32. The Tomb of 'Abd-Allāh, son of Ibn Hānbal.
33. The Harb Gate and the Tomb of Ibn Hānbal.
34. The Iron Gate.
35. The Persian Quadrangle.
36. The Quadrangle of Abu-l-'Abbās.
37. The Quadrangle of Shabbā.
38. Prison of the Syrian Gate.
39. The An'ār Gate and the Garden of Tāhir.
40. Tomb of Ibrāhīm Harbī, and the Bukhariot Mosque.
41. Square of the Rūmalīyah.
42. Garden of Kass.
43. The Patrician's Mill on the 'Abbādiyyah Island.
44. The Muhawwal Gate and Mosque; the Suburb of Humayd, son of Kaṭtabah.
45. The Old Hospital.
46. Bridge and Darb - al - Hijārah (Road of Rocks).
47. The Kunāsah (Sweepings) and Gate of Abu Kaṭṭāh.
48. The Yāsiriyyah Quarter and Bridge.
49. The Kāsimayn Shrines, and Tomb of Zubaydah.
50. Gate at head of Main Bridge called the Bāb-at-Tāḳ.
51. Mosque of Ruṣāfah and the Maydān.
52. Palace of Mahdī and Garden of Hāḳ.
53. Tomb of Abu Hantfah.
54. The Shammāsīyah Gate and Palace of Mūnis.
55. Chapel of Vows in the Mālīkiyah Cemetery.
56. The Barādān Gate.
57. Dār - ar - Rām, the Christian Quarter.
58. The Khurāsān Gate of East Baghdad.
59. The Zāhir Garden, at the outflow of the Mūsā Canal.
60. The Thirst Market.
61. Palace of Mu'taṣim.
62. The Three Tanks.
63. The great Pitched Gate.
64. Gate of Beasts Market.
65. Bāb 'Ammār.
66. Palace of Banūjah.
67. The Abraz Gate.
68. The Mukharriḡ Gate.
69. Gate of the Tuesday Market.
70. The Firdās Palace and Lake.
71. The Ḥasani Palace; the Mosque of the Caliph, and the Bāb-al-'Ammah or Public Gate.
72. The Tāj Palace.
73. The Palace of the Pleiades.
74. Palace of Amīn in the Kalwādhi Raḳḳah.

It will be remembered that Baghdad, as founded by Maṇṣūr, was a circular city, or burg, four miles in circumference, having four equidistant gates with a triple wall, which, in concentric circles, enclosed the great Palace and Mosque of the Caliph standing in the middle of the

wide central area. Before the death of Maṣṣūr, in 158 (775 A.D.), however, the city had already spread far beyond these modest limits. Suburbs had grown up along the high roads starting from each of the four gates, and these suburbs, together with East Baghdad or Ruṣāfah, founded at almost the same time as the Round City, but on the other bank of the Tigris, covered ground measuring five miles across in the length and in the breadth.

Thus, beginning at the Baṣrah, or south-eastern, Gate of the Round City, one highroad went down-stream along the river bank, having the Sharkīyah Quarter on the one hand near the Tigris, and the great Karkh Quarter on the other side, inland; and this last with its markets is described as stretching for nearly two leagues southward of Baghdad. The Karkh Quarter on the side furthest from the river was bordered by the highroad running south, which was the great Pilgrim Way leading to Mecca. This was known as the Kūfah Road (from the city of that name on the Euphrates), and this highway started from the bifurcation outside the Kūfah Gate at the south-western part of the Round City. Beyond the square at this Gate two highroads began, namely, the Kūfah Road south, bordering Karkh, as just described, and the Muḥawwal Road west, passing through the town of Muḥawwal, on the 'Īsā Canal, to the city of Anbār on the Euphrates. From the Syrian Gate, in the north-western part of the Round City, a thoroughfare also went westward, called the Anbār Road, which, passing first through the Harbīyah Suburb to the Anbār Gate and there crossing the Bridge over the Trench of Ṭāhir, finally struck into the Muḥawwal Road at a point beyond Muḥawwal Town, having thus far kept along the northern bank of the 'Īsā Canal.

Beyond the suburb at the Kūfah Gate, and lying westward of the Round City, were various minor suburbs round the Muḥawwal Gate, bordering on the highroad to the town of that name; while north of the Syrian Gate stretched the great Harb Quarter, or the Harbīyah, occupying all the ground within the city limits up-stream above the





NAHR BUK
DISTRICT

KALWADHA
DISTRICT

KURAYYAH

KATRABUL
DISTRICT

BADURAYA
DISTRICT

NO. 1.

BAGHDAD

BETWEEN THE YEARS
160 AND 300 A.H.
DRAWN BY G. LE STRANGE

Scale of English Miles
1 2 3 4 5

Round City; and beyond the Trench of Tāhīr lay the cemeteries afterwards known as the Kāzimayn Shrines. Outside the north-eastern or Khurāsān Gate of the Round City, the Caliph Maṣṣūr had built his great Palace, called the Khuld, lying to the right or south of the road leading to the Main Bridge of Boats across the Tigris; and on the further side of the river stood the Palace and suburb of Ruṣāfah. This lay to the northward of the Bridge end, and beyond it to the eastward came the Shammāsīyah Quarter, stretching from the river bank (opposite the Harbīyah Quarter) to the Khurāsān Gate of the Eastern City; while to the south of the Main Bridge lay the Mukharrim Quarter.

During the reign of Mahdī, son and successor of Maṣṣūr, Ruṣāfah grew to rival West Baghdad in the extent and magnificence of its various palaces and market streets. Round the Palace and Mosque which Mahdī had built, his attendants and their followers received grants of lands, and just as the Round City had come to be encompassed by the suburbs in which stood the Fiefs of the nobles belonging more especially to the Court of Maṣṣūr, so Ruṣāfah, during the eleven years reign of Mahdī, became the centre of a town of palaces built by the next generation of courtiers. In the year 170 (786 A.D.), when the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd began, the three Eastern Quarters of Ruṣāfah, Shammāsīyah, and Mukharrim probably formed almost as great a city on the east side of the Tigris as was the City of Maṣṣūr with its suburbs on the west bank. The Caliph still lived in the Khuld Palace and most of the Dīwāns (or Government Offices) remained in the Round City, but his Wazīr Ja'far, the Barmecide, had recently built himself a palace on the eastern Tigris bank below the Mukharrim Quarter (which palace subsequently formed the nucleus of the later Palaces of the Caliphs), and much of the business of state was, during the reign of Hārūn, transacted in Eastern Baghdad under the supervision of Ja'far.

The fall of the Barmecides cast its gloom over the later

years of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, and shortly after the death of the great Caliph the rivalry which had from their birth existed between his two sons—Amīn, whose mother was the Abbasid Princess Zubaydah, and Mamūn the son of a Persian bond-woman—broke out into civil war. The Caliphate belonged by right to Amīn, but Hārūn had named Mamūn next in the succession, and meanwhile had appointed him Governor for life of Khurāsān and the whole eastern half of the Empire. The Caliph Amīn, after succeeding peaceably to the throne, had at first remained inactive at Baghdad, but before long he precipitated the crisis by naming his own son, Mūsā, heir apparent, thus attempting to deprive Mamūn of the succession. Thereupon Mamūn took up arms, nominally in defence of his future rights, and causing his brother Amīn to be solemnly deposed in all the Mosques of Persia, Syria, and Arabia (which provinces had declared for him), the armies of Mamūn advanced through Persia on lower Mesopotamia, preparatory to the siege of Baghdad.

Amīn meanwhile had shut himself up in the capital, and Mamūn, who himself remained safely established in Khurāsān, had given the command of the invading force to two of his generals, namely Harthamah, who marched to attack Baghdad from the east, and Tāhir (subsequently founder of the Tāhirid Dynasty of Khurāsān), who, after crossing the Tigris at Madāin (Ctesiphon) into lower Mesopotamia, was ordered to come up the great Kūfah Road and thus invest the city from the western side. The accounts in Tabarī¹ name the exact positions of the troops. Harthamah, on the eastern side, after defeating the army which Amīn had sent to oppose him at Nahrawān, established his headquarters on the hither side of the canal called the Nahr Bīn, probably near the spot where the Palace of the Pleiades was afterwards built, and then fortified his camp with a wall and a ditch. His right wing was before the Shammāsīyah Gate on the river bank above the city, while his left wing occupied a pleasure palace

¹ Tabarī, iii, 537 to 925. For the editions of works quoted in this and the following notes see my former paper *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 7.

built by Amīn in the plain called the Raḡḡah of the Kalwādbā District below the city. At this date Eastern Baghdad had no city walls, but the townspeople proceeded to build barricades to block the roads at their exit from the city, and from gate to gate the line of houses and garden walls served as the outer line of defence.

On the western side Ṭāhir settled his headquarters in the garden outside the Anbār Gate, where the Anbār Bridge crossed the Trench that went by his name, and he forthwith began his attack on the outlying suburbs of this side. The houses in the Harbīyah Quarter were soon destroyed by his catapults (Manjanīk), and the ruin effected is described as extending from the Tigris bank at the Baghīyīn Quarter round past the Syrian Gate to the Kūfah Gate, and thence down to the line of the Šarāt Canal. Fire completed the destruction begun by the catapults, the great Mills at the junction of the two Šarāt Canals were in part destroyed, and all the suburbs from the Quarter of Humayd down to the Karkhāyā Canal are stated to have been laid in ruins. The siege dragged on from month to month, and the inhabitants of the city began to suffer horrible privations. The Princess Zubaydah, widow of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, was driven out of her palace in the Zubaydiyyah Fief near the Kaṭrabbul Gate and now joined her son in the Round City, which with the Khuld Palace and the suburbs immediately to the south along the river bank, became the last refuge of Amīn and the garrison.

Little by little the line hemming them in was drawn tighter, and all efforts to break through failed. A great fight took place in the Kunāsah Quarter, and the garrison attempted a sally in the neighbourhood of the road called the Darb-al-Ḥijārah beyond the Muḥawwal Gate, on which occasion Ṭāhir came near to lose his life, but the besieged, after performing prodigies of valour, were again driven back. In order to facilitate the despatch of reinforcements to and from the army under Harthamah on the eastern river bank, Ṭāhir had moored a new Bridge of Boats across the Tigris above Baghdad. He now ordered a general attack to

be made by Harthamah on the east side, and the Khurāsān Gate of the Shammāsīyah having been taken by storm, this immediately led to the fall of East Baghdad. The siege had begun before the end of the year 196 A.H., and it was in the beginning of 198 that Harthamah having at length become master of Ruṣāfah, Shammāsīyah, and Mukharrim, namely the three quarters which lay on the Persian side of the Tigris, now proceeded to cut the main Bridge of Boats, and thus isolate the City of Manṣūr.

Meanwhile in Western Baghdad, when it was seen that the defence was failing, the merchants had begun to parley, and the troops of Amīn were ever deserting in increasing number. Tāhir, who already occupied the Quarters on the southern side of the Round City, namely the Sharkīyah, with Karkh and its great markets, had recently succeeded in destroying the two masonry bridges—the Old Bridge and the New—over the Ṣarāt Canal, by which the highroads from the Kūfah and Baṣrah Gates passed out into the suburbs. The unfortunate Caliph Amīn now finally retired, with his mother Zubaydah, to the Palace of the Golden Gate in the centre of the Round City, egress to the Tigris being still preserved through the Khuld Palace and its gardens; but here the western river bank was already commanded by the catapults of Harthamah, whose troops had occupied the whole eastern side, and Tāhir now began to invest the walls of the Round City. His lines, we are told by Ṭabarī, ran from the Tigris at the foot of the Khuld Gardens, up the Ṣarāt Canal, past the Baṣrah Gate to the Kūfah Gate, and thence turned north back to the river, after blocking the Syrian Gate, the Tigris bank being regained immediately above the Khuld Palace.

The end could not long be delayed. The Khuld Palace on the river had to be deserted, having become untenable from the stones shot by the catapults which Harthamah had planted in the Mukharrim Quarter; and Amīn, after a vain attempt to find shelter by shutting himself up in the Palace of the Golden Gate, was driven to surrender. Fearing Harthamah less than Tāhir, Amīn set out in secret

and embarked to cross the river to the camp of the besiegers on the east side, but by ill-chance, or through treachery, the boat was overturned, and the luckless Caliph, after swimming to shore and again seeking shelter on the western bank, was taken prisoner by the enemy's troops. Forthwith, by order of Tāhir, he was put to death in the garden near the Anbār Gate, his head being despatched to Mamūn in Khurāsān as a proof that the war was now at an end.

The reign of Mamūn, who some months after these events arrived in Baghdad, witnessed the rebuilding of the half-ruined capital; but the Round City would appear never to have recovered from the effects of this disastrous siege, and Mamūn, when resident in Baghdad, for the most part lived in the Barmecide Palace below the Mukharrim Quarter on the east bank, which, after having been greatly enlarged by the Wazīr Hasan Ibn Sahl, now came to be known as the Ḥasanī Palace.

After the death of Mamūn and the accession of his brother Mu'tasim, the riotous behaviour of the Turkish Body Guard ultimately forced that Caliph to betake himself to Sāmarrā, which for a time became the capital of the Caliphate. Here Mu'tasim, and after his death six of the succeeding Caliphs, reigned and built palaces, while successive Captains of the Guard controlled the affairs of the Empire at their pleasure. This was the second period in the history of the Abbasids, namely that of the long tyranny of the Turkish Guard, which only came to an end with the advent of the Buyid Princes. While the Caliphs lived at Sāmarrā, Baghdad was under the rule of governors, mostly Tāhirids; for Tāhir, after bringing Amīn to his death, had prudently retired from the court of Mamūn to live as a semi-independent Prince in Khurāsān, where he died in 207 (822 A.D.), and in the next generation, during the period when the Caliphs were the puppets of the Body Guard, various members of this great family occupied the chief provincial governorships throughout the Abbasid dominions. Thus while Tāhir was succeeded by his immediate descendants, to the third generation, in the principality of

Khurāsān, one Tāhirid cousin was governor of Baghdad and another superintended affairs in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, while Khuwārizm (modern Khiva), the Herat province, with Tabaristān and Juzjān on the Caspian Sea, were all under the rule of such deputies as the head, for the time being, of this powerful house chose to appoint.

The period of fifty-eight years during which the Caliphate had its seat at Sāmarrā was interrupted in 251 (865 A.D.) by the episode of the flight to Baghdad of the Caliph Musta'in, who made this attempt to escape from the tyranny of the Turkish Guard. Then followed the second siege of Baghdad, of about a year's duration, Musta'in making a stubborn resistance against the troops despatched from Sāmarrā by his cousin, the rival Caliph Mu'tazz, whom the Captain of the Guard had set up in his place. During this second siege, Baghdad was defended by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-Allah, a grandson of Tāhir, who, rather more than half a century before, had besieged the city in the interests of Mamūn; but on this occasion it was Ruṣāfah or East Baghdad that became the headquarters of the defence, not West Baghdad with the Round City, as had been the case in the time of Amīn. For the details of this siege, also, we are indebted to the pages of Ṭabarī,¹ who possibly himself witnessed some of the incidents that he describes, since he must have been nearly thirty years of age at the date in question.

As soon as Musta'in had reached Ruṣāfah he ordered the Governor, Muḥammad the Tāhirid, to block the roads leading from Sāmarrā by cutting the dykes of the canals above Baghdad, and he next set to work to surround both the Eastern City and the Western with walls. As already said, the Caliph had his headquarters in Ruṣāfah, and on the east side the new wall began at the Shammāsīyah Gate on the Tigris bank, some distance above the Palace of Mahdī, where Musta'in now lodged. Sweeping round through

¹ Ṭabarī, iii, 1553 to 1578.

a quarter of a circle, past the Baradān Gate to the Khurāsān Gate at the town end of the great highroad leading to Persia and the East, the new wall thus enclosed the Ruṣāfah and Shammāsīyah Quarters; then curving back through another quarter circle, it included the Mukharrim Quarter, and finally came to the Tigris bank again at the Gate of the Tuesday Market. In West Baghdad the wall begun at the Gate of the Fief of Zubaydah, so as to include the Upper Harbour, and passing to the Kaṭrabbul Gate followed up the line of the Trench of Ṭāhir, probably as far as the Anbār Gate—the Bāb-al-Ḥadīd (the Iron Gate) being especially mentioned during the siege operations. From the Trench the wall curved down in a great semi-circle, enclosing the City of Maṣṣūr, until it rejoined the Tigris some distance to the east of the Baṣrah Gate, near the Palace of Ḥumayd. The exact line followed by the wall between the Ṭāhirid Trench and the Palace of Ḥumayd is, unfortunately, not given. A ditch was dug outside the line of wall wheresoever no canal already existed, and the total cost of these fortifications is reported to have amounted to 330,000 dīnārs or gold pieces, equivalent to about £160,000.

The main attack on the part of the besieging troops from Sāmarrā was directed against the Shammāsīyah Gate on the east side, and against the Kaṭrabbul Gate on the west bank; but from the wall of the Fief of Zubaydah, and along the Trench, the defenders greatly harassed their opponents by stones from the catapults erected over the various gateways. At the end of several months of blockade a general assault was finally ordered by the besiegers, who made their attack all along the line from the Yūsiriyaḥ Quarter and the Anbār Gate on the west, to the Khurāsān Gate at the eastern extremity of the Shammāsīyah Quarter. The attack succeeded, for after the Upper Bridge of Boats had been burnt, the defences were at length carried, and Musta'in being now driven out of Ruṣāfah, was taken prisoner and forced to abdicate. Before long he came to his death at the hands of his captors, and the Turk Body

Guard then returned victorious to their nominal sovereign Mu'tazz in Sāmarrā, whom three years later they likewise deposed and murdered.

As has already been pointed out, the partial ruin of Western Baghdad, more especially of the Round City of Maṣṣūr, had followed as the result of the first siege in the time of Amīn. This second siege under Musta'in now brought about the ruin of the three Northern Quarters of East Baghdad, namely Ruṣāfah, Shammāsīyah, and Mukharrim. The Turkish Body Guard had for the time triumphed, but before another thirty years had elapsed, events occurred which caused Sāmarrā to be deserted by the Caliphs, and Mu'taḍid (nephew of Mu'tazz), who succeeded to the throne in 279 (892 A.D.), permanently re-established the Caliphate in the older capital. Settling in East Baghdad, he laid the foundations of the great complex of Palaces which stood on the Tigris bank below the Mukharrim Quarter, forming the great Ḥarīm, or Haramayn (the Precincts), which was afterwards commonly known as the Dār-al-Khilāfah (the Abode of the Caliphate). These Precincts became the nucleus of the later city, which developed from the line of suburbs spreading round the land side of the great Palace of the Caliphs. This was walled in at a later date, and at the present time still exists, forming the modern city of Baghdad on the east bank of the Tigris.

It is to the writers who flourished during the last quarter of the third century (the ninth A.D.), namely Ya'kūbī, Ibn Rustah and Ibn Serapion, that we owe our first, and indeed our only systematic descriptions of Baghdad. Ya'kūbī begins by describing the Round City as originally founded in the reign of Maṣṣūr, and then passes on to a detailed account of its suburbs, concluding with a brief notice of the three Eastern Quarters of Ruṣāfah, Shammāsīyah, and Mukharrim. The description of the canals given by our next authority, Ibn Serapion, supplements Ya'kūbī, and enables us (as already said) to plot out the topography by a rough system of triangulation; Ibn Rustah adding some

few additional details. The critical examination of these three authorities, however, need not now detain us; they form the chief basis of the whole of the description of Baghdad which, in book form, will shortly be published, and their works will there be fully reviewed. Points of detail in the plan of the city are supplemented by incidental notices of events under various years, occurring in the volumes of the great chronicle of Tabarī, more especially in his descriptions of the two earlier sieges as already mentioned, and thus the earlier accounts can be filled in and completed.

A matter that must be noted in connection with these and the following descriptions of Baghdad, is the curiously arbitrary way in which the Arab geographers regard the position of the Round City of Manṣūr in relation to the points of the compass, and to the system of canals and roads that surrounded it. They appear to assume that the Tigris held its course entirely from west to east, and hence lay to the *north* of the city of Manṣūr; further, that the Ṣarāt Canal (branching from the 'Isā Canal) ran in a direction from south to north before flowing out into the Tigris, and thus passed to the *east* of the Round City. On these suppositions, which a glance at the map will show only agree very partially with the facts of the case, all the earlier topographical descriptions are based. Thus the Bādūrāyā District is spoken of as lying east of the Ṣarāt, while the Kaṭrabbul District was to the west of this stream; we, on the other hand, should rather have said that these districts (respectively above and below the Round City) lay to the south and north of the Ṣarāt. Again, Ya'qūbī, in describing the suburbs near the Muḥawwal Gate states that along the Ṣarāt, going up-stream *south* (we should say west), there are certain Fiefs lying to the *westward* (we should say north) of this canal, and he always refers to the City of Manṣūr as occupying its *centern* bank. This arbitrary view in regard to the main points of the compass must probably account for the reference made by Mas'ūdī to the Bāb-al-Hadid (the Iron Gate) on the Tāhirid Trench as a gate

of Baghdad that opened "towards the south," the explanation being that since the Trench must curve away at nearly a right angle on leaving the *Ṣarāt*, the Gates along its upper course were described as opening "towards the south," because the Trench which bifurcated from the *Ṣarāt* was held to flow west before turning north to flow into the Tigris in a course parallel to that of its parent stream the *Ṣarāt*.¹

To complete the list of our earliest authorities it remains to be mentioned that, besides his work on Geography (giving us the detailed description of Baghdad), *Ya'kūbī* also wrote a History, which he finished in the year 260 (874 A.D.); and dating from rather more than half-a-century later we have the celebrated work called "The Meadows of Gold" by *Mas'ūdī*. From the pages of both these historical works, as from the chronicle of *Ṭabarī* already mentioned, innumerable small details may be gleaned for the topography of Baghdad, which, though incidental and fragmentary, are often invaluable for fixing minor points.

The half-century which followed on the return of the Caliphs to Baghdad, and which preceded the advent of the Buyids, witnessed the completion of the three great palaces, the *Firdūs*, the *Ḥasanī*, and the *Tāj*, with the Mosque of the Caliph, in the southern part of East Baghdad along the river bank. These palaces, it will be remembered, lay immediately to the south of the Gate of the Tuesday Market in the city wall, which *Musta'in* had built during the second siege; and before long East Baghdad thus came to be almost doubled in area. During the later years of the third century (the ninth A.D.) this older wall, which ran in a semicircle round the three northern quarters of *Ruṣāfah*, *Shammūsiyah*, and *Mukharriṃ*, must either have been purposely destroyed or else have been allowed to fall to ruin, for the new quarters round the Palaces in part overlapped the *Mukharriṃ* Quarter. Meanwhile, in the

¹ Instances are too numerous for reference in full, but the following will be sufficient to prove what is stated above. *Ya'kūbī* 244, *Muḥaddasī* 120, *Mas'ūdī* vi, 482, *Yāqūt* i, 640, *Marāsid* ii, 480.

early years of the fourth century (which began 912 A.D.), the walls of the Round City of Maṣṣūr, in West Baghdad, had likewise fallen to complete ruin, as also the two older Palaces of the Golden Gate and the Khuld; the ground here coming to be taken up by the new quarters that surrounded the Baṣrah Gate, and the Bāb-al-Muḥawwal to the west of the Round City on the great highroad leading towards Anbār.

REFERENCES TO PLAN OF BAGHDAD.

No. 2.

1. Mosque of Mahdī in Ruṣāfah, with the Tombs of the Caliphs and the Shrines of Abu Ḥanīfah.
2. Great Dyke of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah.
3. Mosque of the Sultan.
4. Gate of the Sultan (modern Bāb-al-Ma'arram).
5. Gate of Khurāsān, or Bāb-az-Zafarīyah (modern Bāb-al-Wustānī).
6. Gate of Halbah (modern Bāb-at-Talīm).
7. Gate of Kalwādhū, or Bāb-al-Baṣaliyah; later Gate of Khulaj (F) (modern Bāb-ash-Sharḳī).
8. The Abruz Gate.
9. Archway of the Armourers.
10. Archway of the Artificer and the Great Square.
11. The Mukhtārāh Quarter.
12. The Mukhtāḍīyah Quarter.
13. The Tuesday Market, or Market of the Sultan.
14. The Mamūniyah Quarter.
15. The Tomb of 'Abd - al - Ḳādir Gīlānī.
16. The Persian Bastion.
17. Monastery of Zandawar.
18. The Azaj Gate.
19. The Nizāmīyah College.
20. The Public Gate (Bāb-al-'Āmmah).
21. The Mosque of the Caliph.
22. The Ḥasanī Palace.
23. The Taj Palace.
24. The Mustanṣīriyah College.
25. The Shrine of Ma'rūf Karkhī; a short distance to the south-east of which stands the so-called Tomb of Zubaydah.
26. The Mosque of Maṣṣūr.
27. The Shrine of Junayd in the Shūnizīyah Cemetery.
28. Gardens of the Raḳḳah.
29. Tombs of Zubaydah and of the Buyid Princes near the Shrines of the Imāms Mūsā-al-Kāzīm and Muḥammad-at-Taḳī (the Kāzīmīyah).
30. Tomb of 'Abd Allah, son of Ibn Ḥanbal.

The Turk Body Guard, since the return of the Caliphs from Sāmarrā, had lost all power, and in 334 (946 A.D.) the third of the periods into which it has been found convenient to divide the history of the Abbasids began, its outset being marked by the arrival of the Buyid Prince Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah in Baghdad. The period of the Buyid

supremacy lasted for rather more than a century, and was characterized by the erection of many fine buildings in the capital of the Caliphate. The Buyid Princes were Persian by descent and Shī'ah by sympathy; they had subjugated both Mesopotamia and the region now known as Persia, where various members of the family occupied the provincial governments, while the Prince, who was the head of the house, as a rule made Baghdad his residence, and from this centre of government controlled the Caliph, and in his name strove to dominate all Eastern Islam.

The Buyid Princes built their Palaces in East Baghdad on the ground formerly occupied by the Shammāsīyah and part of the Mukharrim Quarters; and these Palaces, which their successors the Saljūk Princes took over and enlarged, were known by the name of the Dār-as-Sulṭānah (the Abode of the Sultanate). The buildings were begun under Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, who had especially entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the people of Baghdad by erecting a huge Dyke which, when kept in repair, prevented the inundation of the city by the flooding of the streams flowing out into the Tigris at the Shammāsīyah lowlands. At a later date his nephew and successor 'Aḏūd-ad-Dawlah built a hospital in West Baghdad on the ruins of the Khuld Palace, and this for three centuries was a school of medical science which became famous throughout the East under the name of the Bīmāristān 'Aḏudī (the Hospital of 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah).

During the century of the Buyid supremacy we have the three first names in the long list of the Arab geographers, namely, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn-Hawḳal, and Muḳaddasī, each of whom gives a succinct description of Baghdad. The geography of Iṣṭakhrī, who wrote in 340 (951 A.D.), was re-edited and enlarged by Ibn-Hawḳal in 367 (978 A.D.); but as regards Baghdad, the two accounts are practically identical, except for very few minor details.¹ They describe East Baghdad as almost entirely taken up by the palaces,

¹ Iṣṭakhrī, 83; Ibn-Hawḳal, 164.

namely, in the first place by the Palaces of the Caliph, or *Ḥarīm* (the royal precincts), these extending south with their gardens as far down as the *Nahr Bīn* two leagues distant from the centre of the town; and secondly, by the great Palace of the Buyid Sultan in the upper part of the city. The walls of these various palaces are said to have formed a continuous line along the Tigris bank from the *Shammāsīyah* Quarter down-stream for a distance of about five miles. Opposite the *Shammāsīyah* of the eastern bank lay the *Ḥarbīyah* Quarter in West Baghdad, and below this was *Karkh*, which further had given its name in general parlance to all that half of Baghdad which lay to the west of the Tigris; East Baghdad being still known as the *Ruṣāfah* side, or as the quarter of the *Bāb-at-Tāḳ*, from the great arched gate of this name at the head of the Main Bridge.

Iṣṭakhṛī mentions three great Friday Mosques as in use at his date, namely, the Mosque of *Ruṣāfah*, and that of the Palace of the Caliph in East Baghdad, with the old Mosque of the City of *Maṣṣūr* in West Baghdad; while *Ibn-Hawḳal* (a quarter of a century later) adds a fourth, this having come into use by his time, namely, the Mosque at *Barāthā* on the road to *Muḥawwal* town, originally a shrine dedicated to the Caliph 'Alī, whom the *Shī'ahs* more especially hold in honour. In *Kalwādihā* also, a league distance down the river on the east side, there was at this date a great Mosque which might rightfully be considered as belonging to Baghdad, seeing that the houses of the Eastern City were continuous from below the Palaces of the Caliph to this outlying township. Both *Iṣṭakhṛī* and *Ibn-Hawḳal*, in spite of the numerous new-built palaces, deplore the ruin which had already befallen so many quarters; thus *Iṣṭakhṛī* writes that all the road between the Main Bridge and the eastern *Khurāsān* Gate had in former times been occupied by houses, but that in his time these for the most part were already in ruin.

In Western Baghdad, *Karkh* is said still to be the most populous and best preserved quarter, and here the merchants

who lived at the Yāsiriyyah suburb had their houses of business. Iṣṭakhri then proceeds to give a detailed account (copied without acknowledgement by all subsequent authorities) of the 'Īsā Canal, flowing through Karkh, which was navigable for boats all the way from the Euphrates to the Tigris; its numerous unnavigable branches, namely the Ṣarūt Canal and other minor channels, ramifying throughout the adjacent quarters. The extreme breadth across both halves of the city (East and West Baghdad) Iṣṭakhri gives at five miles (the same as the length given for the Palace walls along the eastern river bank), and his account concludes with the remark that the gardens of the Palaces of the Caliph and others, in East Baghdad, were almost entirely irrigated by water-channels derived from the Nabrawān Canal, since the Tigris ran at too low a level for its waters to be brought into the city, except by the mechanical contrivance of the water-wheel, called Dūlāb, which involved much labour.

The account of Baghdad written by Muḥaddasī in 375 (985 A.D.) is less interesting than might have been expected from the other portions of his excellent and original work.¹ He mentions few topographical details, but after expatiating on the many advantages of position and climate which Maṣṣūr gained by selecting this particular site for his capital, he passes on to lament the present ruin of the great city, which he fears will soon rival Sāmarrā in its state of chronic insurrection and infamous misrule. In Karkh, on the west bank, he mentions the Fief of Rabī' as the most populous quarter, and states that on this side were to be found most of the Markets and fine houses still standing in spite of the general decay. He speaks of the Hospital lately built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah opposite the Bridge of Boats leading to East Baghdad; and in this other half of the city the best preserved quarters were, he says, those lying round the Bāb-aṭ-Ṭāḡ (the great Arch at the Bridgehead), and near the Dār-al-Amīr, namely the

¹ Muḥaddasī, 119.

Palace of the Buyid Princes recently built over part of the Shammāsīyah Quarter.

‘Adud-ad-Dawlah had died in Baghdad during the year 372 (982 A.D.), a short time before Muḥaddasī wrote this description, and he was buried (as all good Shī‘ahs should be) at Mashhad ‘Alī, the celebrated shrine on the Euphrates, where the grave of the Caliph ‘Alī was said to have been made. After the death of ‘Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid power declined, and a period of internecine war followed, which only ended in 447 (1055 A.D.), when Tughril Beg, the Saljūk, after suppressing the last Buyid Prince, became master of Baghdad. With him begins the period of the Saljūk supremacy (the fourth period in the history of Abbasids), which lasted about a century, and is celebrated for the acts and deeds of Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh. The Saljūks were of the Turk race (the Buyids had been Persians), and unlike their predecessors, the Saljūk Princes for the most part did not reside in Baghdad, but maintained there a deputy who acted as their Lieutenant-Governor of Mesopotamia. He resided in Baghdad, occupying the Buyid Palace now generally called the Palace of the Sultanate; thus Baghdad already in Saljūk times was no longer nominally even the seat of government in the East.

Dating from the earlier years of the Saljūk period we have a work called “The History of Baghdad,” written by Khaṭīb in 450 (1058 A.D.), which still unfortunately remains in MS. It is full of interesting details in regard to the origin and position of the various buildings in both the western and eastern quarters of the city, and much of it has been copied, without any acknowledgement, by later compilers, such as Yāqūt. This work of Khaṭīb contains, for instance, the account of the Greek Embassy to Baghdad in the year 305 (917 A.D.),¹ with the description of the

¹ See J.R.A.S. for 1897, p. 35. The full name of the writer is Ahmad ibn ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, and I have adopted the name Khaṭīb, meaning the “Preacher,” merely for convenience of brevity. The British Museum has three MSS. of his work, and there is also another good copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The MS. which is referred to in the following pages is that numbered Or. 1507 of the British Museum Catalogue.

Palaces of the Caliphs in the time of Muḩtadir, and though Khaṭīb is in great part merely a compiler, his book is a compilation at first hand citing authorities, which is more than unfortunately can be said of the works of many later writers.

The century of the Saljūk supremacy witnessed the great expansion of East Baghdad, for during the reign of Muḩtadī (fifth in descent from Muḩtadir) suburbs were founded and grew up round the Palaces of the Caliph which in the reign of his son and successor Mustazhir were surrounded by the city wall that still exists. As showing the wide extent of the metropolis on both banks of the river before the reign of Mustazhir, Khaṭīb reports that when he lived in Baghdad there were six Great Mosques where the Public Prayers were always said on the Friday. These were, four in West Baghdad, namely, the Mosque of Maṣṣūr in the Baṣrah Gate Quarter, the Mosque of the Harbīyah Quarter, that of the Fief of Zubaydah, and the Mosque of Barāthū half-way to Muḩawwal on the 'Īsā Canal; while in East Baghdad there were only two Friday Mosques, namely, the old Mosque in Ruṣāfah and that which the Caliph 'Alī Muktafi had built near the ḩasani Palace.¹

Khaṭīb also gives some important data concerning the area covered by the houses of Baghdad in his day; fully confirming what has been told us in the previous century by Iṣṭakhri, to the effect that the city had then already extended over an area of land measuring five miles across in every direction. The statements found in Khaṭīb are reckoned in terms of the *Jarīb*, a land measure which was a square of sixty ells side. Adopting twenty-three inches as the mean of the various estimates for the length of the ell (*dhīrā'*), three Jaribs and a third may be taken as equivalent to our acre, or in other words ten Jaribs are

¹ It is important to distinguish between the two Caliphs 'Alī Muktafi 289 (902 A.D.) and Muḩammad Muktafi 330 (1136 A.D.), hence the addition of the personal name. For the same reason I write Maṣṣūr Rāshid 829 (1135) to distinguish this Caliph from ḩārūn-ar-Rashid 170 (786 A.D.). Khaṭīb, f. 103a; and for what follows see f. 106a, 6.

equal to three acres, and the English square mile would contain 2,133 *Jaribs*.¹

Coming now to the statements made by Khatīb we find that three valuations of the area of the city at different epochs are recorded. The earliest dates from the time when Muwaffāq, brother of the Caliph Mu'tamid, was in Baghdad—presumably therefore about the year 270 (884 A.D.)—during the Zanj rebellion, while the Caliphs still resided at Sāmarrā. It is reported that East Baghdad at this time covered 26,250 *Jaribs*, West Baghdad covering 17,500 *Jaribs*, of which total the cemeteries counted for 74 *Jaribs*. These figures give an area of about $12\frac{3}{4}$ and $8\frac{1}{2}$ square miles respectively for the two halves of the city, East and West, or 21 square miles in total, the cemeteries occupying rather more than 22 acres of this space.

Next, at some date nearer to the time of Khatīb, which is not exactly specified, but when Baghdad had once more become "the Abode of the Caliphate," the numbers recorded are:—27,000 *Jaribs* for East Baghdad, and for the older city on the western bank at one time 26,750 *Jaribs*, but at another time 16,750 *Jaribs*, unless, indeed, the higher of these figures be regarded as merely a clerical error for the lower, though as against this supposition it is to be remarked that each figure as cited by Khatīb is vouched for on a separate authority. These figures work out as the equivalent of $12\frac{3}{4}$ square miles for East Baghdad, and for the lower estimate of the western city somewhat under eight square miles. In round numbers $20\frac{1}{2}$ square miles for both sides at this lower estimate for West Baghdad, while the sum-total would come up to about twenty-five square miles if we accept the higher figure.

These calculations cannot of course be regarded as very exact, but the Arabs were, for their time, skilful land surveyors, practising the art for their fiscal assessments and for the laying down of the irrigation canals. Further, as above noted, these figures tend to confirm the estimate

¹ For this estimate of the *Jarib* compare Mawardi, edited by M. Euger, p. 265. (Bonn, 1853.)

already given by Iṣṭakhri, which, at five miles across, length and breadth, would give twenty-five square miles for the square, and $19\frac{1}{2}$ square miles for the area of a circle with this diameter.¹ How much Baghdad has decreased since the times of the Caliphs is apparent from the fact that at the present day East Baghdad is computed to cover an area of 591 acres, while in West Baghdad the remains known as "the Old Town" comprise only 146 acres, giving a total for both sides which is equivalent to rather over one square mile and a sixth.

The Saljūks, as already said, had inherited from their predecessors, the Buyids, the great Palace and Government Offices called the Dār-as-Sultānah in the upper part of the Eastern City. On the south side of this Malik Shāh in 485 (1092 A.D.) founded the great Saljūk Mosque known as the Jāmi'-as-Sultān, while at about the same time his Wazīr, the celebrated Nizām-al-Mulk, built and endowed the Nizāmiyah College on the land by the Tigris bank below the Palaces of the Caliph. These buildings both date from the reign of the Caliph Muḩtadī—467 to 487 (1075 to 1094 A.D.)—in whose time also many new quarters were laid out to the north and east of the Palaces of the Caliphs, which quarters before long came to form the new town of East Baghdad. In 488 (1095 A.D.) at the beginning of the reign of the next Caliph, Mustazhir, this New City, lying about a mile below the Saljūk Palaces was surrounded by a wall pierced by four gates, which wall (as proved by the gates) is identical in its main lines with the present town wall of modern Baghdad.

The Caliphate, even before the beginning of the Saljūk period, had already sunk into political insignificance, and the Caliphs having much spare time and considerable revenues employed their energies in palace building. It is indeed mainly to this period that the great Harīm, or Precinct, as their residence came to be called, owes its

¹ For the length of the side of the *Jarīb*, namely sixty cils, Khatīb uses the term *Habl*, meaning a "cord" or "rope," which apparently is not given in this special sense in our dictionaries, and it may therefore be worth noting.

magnificence, as described in the pages of Yākūt. He mentions in particular the great Rayḥāniyā (the Palace on the Perfumers' Market) and the second Palace of the Crown (Kaṣr-at-Tāj), both of which were built at the close of the Saljūk period.

In the year 530 (1136 A.D.), under the Caliph Maṣṣūr Rāshid (not to be confounded with Hārūn-ar-Rashīd), Baghdad sustained a third siege, of only two months' duration however, by an army under command of Sultan Maṣ'ūd the Saljūk. The Sultan, who had pitched his siege camp at the Mālikīyah, found no difficulty in investing the city, for the Governor of Wāsiṭ on the lower Tigris, sent him up reinforcements by boat which shut in the Caliph from the river side, while the populace, taking advantage of the troubles, rose in insurrection, plundered the quarters of the Western City, and sacked the Palace called the Ṭāhirid Harīm, where, it is said, they gained an immense booty. After a blockade of fifty days, the Caliph Maṣṣūr Rāshid finally fled to Mosul, and was there forced to abdicate, his uncle, Muḥammad Muḥtafī, being set up in his place, and Sultan Maṣ'ūd retired with his army eastward.¹

A fourth siege took place twenty-one years later during the reign of the Caliph Muḥammad Muḥtafī, whose relations with Sultan Muḥammad, nephew and successor of Sultan Maṣ'ūd aforesaid, had become so strained in 551 A.H. that the Saljūk Sultan, marching into 'Irāk, appeared with his army before the walls of Baghdad in the month Dhū-l-Ḳa'dah of that year (January, 1157 A.D.). The Caliph forthwith shut himself up in East Baghdad, where a great store of munitions and provisions by his orders had already been brought together, and the city walls were well provided with both catapults and mangonels, the towers being garrisoned by cross-bowmen. Further, barges, also carrying cross-bowmen and catapults, were set to patrol the Tigris, where the Bridges of Boats had been taken up in order thoroughly to guard the river side of the Eastern City.

¹ The details of the third siege of Baghdad are given by Ibn-al-Athīr, xi, 26.

Marching down the great Khurāsān road, Sultan Muḥammad effected a junction with his Lieutenant, the Governor of Mosul, and himself crossed the Tigris above Baghdad. The attack was delivered in two divisions, namely, from the western quarter and from the north-east, where part of the Saljūḳ army occupied the great Palace of the Sultans outside the city wall. Up-stream, above Baghdad, Sultan Muḥammad had already spanned the Tigris by a new Bridge of Boats, thus conveniently to connect the two portions of his army. His own headquarters were on the Sarāt Canal, and from time to time he himself crossed to the Palace of the Sultans in order to urge on the siege operations. In East Baghdad the city walls were closely invested by his troops, in spite of frequent sallies from within the town, and the besiegers shortly after their arrival were reinforced from Ḥillah, Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, and Baṣrah. In spite of numbers, however, they made but little progress, and at the end of two months the Sultan found that his advanced positions had come to be so harassed by the mangonels of the townspeople that he was forced to shift his headquarter camp in West Baghdad, and retire westward to the line of the 'Īsā Canal. His troops had more than once made an attack against the river front of East Baghdad, where there was no city wall, only the line of the great Palaces and gardens of the Caliph; but coming to the assault in their boats they were always benten off by the Baghdad people, and they had lost many of their best men.

Meanwhile in the month Saḡar of 552 (March, 1157 A.D.) the Ḥajj Caravan from Mecca arrived on its return journey, and the Pilgrims were much scandalized at the spectacle of the Commander of the Faithful being assaulted in his own capital by the Saljūḳ Sultan. Further, in the course of the last two months, the Caliph Muḥtafī had successfully turned the arts of diplomacy against his adversary, and Sultan Muḥammad, in addition to the ill-success of the siege, now found himself threatened by treason at home, where a relative was working to supplant him in his capital city of Hamadān. Matters now went rapidly from bad to

worse, and in the following month of Rabī' 1 (April), after having been rather more than three months encamped before Baghdad, Sultan Muḥammad in despair precipitately raised the siege. He had first to cross the Tigris by his new bridge above the Palace of the Sultans, before he could set out for Hamadān with his body-guard and personal followers, but his retreat being ill-organized, he came near to lose his baggage at the passage of the Bridge of Boats. The people of Baghdad, hearing of his departure, came pouring out of the city, stormed and sacked the Palace of the Sultans—the gates of which they tore off, burning all the furniture within its precincts—and then suddenly advancing, the mob cut the communications between the body-guard of the Sultan and his army, which still remained encamped in West Baghdad. Sultan Muḥammad, however, only delayed to recover his personal baggage, and then hastened his retreat along the Khurāsān highroad towards Hamadān, leaving the main body of his army under the command of the Governor of Mosul to settle matters as they could. These were still in force on the western bank, but finding they were thus abandoned, the troops promptly retired north on Mosul, without any further molestation at the hands of the Baghdad people.

The details of this siege, of which the foregoing is a condensed account, are graphically related by the contemporary historian 'Imād-ad-Dīn of Isfahan, who was in Baghdad at the time, and took the occasion of the retreat to indite a congratulatory ode to the Caliph Muḥtafi on the success of his arms. The account, it is true, adds little to our topographical knowledge, but in the dearth of contemporary writers it is not without interest.¹ A notice of this fourth siege is also recorded in the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr, who becomes our best general authority for Baghdad after the middle of the fourth century (the tenth A.D.)—when Ṭabarī and his continuator 'Arib have closed their annals—and this Chronicle carries us down to

¹ 'Imād-ad-Dīn, ii. 246 to 265 (in *Recueil des Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides* par M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1889); Ibn-al-Athīr, xi, 140.

the year 628 (1230 A.D.), namely to the reign of the father of the last Abbassid Caliph of Baghdad.

The Saljūkh supremacy may be said virtually to have come to an end with the death of Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljūks, in 552 (1157 A.D.); after which began the fifth and last period in the history of Baghdad. This was characterized by the almost complete political insignificance of the Abbasid Caliphs; and the Caliphate, after a century of this dotage, came to an end with the Mongol invasion under Hūlāgū in 656 (1258 A.D.). During this period the Caliphs were chiefly occupied in pulling down and rebuilding ephemeral palaces, and with laying out gardens within the Harīm walls, all of which futilities appear to have greatly impressed the Persian Poet Khākānī, who visited Baghdad in 550 (1155 A.D.) on his pilgrimage to Mecca. He has left us a very rhetorical description (useless, unfortunately, for topographical purposes) of what he saw in "the Abode of the Caliphate": the gardens, he says, are the equal of those of Paradise; the waters of the Tigris, which are only comparable in their pellucidness to the Tears of the Virgin Mary, flow round past the Karkh Quarter, and the river surface is everywhere covered with boats which Khākānī likens to the Cradle of Jesus for their grace of build. With a good deal more in this style of bombast, and avoiding any detailed description of the town or its palaces, Khākānī concludes his poem with a long panegyric of the Caliph Muḥammad Muṭtaṣi, and of the various learned persons whom he saw in Baghdad.¹

Benjamin of Tudela, the Jewish traveller, visited Baghdad a few years after the time of Khākānī, approximately in 555 (1160 A.D.), but his narrative gives us little topographical information, since his attention is wholly directed to enumerating the settlements of his co-religionists in Babylonia. He states, however, that in his time the Caliph only left his Palace once a year, namely, on the great

¹ Khakāni, p. 91, of the lithographed Lucknow edition of 1294 (1877 A.D.). I have to thank my friend Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, for the loan of this work, which I should otherwise have failed to see.

Feast Day at the close of the Ramadān Fast, when setting forth in procession he visited the Mosque near the Baṣrah Gate, which same Benjamin of Tudela says was the Metropolitan Mosque of the City. The Jāmi' of the older City of Maṣṣūr is evidently the place here designated; but it may be questioned (comparing this with the account left us by Ibn Jubayr a quarter of a century later) whether either the Caliph Muḥammad Muḥtafi or Mustanjid really maintained the seclusion of which Benjamin of Tudela speaks.¹

Contrasting with the futilities of the Persian Khāḳānī are the graphic descriptions given us by the Spanish Arab Ibn Jubayr who visited Baghdad some thirty years later, namely, in 580 (1184 A.D.). He was then on his way back from Mecca, and came up the great Kūfah highroad from the south, having crossed the Euphrates at Hillah by the Bridge of Boats, recently established here by the Caliph Nāṣir for the convenience of the Pilgrims, who formerly had had to cross the great river in a ferry. After leaving the Euphrates, Ibn Jubayr passed through the town of Ṣarṣar on the canal of that name, and entered Baghdad on the third day of the month Safar, 580 (17th May, 1184), alighting in the suburb of West Baghdad called the Qarayyah, which lay over against the Nizāmiyah College of the Eastern City.²

Ibn Jubayr devotes many pages to the account of what he did during the fortnight of his sojourn in the capital of the Caliph Nāṣir, whom he had the honour of seeing on more than one occasion. He describes West Baghdad as being for the greater part in ruin. Its four most populous quarters were: first, the Qarayyah suburb near the (later) Bridge of Boats, the best built in the first instance and the least dilapidated; next to this was Karkh surrounded by its own wall; and above lay the quarter of the Baṣrah Gate (for what still remained of the Round

¹ "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," i, 97 (in Hebrew and English, by A. Asher, 1840).

² "The Travels of Ibn Jubayr," edited by W. Wright, p. 219.

City had now come to be known by the name of its south-eastern Gate) with the Great Mosque of Manṣūr, still used for the Friday Prayers; lastly, the quarter called the Shūrī' (the Highroad) along the Tigris bank above the 'Aḍadī Hospital, the market of which connected the Shūrī' Quarter with the suburb of the Baṣrah Gate. Other, but less populous, quarters of West Baghdad were: the Harbīyah, the highest on the river bank, and adjacent thereto the 'Attābiyah Quarter, or the 'Attābiyā. This last perpetuated the name of 'Attāb, great-grandson of Omayyah (the ancestor of the Omayyad Caliphs), and 'Attāb, who was a contemporary of the Prophet, had been named by Muḥammad to be Governor of Mecca, a post which he also continued to hold during the reign of the Caliph Abu Bakr. The quarter of Baghdad which bore his name appears to have been occupied by his descendants who had settled there at an unknown period, and the name of the 'Attābiyā afterwards obtained a world-wide renown by reason of the 'Attābī silk stuffs (in Europe called Tabby), which were first manufactured in this suburb.¹ Further, Ibn Jubayr saw the tomb of Ma'rūf Karkhi near the Baṣrah Gate suburb, and the shrine of the Imām Mūsā in the great cemetery to the north (known now as the Kāẓimayn), this last being surrounded by the graves of many distinguished and holy personages.

¹ This name has had a long life. The 'Attābī silks became famous throughout the Moslem world, and were imitated in other towns. Idrīsī in 548 (1153 A.D.) describes Almería in Southern Spain as in his time possessing eight hundred looms for silk weaving, and the 'Attābī stuffs are particularly mentioned among those that were manufactured. The name passed into Spanish under the form *Atabá*, and thence to Italian and French as *tabie*. The name *tabby* for a rich kind of silk is now obsolete in English, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the word was in common use. In February, 1603, when Elizabeth received the Venetian Envoy Scaramelli, the Queen is described as wearing a dress of silver and white tabby ("vestita di tabi d'argento et bianco"). The Diary of Samuel Pepys records how on October 13, 1661, he wore his "false-tabby waistcoat with gold lace"; and a century later Miss Burney, on the occasion of the birthday of the Princess Royal at Windsor, September 29, 1786, appeared in a gown of "lilac tabby." Dr. Johnson gives the spelling *tabby* in his Dictionary, and explains it as "a kind of waved silk," adding that the tabby-cat is so named from the brindled markings of the fur. It is certainly curious that the common epithet applied to a cat in modern English should be derived from the name of a man who was a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, and governor of Mecca in the seventh century A.D.

Across the river in East Baghdad, and opposite the Kāzimayn, was the Quarter round the Tomb of Abu Ḥanīfah, lying above Ruṣāfah and its great Mosque, and round this last were seen the sepulchres of many other holy men, and more celebrated still the Tombs of the Caliphs. At a considerable distance below Ruṣāfah came the Palaces of the Caliph, covering an area estimated at more than a quarter of the whole of the Eastern City, and the royal precincts were encircled by the various palaces of the Abbasid nobles, so to speak "imprisoned in their grandeur." Ibn Jubayr was much struck by the beauty of the gardens in this quarter; but he remarks that the markets of East Baghdad were almost entirely supplied by the produce of the lands under cultivation on the opposite or western bank. There were three Great Mosques for the Friday Prayers in use in East Baghdad when Ibn Jubayr was there, namely, the Mosque of the Caliph within the Palace; the Mosque of the Sultan, which lay outside to the north of the Gate of the Sultan in the City wall, and standing in front of the Saljūq Palaces; and lastly the Ruṣāfah Mosque, which stood a mile distant from the Mosque of the Sultan aforesaid, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Shrine of Abu Ḥanīfah.

In the whole of Baghdad Ibn Jubayr farther counted eleven Mosques where the Friday Prayers were said, and of Hammāns or Hot-baths, so many that none could tell their number; one person assuring him that there were over two thousand, and he adds that in these the halls were so finely plastered with bitumen, brought from Basrah, that the visitor imagined the walls to be lined with slabs of black marble. Of Colleges—each more magnificent than a palace—over thirty were to be counted, the greatest being the Nizāmiyah, which had been recently restored. Lastly, Ibn Jubayr describes the city wall with its four gates, which went in a semi-circle round East Baghdad, from the Tigris bank above to the river again below the city quarters; and this wall, as already said, is virtually identical with the present wall round modern Baghdad, for one of the

extant gates still bears an inscription set up by the Caliph Nāṣir, who was reigning when Ibn Jubayr visited Baghdad.

Towards the close of the reign of this same Caliph Nāṣir, and about the year 623 (1226 A.D.), Yūḫūṭ wrote his great Geographical Dictionary (the articles arranged in alphabetical order), which forms, perhaps, the greatest storehouse of geographical facts compiled by any one man during the Middle Ages. He knew Baghdad intimately, having been brought up there, but wrote at a distance, compiling uncritically, and hence in minor points of detail he is sometimes guilty of egregious blunders. His descriptions of the various Palaces of the Caliphs are invaluable, but his statements concerning the relative positions of places and quarters in Baghdad, especially in regard to the points of the compass, are both vague and contradictory. If we were without the works of his predecessors, it would be impossible, following his accounts alone, to draw up any consistent plan of Baghdad; but with the earlier systematic descriptions to refer to, enabling us to correct minor errors, the plan of the city having been laid down gains a fulness of detail that would be unattainable without the numerous articles of his Dictionary.

He describes (under various articles) West Baghdad as consisting in his day of a number of separate quarters, each surrounded by its own wall. Thus the Ḥarbiyah in the northern part of West Baghdad lay like a separate walled town, nearly two miles distant from the remainder of Old Baghdad, and it was surrounded by many waste lands. The Ḥarbiyah also included several minor quarters, and to the west of it lay the separate townships of the Chahūr Sūj, the "Four Markets," and the 'Attābiyah, as already noticed by Ibn Jubayr. At some distance to the south of the Ḥarbiyah stood the Old Mosque of Maṣṣūr, which was included in the quarter of the Baṣrah Gate, this Gate, as already said, having given its name to what continued to be habitable of the older Round City. The Karkhāyā Canal had in part disappeared, but the Merchants' Quarter of Karkh remained standing "a horse gallop" (or about half-

a-mile) distant from the Baṣrah Gate Quarter, the population of which last, being of the orthodox Sunni faith, were the rivals of the Karkh people, who were all bigoted heterodox Shi'ahs.

Adjoining Karkh, and on the Tigris bank, was the Ḳurayyah and the quarter of the Kallāyīn Canal, where fried meats were sold; also the Tābiḳ Canal Quarter, which in the time of Yāḳūt had been recently burnt down; and hence, as he says, these were already for the most part merely so many rubbish heaps. The quarter round the Muḥawwal Gate, lying inland from Karkh and inhabited by Sunnis, who were always at feud with their Shi'ah neighbours, appears to have still retained some of its former opulence; while the town of Muḥawwal, a league beyond the outer suburbs of West Baghdad, was populous and famous for its excellent markets. The Shūnizīyah Cemetery lay to the south of Karkh, while to the north of the Ḥarbīyah extended the great burial-ground round the Shrine of the Imām Mūsā, now known as the Kāḡimayn.

On the eastern bank, the centre of population, was the great Palace of the Caliph, described as occupying a third part of the whole area of the city; and all round this lay a network of markets and streets, extending to the city wall, and in places going beyond it. Outside the wall and at some distance to the north, was Ruṣāfah with its Mosque surrounded by the Tombs of the Caliphs; and up-stream, beyond this again, lay the quarter named after the Shrine of Abu Ḥanīfah, with its own market; and these two outlying suburbs with the neighbouring Christian Quarter, called the Dār-ar-Rūm (House of the Greeks), were all that remained habitable in the time of Yāḳūt of the older (northern) part of the Eastern City, which formerly had consisted of the three great quarters of Ruṣāfah, Sham-māsīyah, and Mukbarrim.

Yāḳūt, it will be seen by the dates, describes Baghdad for us as the great city stood immediately prior to the Mongol invasion; and the only building of note erected after his time was the Mustanṣiriyah College. This was

built by the Caliph Mustanşir, the father of the last of the Abbasids, and the description of it is given in the contemporary Chronicle of Abu-l-Faraj.¹ The ruins of this college still exist, and at some distance from it stands the minaret of a Mosque also inscribed with the name of this same Caliph. No mention, however, of Mustanşir having built a Mosque occurs in the Chronicles, and it seems probable that these remains of the so-called Mustanşiriyah Mosque are in reality those of the far older Mosque of the Palace built by the Caliph 'Alī Muktafi more than three centuries before, which Mustanşir having restored, caused to be ornamented with the inscription now bearing his name. It may be added that besides these buildings in the city of Baghdad, Mustanşir also constructed the magnificent stone bridge of four great arches over the Duḡayl Canal near Harbā, as is mentioned by the historian Fakhri,² the remains of which still exist and have been carefully described by Captain Felix Jones, R.N.

In the dearth of authorities for the last centuries of the history of Baghdad, some information may be obtained from the great Biographical Dictionary compiled about the year 654 (1256 A.D.) by Ibn Khallikān. He was a native of Irbīl (Arbela) near Mosul in Upper Mesopotamia, and though it is not certain that he himself ever visited Baghdad, he was evidently well acquainted with the history of its public buildings. From incidental remarks in the various biographies we often gain information—concerning the later buildings especially—which is lacking in the meagre chronicles of this period; thus his article on Malīk Shāh is our only authority for the fact that this Prince was the founder of the Jāmi'-'as-Sultān, the great Friday Mosque of the Saljūqs in East Baghdad, outside the Palace of the Sultans. Ibn Khallikān died at Damascus in 681

¹ Chronicle of Abu-l-Faraj, p. 425. (Beirut, 1896.)

² Etfakhri, Arabisch von W. Ahlwardt, p. 380. (Gotha, 1860.) "Bombay Government Rec. rds." No. xliii, New Series (1857). "Memoirs by Commander Félix Jones," p. 252, where two drawings of this bridge will be found, also the copy of the inscription by Mustanşir which it bears, dated in the year 629 (1132 A.D.).

(1282 A.D.), a score of years after the Mongol sack of Baghdad; but of these recent events he maintains a discreet silence throughout his Dictionary, which deals exclusively with the notable personages of the past age.

For the details of the fall of Baghdad and the great siege by Hūlāgū, we have to consult, in the main, the works of Persian historians; since Ibn-al-Athīr closes his Chronicle with the year 628 A.H., and neither Abu-l-Faraj nor Abu-l-Fidā afford much information on this subject. Indeed of the Mongol siege in the seventh century A.H. we know far less than we do, thanks to Ṭabarī, of the first siege in the time of the Caliph Amīn in the second century A.H.

The Persian History called the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which was written shortly after 658 (1260 A.D.), is a contemporary authority for the times of Hūlāgū, and this with the information found in the work of Rashīd-ad-Dīn, also written in Persian, which was finished in 710 (1310 A.D.), provides a fairly clear account of the siege operations.¹ After overrunning and devastating western Persia, the Mongol armies poured down the great Khurāsān Road from Hulwān, the main body marching direct on East Baghdad. A considerable detachment, however, had been sent up-stream with orders to cross the Tigris at Takrīt, thence to make a sweep round, and after capturing Anbār on the Euphrates, these troops were to approach West Baghdad by the line of the 'Īsā Canal.

The Mongol forces were led by Hūlāgū, grandson of Jenghīz Khān, who commanded the centre division in person, and he pitched his camp to the east of Baghdad, the siege beginning in the middle of Muḥarram of the year 656 (January, 1258). His main attack was directed

¹ Another almost contemporary writer is Waṣṣāf, the historiographer of Ghāzān the Il-Khān of Persia. He was born at Shīrāz in 1263 A.D., five years, therefore, after the Mongol siege of Baghdad; and must have known personally many of those who had taken part in this famous event. I have gone through the pages of this work (edited in Persian with a German translation by Hammer-Purcell in 1856) which are devoted to the times of Hūlāgū and the siege, but have been unable to glean a single fact not already mentioned by Rashīd-ad-Dīn; the bombastic style in which Waṣṣāf writes being indeed but ill-adapted for conveying any precise topographical information.

against "the left of the city"—to one coming from Persia—namely, the Burj 'Ajamī (the Persian Bastion), and the Ḥalbah Gate. The right wing of the Mongol army lay before "the breadth of the city," that is to say on the north side, facing the Gate of the Market of the Sultan, called the Bāb-as-Sultān by Ibn Jubayr; and the left wing was encamped before the Kalwādhā Gate at the southern extremity of East Baghdad. The detachments that had previously been sent north across the river, after defeating the armies of the Caliph Musta'sim on the right bank of the Tigris, took up their positions in two attacks; one near the 'Aḍudī Hospital at the upper (older Main) Bridge of Boats; while the second had its siege camp below this to the southward, probably near the lower Bridge opposite the Palace of the Caliph, and outside the Quarter known as the Qurayyah.¹

The lower camp of the Mongols on the western bank is variously described as having been pitched at the place called Dūlāb-i-Baḳal (in the Persian history of Rashīd-ad-Dīn), or at the Mabḳalah (according to Abu-l-Faraj); the former name means "the Water-wheel of the Vegetable-garden," and the latter "the Kitchen-garden," both terms reminding us of the older Dār-al-Baṭṭikh (the Vegetable Market), which stood, according to Ibn Serapion, in this part of West Baghdad. The *Kaṣbah* or Citadel which is also mentioned by Rashīd-ad-Dīn, when describing the attack on the west side, presumably has reference to what in the

¹ Major Raverty has made some blunders in his very useful translation of the *Talakūt-i-Nāqirī* (published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1881) in the matter of place-names, some of which, to save further misunderstanding, it may be well to correct. Op. cit., p. 1240, *Dajayl* is several times put for the Dūjayl Canal, and this does not mean "branch" as here stated, but is the diminutive form of *Dijlah*, and hence signifies "the Little Tigris." It will be remembered that Kalwādhā is the outlying suburb or township below East Baghdad, which gave its name to the Southern Gate of the city called the Bāb Kalwādhā. Now Kalwādhā in the Persian pronunciation becomes Kalwāzā (with a *z* for the Arabic *dh*), but under no circumstances should the name be written as though consisting of two words "Kul-wāzi," as given on p. 1243 op. cit., also a *i* is the right vowel throughout. A similar remark, as regards the Persian pronunciation, applies to the 'Aḍudī Hospital, which name the countrymen of the Bayāl Princes would, of course, pronounce 'Azudī. Major Raverty, however (a few lines below his *Kul-wāzi*), changes 'Aḍudī or 'Azudī into 'Uddi, which makes the name almost unrecognizable.

thirteenth century A.D. still remained standing of the old fortifications of the Round City of Manṣūr.

The siege operations, pushed to the uttermost by Hūlāgū from outside the city, were but too well seconded by treachery within the walls of Baghdad, for both Karkh and the Quarter round the Shrine of the Imām Mūsā in the Kāzimayn, were inhabited by Shī'ahs, who, to prove their abhorrence of the Sunnī Caliph, corresponded traitorously with the Mongol enemy. After a blockade of about fifty days, a great assault was ordered at the Persian Bastion near the Halbah Gate, and East Baghdad having been taken by storm, the Caliph Musta'sim was brought out prisoner with his family and lodged in the Mongol camp. Shortly afterwards Hūlāgū in person entered the city and took up his residence in what Rashīd-ad-Dīn calls the *Maymūniyah* ("the Monkey-house"), doubtless a designed corruption for the name of the Mamūniyah Quarter, which lay on the side of East Baghdad nearest to what had been the headquarter camp of the Mongols.

The sack of Baghdad which followed lasted forty days, during which time a large proportion of the inhabitants were butchered in cold blood; while a conflagration which destroyed the Mosque of the Caliph, the Shrine of Mū'ā-al-Kāzīm, and the Tombs of the Caliphs at Ruṣāfah, besides most of the streets and private houses, completed the ruin of the city. The death of the Caliph Musta'sim, and of his sons, followed close on these events—the details of their "Martyrdom" are variously given in different authorities, who, however, agree as to the main facts—and then the Mongol hordes passed on to further conquests and fresh plunder; Hūlāgū leaving orders that the Great Mosque of the Caliph and the Shrine of Mūsā in the Kāzimayn should be rebuilt.¹

¹ A full description of the fall of Baghdad, carefully put together from all available sources—Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—will be found in Sir H. Howorth's "History of the Mongols," vol. iii, pp. 113 to 133. For the death of the Caliph Musta'sim, the well-known account given by Marco Polo (see the translation of Sir Henry Yale, vol. i, p. 65), who was almost a contemporary, is probably true in the main facts, though the details may be fictitious; at any rate, his authority is as good as that of most of the Moslem writers.

The state of ruin to which Baghdad was reduced by the Mongol sack is clearly indicated, half a century later, in the work known as the *Marāṣid*, an Epitome of Yāqūt's Geographical Dictionary, which was composed about the year 700 (1300 A.D.) by an anonymous author. This book gives a summary of the facts detailed in the more voluminous work; but, in addition, the epitomator, when treating of places personally known to him, constantly supplies emendations correcting Yāqūt, and states how matters stood in his own day. Hence, though primarily only an epitome of a compilation, the *Marāṣid* has for Baghdad and Mesopotamia the value of an authority at first hand. The author's description of Baghdad City is graphic and terse. After referring to the ruin brought about by a long succession of plundering armies—Persians, Turks, and Mongols—each of which had in turn wasted the goods and houses of the former inhabitants, he concludes with the following paragraph:—

"Hence nothing now remains of Western Baghdad but some few isolated quarters, of which the best inhabited is Karkh; while in Eastern Baghdad all having long ago gone to ruin in the Shammāsīyah Quarter and in the Mukharrim, they did build a wall round such of the city as remained, this same lying along the bank of the Tigris. Thus matters continued until the Tartars (under Hūlāgū) came, when the major part of this remnant also was laid in ruin, and its inhabitants were all put to death, hardly one surviving to recall the excellence of the past. And then there came in people from the countryside, who settled in Baghdad seeing that its own citizens had all perished; so the City now is indeed other than it was, its population in our time being wholly changed from its former state—but Allah, be He exalted, ordaineth all."¹

Our latest Arab authority for Baghdad is Ibn Baṭūṭah, the Berber, whose travels may rival those of his contemporary Marco Polo in extent. In his diary he took

¹ *Marāṣid*, i, 163.

Ibn Jubayr as his model, and he cites long passages from the work of his predecessor; but unfortunately does not always state quite clearly whether what Ibn Jubayr had described in 580 (1184 A.D.) was what he, Ibn Baṭūṭah, had still found existing in Baghdad at the date of his own sojourn there in the year 727 (1327 A.D.). This vagueness of statement militates against the value of his work from a topographical point of view. Ibn Baṭūṭah, however, describes some buildings of a later date than Ibn Jubayr; the Mustanṣiriyyah College, for example, indicating where this stood in Eastern Baghdad, and hence, since its ruins still exist, enabling us to add another fixed point for connecting modern Baghdad with the mediæval city of the Caliphs. Further, Ibn Baṭūṭah (unless, indeed, in this he is merely servilely copying his predecessor Ibn Jubayr) appears to have been the last authority who saw the three great Mosques of the older capital still standing, namely, the Mosque of Maṣṣūr in West Baghdad, and the Ruṣāfah Mosque on the eastern side, lying one mile distant from its neighbour the Mosque of the Saljūḳ Sultan. At the present day these three buildings seem to have entirely disappeared, as also all vestiges of the 'Aḍudī Hospital, which in the fourteenth century A.D., though a complete ruin, was still standing on the right bank of the Tigris, at the place where the older Main Bridge crossed the river to Ruṣāfah.¹

The last Moslem authority for Baghdad is the Persian historian and geographer Hamd-Allah, surnamed Mostawfi (the Treasurer), who was the contemporary of Ibn Baṭūṭah, the Berber. He wrote an Universal History called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* (the Choice Chronicle) and a work on Geography called the *Nuḥat-al-Kalūb* (the Heart's Delight), the later work having been completed in the year 740 (1339 A.D.). Hamd-Allah describes Baghdad,² both east and west, as in his day surrounded by walls. The eastern

¹ Ibn Baṭūṭah, ii. 107.

² The Persian text of the section on Baghdad has been printed by C. Schefer in the *Supplément au Siyaset Nameh*, p. 146. (Paris, 1897.)

city wall had four gates, and from the river bank above to the river bank below followed a semicircle, measuring in the circuit 18,000 paces. The western suburb, which was known as Karkh, had two gates in its wall, and this wall measured 12,000 paces in its semicircular sweep. The description of Hamd-Allah in regard to the city wall is thus virtually identical with that given by Ibn Jubayr, his predecessor by two centuries, and agrees with what is now found to exist in modern Baghdad. Hamd-Allah does not give names to the two Karkh gates, but the four gates in East Baghdad are named, and they may be easily identified with those mentioned by Ibn Jubayr, and are evidently the same as the four that still exist under somewhat different names at the present day.

Hamd-Allah especially describes the Shrines of Baghdad, namely, the Kāẓimayn, the Tomb of Ibn Hanbal, and the Tomb of Ma'rūf Karkhi on the west bank; and on the eastern side the Shrine of Abu Hanīfah. These all existed in the last century, and, save one, may be seen at the present time. In his day, though no trace of them now remains, the Tombs of the Caliphs might still be visited in Ruṣāfah, standing apart by themselves like a little town. Hamd-Allah is also one of the first to mention the Shrine of 'Abd-al-Kādir of Gīlān, which is a noted place of pilgrimage in modern Baghdad; this 'Abd-al-Kādir being the celebrated founder of the Kādirīyah sect of Dervishes—one of the most widespread religious orders of Islam—who died in 651 (1253 A.D.) and was buried in Baghdad, a few years, therefore, before the Mongol siege.

For modern times the fullest account of Baghdad will be found in the writings of Niebuhr, Felix Jones, and Sir H. Rawlinson. Carstein Niebuhr visited Mesopotamia about 1750, and has left a description of Baghdad, the accuracy of which more modern authorities confirm in every point. Of the remains of mediæval Baghdad, all that then could be certainly identified were the following, most of which are again noticed in the Memoir of Commander Felix Jones, written in 1857, and referred to in a previous note.

The seat of the Turkish Provincial Government was in the last century, as now, in the Eastern City, and the old wall which surrounds the town on the land side is pierced by four ancient gateways, one of which, called the Bāb-at-Talism (the Gate of the Talisman), as already stated, bears the inscription of the Caliph Nāṣir. The ruins of both the Mustanṣiriyyah College and the Mosque exist, and not very far from this last stands the Shrine of 'Abd-al-Kādir of Gilān, which dates back to the last days of the Caliphate.

Above the city, on the eastern Tigris bank, stands the Tomb of the Imām Abu Ḥanīfah in the village now known as Al-Mu'azzam, and on the western bank, opposite this, Niebuhr especially mentions that the Sepulchre of the Imām Ibn Hanbal had formerly existed, but that shortly before his visit in 1750, this tomb had been carried away by the floods of the Tigris. On the western bank also, opposite but above the Mu'azzam village of the east side, is the Shī'ah Shrine of the Kāzīmān, some of the buildings of which may date from the times of the Caliphate; but of the Round City of Maṣṣūr apparently nothing remains—unless it be the Kufic inscription bearing the date 333 (945 A.D.), which both Commander Jones and Sir H. Rawlinson describe as existing in this quarter in the Convent (Takiyeh) of the Bektash Dervishes.

What is now called the Old Town on the western bank occupies the site of the former Karkh suburb, as is proved by the tomb of Ma'rūf Karkhī, which was built outside the Baṣrah Gate of the City of Maṣṣūr, and which still exists, standing at some distance outside the Western Gate of the Old Town, and this place has been a much venerated shrine since the date of his death in the year 200 (815 A.D.). Niebuhr mentions as situated in this same neighbourhood the tomb of a certain Bahlūl Dānab, whom he describes as having been a relative and boon-companion of the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, the gravestone bearing for date the year 501 (1108 A.D.). This personage apparently is not mentioned by any Moslem authority, and Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, in point of

fact, had been dead more than three centuries at the date inscribed on the tomb.¹

In regard to the so-called Tomb of Zubaydah, which now stands a little to the south of that of Ma'rūf Karkhī, the facts mentioned in the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr² are wholly against the assumption that this was the place of her burial. The older authorities, who describe the neighbouring shrine of Ma'rūf, make no allusion to any tomb near here of the celebrated wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd; further in the Chronicle just named, it is clearly stated that Zubaydah was buried in the Cemetery of the Kāẓimayn, lying on the river some three miles to the north of the picturesque monument which apparently has for the last two centuries borne her name. Niebuhr, who describes the tomb as it stood in the last century, gives the text of the Arabic inscription which then adorned it. In this it is set forth that 'Āyishah Khānum, daughter of the late Muṣṭafā Pasha, and wife of Ḥusayn Pasha, Governor of Baghdad, was buried here in Muḥarram of the year 1131 (November, 1718 A.D.), her grave having been made in the ancient sepulchre of the Lady Zubaydah, grand-daughter of the Abbasid Caliph Maṣṣūr, and wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, the date of whose death is (quite correctly) given as of the year 216 (831 A.D.).³

To this information Niebuhr adds the statement that the (so-called) tomb of Zubaydah had been restored some thirty years before he visited Baghdad, when the Turkish Khānum was buried here, but by whom the monument was originally built appears to have been then unknown. Sir H. Rawlinson, who lived for many years in Baghdad, writes⁴ that the tomb of Zubaydah was first erected in 827 A.D., corresponding with 212 A.H.; but this would be four years before the date of her death as recorded on the unimpeachable authority of Ṭabari, and Sir Henry gives no authority for his statement.

¹ C. Niebuhr, "Voyage en Arabie," vol. ii, p. 240. (Amsterdam, 1780.)

² Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 395.

³ Cf. Ṭabari, iii, 1105.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, article "Baghdad."

He also, apparently, had no doubts as to the present monument being the resting-place of this Princess, so famous both in the *Chronicles* and "*The Thousand and One Nights*"; though this attribution, as already stated, is entirely negatived by the authority of Ibn-ul-Athîr. Indeed, so far as I know, the earliest mention of this building having been the tomb of the Lady Zubaydah, only dates from the year 1713 A.D., when Husayn Pasha buried his wife here, in what, it would appear, he was told had been the sepulchre of the famous Abbasid princess.¹

In conclusion, a few paragraphs may serve to explain how the attempt has been made, in the two plans here given, to lay down the limits of mediæval Baghdad on the lines of the modern city. The landmarks are, of course, the few ancient vestiges that still remain to fix the sites of buildings mentioned during the times of the Caliphs; and taking the plan of the present walled city on the east bank of the Tigris, we have to work backwards to the Round City of Manşûr on the western bank, of which no trace now exists.

It will be seen that East Baghdad of the present day has four gates, and there appears to be no reason to doubt that these, with the town wall, are identical in position with what is described by Ibn Jubayr as existing in 1184 A.D.; further, the ruins of the Mustanşiriyyah College and the ancient Minaret still mark the upper limit of the Palaces of the Caliphs, which, lying within an encircling

¹ For illustrations representing the so-called tomb of Zubaydah, and the shrine of Ma'rûf Karkhî, see Jones, "*Memoir*," p. 311. It is possible that this modern tomb of Zubaydah may be the building described in the twelfth century A.D. as standing near the high road outside the old Bagrah Gate (see Ibn Jubayr, 227; and Barûtah, ii, 108). The tomb within this shrine then bore an inscription, stating that 'Awn and Mu'în were buried here, two of the descendants of the Caliph 'Alî, son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. In the fourteenth century A.D. this same shrine is described by Ibn Barûtah as a beautiful building, within which was the gravestone lying under a spacious dome-shaped monument. It would seem not unlikely that in the course of the next three centuries, the inscription having become illegible, and all memory of these 'Alids long forgotten, popular tradition may have fixed on this tomb as that which had been built over the remains of the celebrated wife of Harûn-ar-Rashîd, more especially since her real sepulchre in the Kâzimîyah probably did not survive the Mongol siege and the subsequent conflagration.

wall on the river bank, originally occupied about a third of the area of the present walled town. Another fixed point on this eastern side is the existing shrine of Abu Hanifah, which, we are told, stood immediately above the Ruṣāfah Mosque; the quarters of Ruṣāfah, Shammāsiyah, and Mukharrim lying in a semicircle between this point and the Palaces of the Caliph. Above the Abu Hanifah Shrine was the upper Bridge of Boats, while the Shammāsiyah Quarter stretched back from the river, lying to the north of the Mukharrim Quarter.

The Shammāsiyah Quarter of the east bank lay opposite the Harbiyah Quarter of Western Baghdad; and this suburb, spreading out below the tombs of the Kāzimayn (which still exist), enclosed in a great semicircular sweep the northern side of the Round City of Maṣṣūr. The present Kāzimayn Shrine is the landmark fixing the upper limit of West Baghdad, and its position in regard to the city of Maṣṣūr is clearly set forth in the old accounts. The position of the Round City and of its four gates is fixed, within certain narrow limits, by the facts stated as to its size—its four equidistant gates having been a mile apart one from the other, while that known as the Khurāsān Gate opened on the river and the Main Bridge. The Main Bridge head, on the eastern side, was below Ruṣāfah and above the Mukharrim, which latter quarter was divided from Ruṣāfah and Shammāsiyah by the great eastern high-road that went from this bridge to the Khurāsān Gate of Eastern Baghdad.

The site of the Ruṣāfah Mosque must have been in the loop of the Tigris above the Main Bridge, for the Palaces of the Buyids and Saljūks afterwards stretched from the river bank above the shrine of Abu Hanifah to near the river bank again at the Zāhir Garden in the Mukharrim Quarter, where the Great Mosque of the Sultan was afterwards built by Malik Shāh. This Mosque stood a mile distant from the older Ruṣāfah Mosque, and it lay outside (north) of the Gate of the Sultan in the wall of later (and modern) Eastern Baghdad. This Gate of the Sultan appears

to be almost identical in position with the more ancient Gate of the Tuesday Market, the lowest in the line of the older wall which had surrounded the three Northern Quarters of Mukharrim, Shammāsīyah, and Ruṣāfah. This older wall of the Northern Quarters of East Baghdad went from below the Lower Bridge inland to the Abrax Gate (which last we know from Yāḳūt stood within the area of the modern city), and thence going up by the Khurāsān and Baradān Gates, rejoined the river bank again at the Shammāsīyah Gate, some distance above the shrine of Abu Ḥanīfah, nearly opposite the Kāzimayn. The line of this older wall can only be traced approximately by plotting in the various roads and gates mentioned, but its general course is clearly indicated by many incidental references, and near the Abrax Gate it must have overlapped the line of the later city wall.

In Western Baghdad a fixed point is the present shrine of Ma'rūf Karkhī, which we are told originally lay outside the Baṣrah Gate of the Round City; and the positions of the Baṣrah and Kūfah Gates—lying a mile apart one from the other, and opening on the high-roads going, respectively, south to Kūfah, and down the Tigris bank—are fixed within narrow limits by the Ma'rūf shrine and the course of the Tigris. The present bridge of boats, which crosses the Tigris opposite the remains of the Mustanṣiriyyah College, is almost certainly identical in position with the bridge mentioned by Ibn Jubayr and Yāḳūt as starting from the Kaṣr 'Īsā Quarter, which was separated by the Lower Harbour (at the mouth of the 'Īsā Canal) from the Qurayyah Quarter. The positions of these two Quarters in regard to the Baṣrah Gate of the Round City is known; and the Qurayyah Quarter lay opposite the Niẓāmīyah College in Eastern Baghdad, which stood near the Tigris bank between the Palaces of the Caliphs and the city wall at the Kalwādhā Gate, which last is now known as the Eastern Gate of modern Baghdad.

Finally, the courses of the 'Īsā Canal, the Sarāt, and the Trench of Tūbir, with their numerous branches, also

the site of the town of Muḥawwal, a league from Baghdad, of which apparently nothing now remains, are all fixed within certain limits by reference to an imaginary line drawn from the point where the 'Īsā Canal left the Euphrates below Anbār to the mouth of this canal, where its waters poured into the Tigris at the Lower Harbour immediately below the bridge and opposite the Mustanṣiriyyah College. And the curves followed by the Tūhirid Trench, the 'Īsā Canal, and the Ṣarāt, with their connecting watercourses, have to be laid down so as to carry these round the four-mile circle of the City of Maṣṣūr, which, with its four equidistant gates, lay between the Ṣarāt and the Trench of Tūhir; due account being taken of the network of waterways described by Ibn Serapion, which thus enveloped the Round City to the south, west, and north, while the Tigris bank formed its eastern limit beyond the gardens of the Khuld Palace.

Such, in brief outline, is the method that has been followed in constructing the accompanying plans; the details are filled in from the incidental mention by many authorities of the relative positions of places; and that in their general lines these plans are fairly exact appears to be proved by the process of plotting-out, where various minor points from diverse authors all work into their right places as indicated from the two contemporary descriptions of Ya'qūbi and Ibn Serapion. But though the relative positions of most of the important points and buildings are thus fixed by more than one authority, the actual positions on the modern map are still to be sought for, and these can only be ascertained when excavations shall have been made, bringing to light the vestiges of the celebrated buildings of mediæval Baghdad, such as the Mosque of Maṣṣūr in the western city, and of the Ruṣāfah Mosque on the eastern bank, with the great Mosque of the Sultan standing a mile distant from it. Some traces of these great Mosques must surely exist, for they were built of kiln-burnt bricks and tiles, and digging would uncover their sites, which being found would give us the

fixed points needed for the verification of the mediæval plan. Further, since these three Mosques in particular would appear to have been still standing in the fourteenth century A.D., when Ibn Baṭūṭah visited Baghdad, some fragments of their walls and arches may still remain at the present day to reward the explorer if careful search were made among the houses of the modern city.

ART. XXII.—*Notes on Inscriptions from Udyāna, presented by Major Deane.* By M. A. STEIN, Ph.D.

FOR some time back the attention of scholars interested in the history and antiquities of the North-West Frontier regions of India has been drawn towards the remarkable series of inscriptions "in unknown characters" which the zealous search of Major H. A. DEANE, C.S.I., Political Officer, Swat, Dir and Chitral, has brought to light in the territory of the ancient *Udyāna*.

Since the discovery of the epigraphical finds already published by M. Senart and myself,¹ Major Deane, at the cost of no small trouble, has succeeded in collecting a considerable number of new inscriptions of this kind, either in the original stones or in the form of ink-impressions obtained through native agents. In accordance with the practice previously followed, the former were deposited in the Lahore Museum, while the impressions were, through Major Deane's kindness, entrusted to me for publication. In order, however, to make representative original specimens accessible also to scholars resident in Europe, Major Deane decided to present some of the stones more recently collected to the Royal Asiatic Society. Major Deane, by this liberal gift, has given a fresh proof of his eager desire to further researches bearing on the antiquities of those interesting frontier-regions, with which he is so closely connected as a soldier-administrator, and for the archaeological exploration of which he has himself done so much. The permission of

¹ See M. E. SENART's *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*.—V, *Les Récentes Découvertes du major Deane*, *Journal asiatique*, 1894, tome iv. pp. 332-363; 504-518.

M. A. STEIN, *Notes on New Inscriptions discovered by Major Deane*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, I. pp. 1-19, with plates i.-vii.

the Government of India having been obtained for this gift, I gladly undertook, at Major Deane's request, the task of selecting suitable specimens and accompanying them with the necessary explanations.

In offering these in the form of the present notes, I may be allowed to refer to my previous publication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, in respect of all general questions bearing on the character and date of these puzzling inscriptions. No advance seems yet to have been made towards the decipherment of any of the scripts which are exhibited by these finds in such striking variety. Nor do the newly acquired materials appear as yet to offer any help in that direction.

In regard to the topographical distribution of the finds, too, the previous observations still appear to hold good. The newly collected inscriptions attach themselves closely, in respect of their characters, to the several local groups or types which M. Senart and myself have been able to distinguish among the earlier series. This is fully illustrated by the specimens presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. It will hence be convenient to describe them in the order of the groups to which they belong.

Nos. i.-iv. (numbered 95, 93, 94, 96 in Major Deane's list) are small stones, all coming from *Darwazai*, close to the village of *Spankharra* which lies in the territory of the Rānizai Clan, just beyond the northernmost point of the Hashnagar Tahsil, Peshawar District. They exhibit the same curiously twisted and scrawly lines which are characteristic for the inscriptions or rather *agraffitti* that have previously come to light from the neighbourhood of Spankharra. Also in the small size and the irregular shape of the stones our Nos. i.-iv. resemble closely the previous specimens of the Spankharra group, as will easily be seen by a comparison of figs. 1-23 on plate I. of my above-quoted paper.

To the second group, that of *Bunēr*, may be attributed with great probability No. v (numbered 25 in Major Deane's list, and previously known to me from an impression).

The place at which this stone was originally found is unknown, as it was brought to Major Deane's agent by a wandering Tālib. But each of its characters can be traced in otherwise accessible specimens of the Bunēr group (compare figs. 24-36, 76-91 of plates accompanying Parts I and II, resp., of my paper in the *J.A.S.B.*). Hence I have little doubt that this small stone, too, was originally brought from some place in Bunēr territory. Its peculiarity is the carefully raised and polished face on which the characters are incised. It suggests that the stone may have possibly been intended for a seal, a supposition with which the remarkably small size of the stone would well agree.

No. vi., which comes from *Khudu Khél* territory, south of Mount Mahāban, shows the characters peculiar to the "Mahāban" type which is so largely represented among the previously published inscriptions. Though this stone is somewhat larger and more regular in shape than those hitherto noticed, we are confronted here, too, by the difficulty of determining which was the position intended for the inscription, i.e. what is to be considered as the top or bottom. The great majority of the inscriptions of the Mahāban group clearly shows the characters arranged in horizontal lines, though we have no certain clue as yet as to whether they are to be read from the right or left. In the case of our No. vi., too, an arrangement in four horizontal lines is unmistakeable. The lowest of these lines (taking the stone as shown in the plate) contains a smaller number of characters than the rest, and these more closely placed, evidently owing to want of space. From this we may perhaps conclude that the shortest line contains the last letters of the inscription, and that therefore the position assumed in the reproduction was the one originally intended.

The remaining three inscriptions come from the Upper *Swāt* Valley, and show in their characters a near affinity to the few inscriptions which in the above-quoted paper I distinguished as the fifth or *Swāt* group. This close agreement of the characters is particularly striking in the case of No. vii., which, according to Major Deane's note,

was "found in an old ruin on a hill near *Gogdarra* in Upper Swāt." About one-half of the characters it exhibits can be made out also on the impressions of two rock-cut inscriptions from *Odigrām*, reproduced in figs. 52 and 53 of plate VII., *J.A.S.B.*, 1898. We may lay the more stress on this recurrence of particular characters as the find-places are in close proximity. According to the Sketch Map of Upper Swāt, prepared on the basis of the Field Survey which was effected during the short reconnaissance into the Upper Swāt Valley in August, 1897, *Gogdarra* is a village near the left bank of the Swāt River, only about one mile below *Odigrām*, more correctly spelt *Udegrām*. The distance of *Gogdarra* from the *Landakē* spur, the nearest point of the Swāt Valley at present accessible and the site of a notable engagement during the rising of 1897, is about ten miles.

The *Udegrām* inscriptions are engraved on a rock, and their position, according to the impressions supplied to me, is that shown on my plate. This helps us in determining with some probability the position in which our No. vii. was intended to be read. For it is only when holding the stone in the position indicated by the reproduction that the identity of a number of characters with those of the *Udegrām* inscriptions becomes apparent.

The old ruin to which Major Deane's note refers as the place where the *Gogdarra* stone was found, belongs in all probability to one of those ancient villages and towns which can be traced in so great a number along the hill slopes of the Swāt Valley. The ruins of these old sites consist mainly of fortified dwelling-places such as I have fully described in the case of similar sites examined by me in *Bunēr*.¹ When visiting the heights of the *Landakē* spur at the close of the year 1897, I could with my field-glasses make out a succession of such ruined sites along the slopes of the hills stretching up the left bank of the Swāt Valley towards *Barikōṭ*, *Shangardār*, and *Udegrām*.

¹ See *Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force*, by M. A. Stein; Lahore, 1898, pp. 5 sqq. (Reprinted in *Indian Antiquary*, 1899, March-April.)



i. ($\frac{2}{10}$)



ii. ($\frac{10}{20}$)



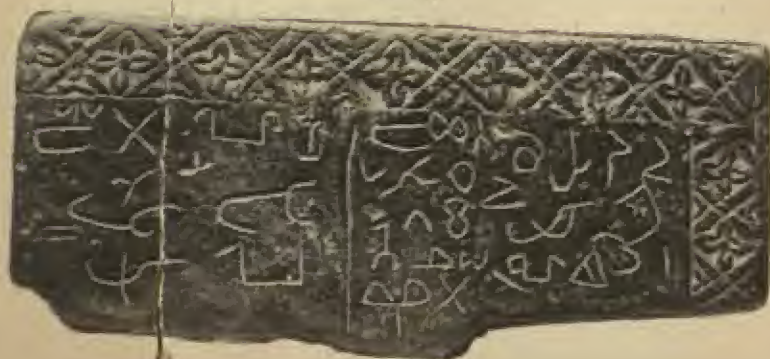
vi. ($\frac{10}{20}$)



viii. Obv. ($\frac{7}{20}$)



ix. ($\frac{7}{20}$)



iii. ($\frac{12}{20}$)



iv. ($\frac{9}{10}$)



v. ($\frac{16}{20}$)



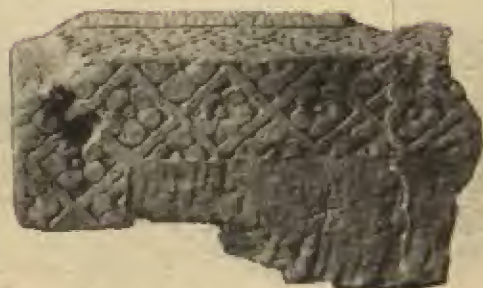
viii. Rev. ($\frac{7}{25}$)

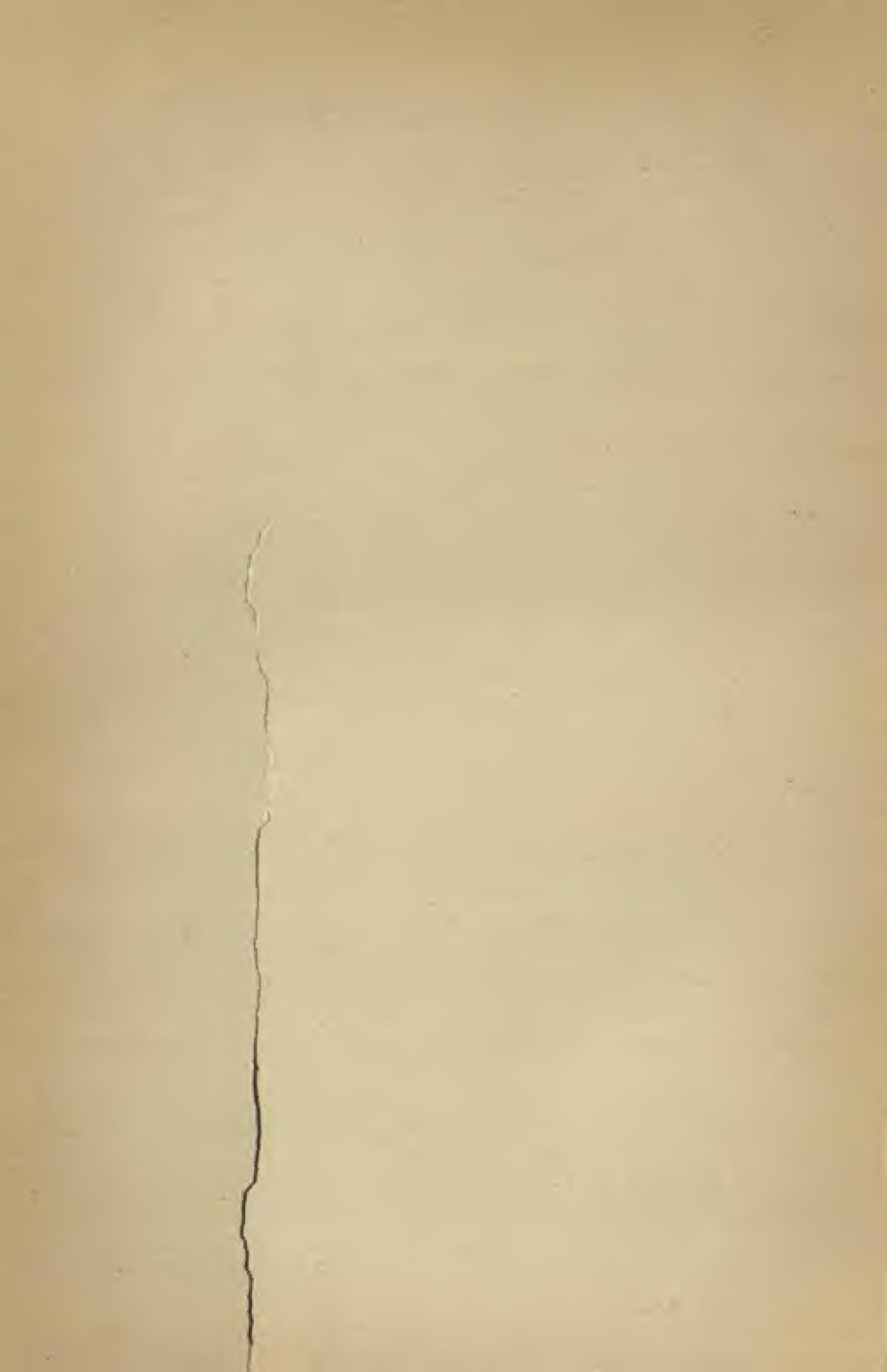


vii. ($\frac{2}{2}$)



x. ($\frac{1}{2}$)





The most interesting piece of the present collection, and from a historical point of view as yet the most instructive of all of Major Deane's inscriptions in "unknown characters," is the stone No. viii. It was brought to Major Deane early in the present year from Upper Swāt, but its exact find-spot could not be ascertained. Its obverse shows a miniature relievo representation of a column in the Gandhāra style, with a Corinthian capital, placed in a kind of niche. From the foliage of the capital rises the upper half of a small human figure, now much effaced. On the rough back of this small sculpture, which measures about 8 inches in height and 3½ inches in breadth, a number of characters has been incised, some of which resemble closely those found in the Udegrām and Gogdarra inscriptions (for the character curiously resembling the Arabic numeral 3, compare also fig. 54 on plate VII., *J.A.S.B.*, 1898).

Judging from a comparison of numerous similar pieces in the great collection of Gandhāra sculptures now in the Lahore Museum, I believe there can be little doubt that this small relievo fragment formed part of a panel adorning a small votive Stūpa. As one flank of the piece (on the proper left) shows a carefully smoothed surface, it seems probable that it occupied the corner in one of the courses forming the square base of the Stūpa. The dovel on the top shows that there was probably a similar course above it. The back of the relievo is left perfectly rough and uneven, which proves conclusively that it was not originally intended to be exposed to view. It is, in fact, clear that the back of the relievo panel must have been attached to the structure of stone or plaster which formed the interior of the small Stūpa.

Finding then characters cut into the rough surface of the back of this fragment, we are led *a priori* to conclude that this inscription or rather *agraffito* was made after the relievo had been destroyed or removed from its original position. The only other supposition would be that the inscription, if coeval with the relievo, was directly intended to be hidden from view. Such an assumption, however,

is in itself very improbable, and a careful examination of the characters suffices to dispose of it. The stone on the back of the relievo has suffered considerably, and pieces both at its top and bottom have been chipped off. Yet none of the incised characters shows any trace of injury. This fact scarcely admits of any other explanation than that they were engraved at a later date when the fragment had already been reduced to the form in which we now see it.

The observation here indicated possesses considerable interest with reference to the question of the date and origin of these puzzling inscriptions. The chronology of the so-called Græco-Buddhist art represented in the sculptures of the Gandhāra and Udyāna monasteries is still obscure in many respects. But there are strong grounds for the now generally accepted opinion which looks upon the first four centuries of our era as the period when the sculptural art of Gandhāra developed and flourished.¹ Hitherto we have been without a single piece of definite evidence as to the date of any of Major Deane's inscriptions "in unknown characters." The small stone we have now examined supplies such evidence at least in one direction. It is impossible for us to judge how long after the original date of the relievo the latter was destroyed and the characters now seen engraved on its reverse. But we can safely assert now that this inscription itself cannot be older than the period to which the sculpture belongs, and that it probably dates considerably later.

We might draw the lower chronological limit somewhat more closely if the indication furnished by a detail feature of the little sculpture could be considered quite certain. I mean the small human figure rising from amidst the foliage of the capital. This decorative motive, which is frequent enough in the capitals of the Gandhāra style, was in all probability, like the great majority of the formal elements of the style, borrowed from the West. There, according to Mr. Fergusson's statement, it makes its first

¹ Compare A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, 1893, p. 79.

prominent appearance in late Roman art (Baths of Caracalla, A.D. 312-330).¹ If this observation is correct, it seems unlikely that this particular ornament could have found its way into Gandhāra architecture much before the fourth century of our era. But I am unable at present to verify Mr. Fergusson's opinion or to follow up this interesting question with the help of fresh materials.

Chronological evidence of some kind is furnished also by the last piece of the present collection, No. ix. The note with which it was forwarded to me in August, 1898, describes the origin of this stone as follows: "Inscribed stone said to have been found in an old fort which stands on a hill called *Kahun* about 3 miles to the south of the village of *Gabrial* in *Kandia* in Upper Kohistan of Swat. This inscription is said to have been found originally 3 years ago, by a Zamindar of *Gabrial* who made it over to one Mulla Rajab Ali. The Mulla made it over to a Talib named *Muhibulla* who gave it to *Abul*" (Major Deane's agent).

The inscription is engraved on the carefully polished flat surface of a black marble-like stone, which measures on its top about 12 inches by 6 inches. The edge along one long and one short side shows a diaper ornament, which is reproduced also on three sides of the thickness of the stone (about 1½ inches). The smooth flat bottom of the stone, without ornament or writing, shows a square hole evidently intended for the insertion of a clamp.

Some of the characters of the inscription resemble those found on the stones from the Swāt Valley above discussed, while others reappear on the curious inscribed stones which were obtained from ruined sites near *Zangi Khān Banda* and *Kharapa* in *Bunēr*, and are reproduced in figs. 49-51 of plate VII., *J.A.S.B.* With the last-named inscriptions our No. ix. shares a striking irregularity in the position of the letters which seems scarcely compatible with the intention of a lineal arrangement.

¹ Compare FERGUSSON, *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 178.

A glance at the stone or its reproduction shows that the carved diaper ornament which encloses the inscribed surface on two sides, could not possibly be of a later date than the inscription itself. For though the characters are placed close enough to this ornamented edge, yet they are nowhere cut or otherwise effaced by the latter. The ornament must, therefore, be either anterior to, or coeval with, the inscription. On this account the style and design of this ornament deserves our attention.

The ornament consists of a rather coarsely executed diaper, which shows four-leaved flowers in diagonally placed squares, the triangular spaces left outside the squares being filled up with halved flowers of the same shape. This design bears the closest resemblance to a diaper frequently found in the ornamental carving of Gandhāra sculptures. It is enough to compare the decoration of our stone with the diaper ornament of a sculptured fragment excavated in 1895 from the site of an ancient Vibhāra at *Dargai* (below Malakand), and now in the Lahore Museum (see fig. x), in order to realize the relatively late date of the former. Here, too, it is impossible to fix the upper limit of the possible range of dates. But judging from the general appearance of the design and its coarse execution, I can see no reason why the stone with its inscription might not belong to one of the centuries immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest.

The indications furnished by the two inscriptions last discussed leave still a wide chronological margin. They are nevertheless of special value when considered with reference to the suggestion—first made by Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes and discussed in my former Notes—as to the possible connection between these inscriptions “in unknown characters” and the rule of a Turkish dynasty in Udyāna.¹

We have the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim *Ou-k'ong*

¹ See *J. A.S.B.*, 1898, pp. 13 sqq.; *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong, traduit et annoté par MM. SYLVAIN LÉVI et ED. CHAVANNES, Journal asiatique*, 1895, pp. 383 sq.

and of the *T'ang* Annals for the fact that Udyāna and Gandhāra were subject during the eighth century of our era to a dynasty of Turkish nationality and language. From an important notice of *Albérūnī*, which I have fully discussed elsewhere, we must conclude that these rulers belonged to the dynasty of the "Turkish *Shāhiyas* of Kābul" which continued to hold those territories down to the end of the ninth century.¹ It is an acknowledged fact that none of the scripts in Major Deane's puzzling epigraphical finds are related to any known Indian systems of writing. On the other hand, it appears possible that they are connected in some way with alphabets used about the period indicated by Turkish tribes in Central Asia.

I regret that the hope I had expressed in my first Notes on Major Deane's inscriptions for a closer examination of these relations by a competent Turkish scholar has not yet been realized. Until this is done the above suggestion as to the origin of the inscriptions "in unknown characters" must be considered a mere conjecture. It is, however, in the meantime reassuring to find that the chronological evidence gathered from Major Deane's latest discoveries is in no way opposed to that conjectural dating.

¹ See my notes "On the history of the *Sāhis* of Kābul" in *Festschrift an Rudolf von Roth*, 1893, pp. 200 sqq.; and Note J ("The *Sāhi* of Udhahāda") in my forthcoming translation of *Kaṭhava's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. ii, pp. 336 sqq.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. "OSPREYS."

102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,
London, S.W.

SIR,—In our Journal for July, 1899, p. 493, Mr. F. W. Thomas translates "kūtājvara 'fever caused by hooting of ospreys.'" I venture to suggest that the bird referred to may not be the "osprey" of English naturalists (*Pandion haliaetus*). This, although not at all a dumb bird, is perhaps the least noisy of all birds of prey, especially in India, where it seldom breeds, and therefore has not often to address a mate or young.

I suppose that if you polled India to-morrow you would not find an hundred men who could describe the call of the osprey in writing, in any language.

Perhaps there is some such joke in the word as in the phrase "horns of a hare," which seems to occur all over India. But more probably it is to be classed with our own term "Brain-fever Bird" applied to a certain black cuckoo; and the bird referred to was one of the fishing-eagles (*Haliaetus*), which are very familiar and vociferous in some places, and will even build, year after year, in towns and villages. It may, indeed, have been their poor relation, the red-and-white 'Brahmani Kite' (*Haliastur*), which is almost as noisy, more abundant, even bolder in habit, and a known object of other queer beliefs.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

2. OSPREYS.

SIR,—I must confess my inability to throw light upon Mr. Sinclair's interesting suggestion.

The cry of the *kurara* is often referred to in Sanskrit poetry (v. Böhtlingk & Roth's *Lexicon*, s.r.), being compared to the wailing of women, etc. In the passage, *Harṣa-Carita*, p. 53, l. 1, the *yaphara* fishes are excited by the cry, which, as the commentator says, *santāpakāritād*, "in consequence of its heat-(or pain)-causing nature," is described as producing *jevara* or 'fever.' But I do not suppose that *kūṭajevara* was the name of a commonly recognized disease.

Kurara is usually rendered by 'osprey' or 'sea-eagle,' in German 'Meeradler,' and the bird is described in the above passage as occupying the arjuna-trees by the river banks. Whether the translation is zoologically accurate, I am not at all competent to decide.

F. W. THOMAS.

3. SOME ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS.

DEAR SIR,—With your permission I should like to continue and conclude my notice of the Persian and Arabic MSS. in my possession. I have already dealt with the Persian MSS., and with those of the Arabic that fall under the head of Poetry or Commentaries thereon. I will now mention some of the more noteworthy MSS. in the departments of Theology, History and Biography, Medicine, Grammar, and Belles Lettres.

A. Theology.

(1) The *Ḳor'ān*, copied in 1069 A.H. by Muḥiyyu'ddīn b. Nāṣiru'ddīn al-Safūri. This *Ḳor'ān* is virtually the same as that so particularly described by De Sacy in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix, pp. 76-102. The essential identity of the two MSS. is evident even in the Preface, where the

same things are said in a different order, though less copiously in my MS. Both represent the same edition of the Kor'ān and have the same system of exhibiting the diversities of the seven Readers. The copy described by De Saey is ninety years older than mine.

(2) زهر الكمام في قسمة يوسف, by Abū 'Hafṣ 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ausī al-Madhakkir. This beautiful MS. is dated 846 A.H. Hājī Khalifa (vol. iii, p. 550) says that the author's name is Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, but it seems possible, as Abū 'Hafṣ occurs in the next article, viz. زهر الكمام وجميع الجعالم, that its omission in the former is due to a mistake of the copyist.

(3) التثبيت عند التبييت, a poem in *rajaz* by Jalālu'ddīn Suyūfī (Aumer, *Munich Cat.*, No. 215). The volume also contains كتاب النصوص by Ṣadru'ddīn al-Qōnavī. Hājī Khalifa gives the full title, نصوص في تحقيق طوّر المختص, and mentions several commentaries on the work. Ṣadru'ddīn, who died in 673 A.H., was the pupil of Muḥiyyu'ddīn Ibnu'l 'Arabī and the intimate friend of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī (see *Nafahātu'l Uns*, p. 645 seqq.).

(4) كتاب مفتاح الجفر, i.e. the Book of the Key to the Apocalyptic Skin (for جفر see Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, trans. by De Slane, vol. ii, p. 214 seqq.), by the Shaikh 'Abdu'rrahmān b. Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī, who died 843 or 848 A.H. (D'Herbelot, sub voc. Basṭam). This work, which is not mentioned by Hājī Khalifa, contains many poems belonging to the apocalyptic branch of Arabic literature. Among these are two poems ascribed to Yahyā Ibn 'Aqb,¹ the tutor of Ḥasan and Ḥusain (مُعَلِّمُ السَّيِّدَيْنِ):
(a) one consisting of eighty-seven couplets, the first of

¹ Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolegomena*, trans. by De Slane, vol. ii, p. 232) refers to a passage in the *Aghāni* cited in Ibn Khallikān's life of Ibnu'l Qirriya, according to which Ibn 'Aqb is an imaginary person, like Majnun and Ibnu'l Qirriya. Ibn 'Aqb, however, is not mentioned along with the other two in the *Dalāiq* ed. of the *Aghāni* (vol. i, p. 167, article مجنون).

which¹ is cited by Hājī Khalīfa under ملحمة ابن عتب ,
(b) one consisting of forty-six couplets, entitled النشئة القدسية
والفيحة المسكية,² which begins:

سبحان ذي العزة الاحم
القادر القاهر مولى النعماء

B. History and Biography.

(1) *Stratu'l Rasūl*. This fragmentary MS., which belonged to Salt, the Abyssinian traveller, bears the following inscription in his handwriting: "A Religious Treatise on the Life and Doctrine of Mahommed, bought by me at Mocha, 1805." It appears to be a portion of an extended Life of Muḥammad. Pages of it agree verbatim with Ibn Hishām. The first chapter treats of Saif Ibn Dhī Yazan, the next is on the birth of Muḥammad, and the last is on the conversion of Abū Quhāfa.

(2) *Al-Stratu'l Halabīyya*, by 'Alī b. Burhānu'ddīn al-Halabī. This volume begins with the relation of the causes that led to Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca. Aumer (*Munich Cat.*, Nos. 449-451) describes a copy of the complete work. The date of this MS. is 1150 A.H., and the copyist's name is 'Alī al-Khāmī b. al-Shaikh Sulaimān al-Khāmī.

(3) *Shudhūru'l 'Uqūd fī ta'rikh'l 'Uhūd*, by Ibnu'l Jauzī. This MS. is identical with that described by De Jong (*Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*, No. 102), of which he says: "Hic ergo habemus exemplar hujus operis, quod praeter fragmentum

Note¹ رايئت من الامور العجيبة حالى
لاسباب يسطرها مقالى

In the first hemistich Flügel conjectures *metre causā* عجيب حالى, which is the reading of my MS.

² Also in Hājī Khalīfa, who merely says that Al-Būnī mentions it. Maḥṭṭya'd-dīn Abū'l 'Abbās Ahmad b. Abī'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qurashī al-Būnī, who died in 622 A.H., is well known as author of the *Shamsu'l Ma'ārif wa Lafẓi* (f. 1) 'Awārif.

Leidense in Europa, quantum scio, unicum est." The date of this copy is 1003 A.H., and the name of the scribe is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nābirī.

(4) *Akhbārū'l Duwal wa Āthārū'l Uwal*, by Al-Dimashqī. This copy was written in 1138 A.H.

(5) *Badā'i'u'l Zuhūr fī Waqā'i'i'l Duhūr*. This MS. contains a fragment of the work of Ibn Iyās (*Leiden Cat.*, No. 832). It embraces the years 922-928, and is apparently the last volume of the work.

(6) A manuscript bearing the inscription '*Uqūdu'l Jumān*. It is imperfect at the beginning, where three leaves are wanting. I cannot find in the text itself any indication of the author's name or of the title of his work, but there seems to be little doubt that it is really كتاب الجمان في مختصر الزمان (Aumer, *Munich Cat.*, No. 379), by Abū 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shatībī al-Andalusī. It is a History of the World from the Creation, with a very disproportionate space for the Prophet and his nearest successors. The date of this copy is 1127 A.H.

(7) *Ta'rikhu'l Khamīs*, by al-Diyārbakrī (*Leiden Cat.*, No. 2,609), in two volumes. The second volume has lost some leaves at the end. The last article is devoted to Al-Mustanjid Billah, who came to the throne in 860 A.H.

(8) *Raudatu'l Manāzīr fī akhbārī'l Awā'il wa'l Awākhir*, by Ibnu'l Shihna (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 568). This volume, which is slightly imperfect at the end, contains the خاتمة "de rebus quae ante finem mundi eventurae sunt."

(9) *Appendix to the History of Dhahabī*, by Shamsu'ddīn Muḥammad 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Husainī. There are two titles inside the cover:

(1) ذیل الحافظ شمس الدین علی ذیل العبر لشیخه الذهبی

(2) ذیل الحافظ شمس الدین علی تاریخ شیخه الذهبی

This work embraces the period 703-755 A.H., but the years from 741 to 755 precede the years from 703 to 740. It is written in a most illegible hand, with very few diacritical points.

(10) *Kitābu Asmā'ī Rijāl*. I have not found any mention of this work elsewhere. The inscription is:

كتاب أسماء الرجال تأليف الشيخ الإمام المعروف من كُتُب
التقير إلى الله الودود العبد الضعيف المذنب داود بن علي بن
سليمان الشافعي الخلواني (الخلوتي؟)

It begins (after a brief doxology):

أما بعد فهذا الكتاب في أسماء الرجال مشتمل على بابين الباب
الأول في ذكر الصحابة ذكّرهم وأنشأهم ومن بعدهم من التابعين وغيرهم
ومن له ذكر أو رواية في كتاب المشكاة مرتّب على حروف التمجّي
واذكر بالكنية من استهوى بكنيته في حروف الكنية دون اسمه في
حرف الاسم مثل أبي هريرة واسمه عبد الله أو عبد الرحمن اذكره
في حرف الهاء لا في حرف العين والباب الثاني من لهم الأصول من
المذكورين في أول المشكاة وغيرهم وأن لم نذكرهم في أولها رضوان الله
عليهم اجمعين.

On the last page the author enumerates the works on which he has relied:

ثم أتى ما اعتمدت في نقل ما أورده الله على كُتُب الأئمة الثقات
النقّاب مثل الاستيعاب لابن عبد البر وحلية الأولياء لأبي نعيم
الاصفهانى وجامع الأصول ومناقب الأخيار لأبي السعادات الحجزى
والكاشف لأبي عبد الله الذهبي الدمشقى.

He adds that he finished the compilation and arrangement of his book (و فرغت من جمعه وتشديبه) on the 20th of Rajab, 740 A.H. His name, he says, is Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khaṭīb b. Muḥammad. It appears, then,

that the present work is a concise alphabetical dictionary of the names of those persons who are cited in the *Mishkāṭu'l Maṣābiḥ*, and that its author, as is shown by the words *وإن لم نذكرهم في أولها*, is himself the author of the *Mishkāṭ*, viz. Walīyyu'ddīn Abū 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khaṭīb. The *Mishkāṭ* was composed in 737 A.H., only three years before the *Asmā'u'l Rijāl*. This copy was made in 916 A.H. by the Dā'ūd, whose name occurs in the inscription. The volume contains a second work, transcribed by the same copyist in the same year: *نزهة القلوب في تفسير غريب القرآن*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Azīz al-Sijistānī (*Leiden Cat.*, No. 1,652).

(11) *Shadḥarātu'l Dhahab fī akhbārī man dhahab*. This is a biographical dictionary (in two thick volumes) of persons who died between the years 1 and 1000 A.H. I do not know of any copy in Europe, but there is one in the Khedivial Library (*Catalogue*, vol. v, p. 72). The author, *أبو الفلاح عبد الحى بن أحمد بن محمد العكرى الصالحى*, completed his work on the 19th of Ramadān, 1080 A.H. As regards the sources thereof he says:

فمن جمعت من كتبتهم وكرهت من منهلهم وعلمهم مؤرخ الإسلام
الذهبي وفي الأكثر على كتبه اعتمد ومن مشكاة ما جمع في مؤلفاته
استوفد وبعده من اشتهر في هذا الشأن كصاحب الكمال والحلية
والمنهل وابن خلكان وغير ذلك من الكتب المفيدة والإسفار
الجميلة الحميدة

For *الكمال* I suppose we must read *الكامل*, and refer it to the History of Ibnu'l Athir; *الحلية* is the *Hilyatu'l Auliya* of Abū Nu'aim al-Isfahānī; and *المنهل* is *المنهل* of Abū Nu'aim al-Isfahānī; and *المستوفى بعد الوافى* by Ibn Taghribirdi (Flügel, *Handschriften der Wiener Hofbibliothek*, vol. ii, p. 338).

Naturally the articles vary in value to an enormous extent, some giving little beyond the name, while others afford copious details: thus the notice of Muḥiyyu'ddīn Ibnū'l 'Arabī covers five closely written folio pages. The two volumes of this copy differ in size and handwriting; the transcription of the second volume was finished on the 17th of Rabī'u'l Awwal, 1153 A.H. On a future occasion I hope to print some of the longer articles by way of specimen.

C. *Medicine.*

(1) *صيون الانباء في طبقات الأطباء*, by Ibn Abī Uṣaibia, copied in Constantinople in the year 1136 A.H. It bears the following inscription: "E libris Theodori Preston Coll. S.S. Triu. Cant. Socii Damasci 1848"; and there is a note stating that he purchased it in Damascus for 900 piastres.

(2) *كتاب الغنى والغنى*, the Book of Life and Death, by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Qumrī, one of the teachers of Ibn Sīnā. The date of this MS. is 924 A.H., and the copyist's name is Maṣṣūr b. Muḥibbu'ddīn b. Zaynu'l 'Ābidīn al-Qurashī, who according to an interlineation in the colophon is صاحب الأرجوزة الكبيرة في الطب وشرحه شرحاً واقعياً.

D. *Grammar.*

(1) *شرح المجيئة المرضية*, a commentary by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain al-Aḥṣā'ī on Suyūṭī's commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik. The Bahjatū'l Mardīyya is mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfa (vol. i, pp. 408, 409). Flügel in his translation of the passage makes it appear that Ibn 'Aqīl is the author of the Bahjat, whereas it is in fact the work of Suyūṭī (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 237). I do not know whether this MS. exists elsewhere.

E. *Belles Lettres (Adab).*

(1) *بيتمة الدهر*, a celebrated work by Tha'ālibī. It is divided into four parts, each of which comprises ten chapters.

This MS. contains the first four chapters and a portion of the fifth chapter of the First Part, and the whole of the Third and Fourth Parts. The Second Part is wanting. A Persian inscription at the beginning of the Third Part gives the date 1109 A.H.

(2) كتاب غرر البلاغة وطرف البراعة, by Tha'ālibī (Ahlwardt, *Berlin Cat.*, No. 8,341). This copy is dated 1118 A.H.

(3) كتاب يواقيت العواقيت, by Tha'ālibī. This MS., dated 1156 A.H., corresponds exactly with No. 8,334 in Ahlwardt's *Berlin Catalogue*. It has the double preface and the additional chapter في مدح شهر رمضان وذمه.

(4) نزهة الاخيار ومجمع النوادر والاخبار. This work is not mentioned by Hājī Khalifa, nor am I able to find it in any European catalogue. The following passage from the preface gives the author's name and describes the contents of the work:

وبعد فقد اعتنى بجمع هذا الكتاب وتأليف هذا المؤلف
المستطاب فقير عفو الله الرؤف محمد بن الشيخ ابى الوفا ابن
الشيخ معروف الخلوئى الحموى لمطالعة الاخوان ومسامرة الغفلاء
والنخلان والاطلاع على بعض احوال الزمان وسقيته نزهة الاخيار
ومجمع النوادر والاخبار وجعلته مشتملاً على ما تيسر من فصول في
بابها مبعة واخبار شريفة معظمة وذكر بعض آثار الصحابة المكرمين
والملوك السالفين والشيخان الماضيين وخرائب الاهرامات وعجائب
الحكايات ونوادر البحار وما خلقه الله في الجبال والاقطار

The MS. is not dated.

There remain several interesting MSS., which seem worthy of at least a passing notice, but this letter is already too long. May I add, in conclusion, that I shall be happy to lend any manuscript of mine to Oriental scholars who desire to make use of it.—Yours sincerely,

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1899.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série IX, Tome xiii, No. 2.

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Nau (F.). Le traité sur l'astrolabe-plan de Sévère Sabukt.

Grenard (M.). Spécimens de littérature moderne du Turkestan chinois.

Tome xiii, No. 3.

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Sonneck (M.). Six chansons arabes en dialectes maghrebin, publiées, traduites, et annotées.

Notes d'épigraphie indienne, vii. Deux épigraphes du Svāt (E. Senart). Au sujet d'un des surnoms du mois de Redjeb (O. Houdas).

II. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Band lii, Heft 2.

Praetorius (Fr.). Über das babylonische Vokalisationssystem des Hebräischen.

Schwally (Fr.). Lexikalische Studien.

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Thomas (F. W.). Indian Game of Chess.

Brockelmann (C.). Gegen Grimme diese Zeitschrift liii, 102 ff.

III. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xiii, No. 1.

Kampffmeyer (G.). Beiträge zur Dialectologie des Arabischen.

Goldziher (I.). Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Sūfismus.

Cartellieri (W.). Das Mahābhārata bei Subandhu und Bāṇa.

Steinschneider (M.). Heilmittelnamen der Araber.

Laufer (B.). Ueber das *ra* zur.

II. OBITUARY NOTICE.

Peter Peterson.

While the sense of the loss which we sustained by Bühler's death is still keen, we have to mourn for the loss of yet another member of that band of Sanskrit scholars—the 'Bombay School' one may call them—who have led and directed the most remarkable and fruitful revival of Sanskrit learning in India of our time. Professor Peterson, who died from heart-disease after a very short illness on the 28th of August, was born in 1847 in the Shetland Isles. He was educated at the High School, Edinburgh, and graduated both at Edinburgh and Oxford (Balliol College). His Sanskrit studies began at Edinburgh under Professor Aufrecht, and were continued at Oxford, where he won the Boden Scholarship, under Professors Monier Williams and Max Müller. In 1873 he went to Bombay as Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College, and continued to hold this appointment for the rest of his life.

Peterson had a wonderful power of quickly grasping the main points of a subject and of seeing its true inwardness. The possession of this faculty, combined with his never-failing tact and good-humour, especially qualified him to conduct the search for Sanskrit MSS., a work which, thanks to the liberality of the Bombay Government, has in the Bombay Circle been prosecuted with such signal benefit to Sanskrit learning. His four masterly Reports will, no doubt, be regarded by scholars generally as his greatest work. They show, what is most essential in dealing with large and heterogeneous collections of documents, an unerring power of discriminating between the more important and the less important, and are, in every way, models of what reports of the kind should be.

As an editor of Sanskrit texts—all contributed to the Bombay Sanskrit Series, with the exception of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, which was printed in the Bibliotheca

Indica—Peterson showed much the same characteristics of mind. There can surely, for instance, be no better introduction to the Kāvya literature than his edition of *Kādambarī*, with its sympathetic preface and its appreciative notes. From these the student will learn how much of the beautiful is common to the poetry of the East and of the West, in spite of the different and sometimes apparently incongruous forms in which it is expressed. In fact, one of Peterson's favourite ideas was that, in spite of difference of form, the spirit of these two classes of literature was much the same. A good instance of this is to be seen in his preface to the edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, by Pandit Durgāprasāda and himself, where he gallantly defends Sanskrit romantic poetry from the too sweeping charges of barrenness and futility brought against it by a certain learned Sanskrit scholar. Indeed, no one can have known Peterson, or have studied his introductions to *Kādambarī* or the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, without recognizing that, in many respects, his temperament was poetic rather than scholastic. His great aim was to teach his readers how to appreciate and enjoy the beauties which he certainly appreciated and enjoyed himself: he was not so anxious, as an interpreter, to refrain from cutting Gordian knots occasionally.

Among Peterson's other works may be mentioned editions of the *Hitopadeśa*, of the *Paddhati* of Śārāgadharma, a Selection of Hymns from the Rīg Veda with Translation, and the first two parts of a Handbook to the Study of the Rīg Veda.

He contributed frequently to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was President of that Society at the time of his death. To our Journal he contributed, in 1891 (p. 311), a valuable article on *Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian: with some remarks on the Age of Classical Sanskrit Poetry*, in which he upheld the view, supported also by Hindu tradition, that the great grammarian and the author of certain verses, quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, the *Paddhati* of Śārāgadharma and elsewhere, were one and the same person, and, following the lead given by Bühler in his then recent paper on *Die*

Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie, contended for a much greater antiquity for Sanskrit poetry of the fixed classical form than scholars had been generally inclined to allow.

As a public speaker and as a writer, Peterson was master of a most beautiful English style. He several times acted as Professor of English at Elphinstone College, and as examiner in English for the Bombay University. For the benefit of native students, he compiled a volume of model essays, and published editions, with notes, of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" and the fourth book of Palgrave's "Golden Treasury." He frequently wrote for the Press—chiefly for the *Times of India*—and seemed to handle all sorts of subjects, political and otherwise, with the same facility and felicity.

All who were privileged to know him with some degree of intimacy will very sadly miss not only the cultured and refined scholar but also the genial and warm-hearted friend.

E. J. RAPSON.

October 2, 1899.

Royal Asiatic Society.

GOLD MEDAL.

As our members are aware, Mr. Wollaston is issuing a third appeal for subscriptions towards the establishment on a permanent basis of the Fund for the Society's Gold Medal. The following list shows the result thus far. For purpose of reference the results of the two former appeals are also here reprinted.

It will be seen that up to the end of September the result of the third appeal has been the very satisfactory total of £130 3s. 0d. The balance now required to complete the Endowment Fund is therefore about £100. It is hoped that this amount will be forthcoming during the next few months, so that on the presentation of the Medal in the summer of 1900 it may be announced that the entire sum has been raised.

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